

COK-H00475-29-GS01294

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME XCVI.

January 1893.

29

*a man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways
lying by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to man
set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the
rinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to fi
brighten the armoury of truth; even for that respect they were not
to be cast away.—MILTON.*

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY

THOMAS S. SMITH, CITY PRESS, 12, BENTINCE STREET,
MESSRS. THACKER, SPINK & CO., GOVERNMENT PLACE, 1

AND TO BE HAD OF ALL BOOK-SELLERS IN CALCUTTA.

MADRAS: MESSRS. HIGGINBOOTHAM & CO.

LONDON: MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER

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CALCUTTA REVIEW

No. CXCI.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 191.—JANUARY, 1893.

IN MEMORIAM.

IN the soft moonlight didst thou fall asleep
O Poet, setting with the Sun and o'er
A misty bier thy brother angels stooped,
Calling thy soul aloft. Up the steep stair
Fearless, way known to thee, thy spirit passed,
For he whose life and voice were ever pure,
Who never had his prophet gift defiled,
Could boldly tread the steps of golden air
That Jacob saw, hung from the throne of God.

Yet do we mourn for thee. Who must not mourn
The loss of thy sweet voice—thy carols clear
As in the spring-time is the voice of birds,
Until we thought the mighty singers, burst
From graves Elizabethan, glorified,
Had once again on English earth appeared?
Thou spokest and we heard the rippling joy
Of children in a summer-world, of men
The vigorous shout that calls to noble deeds,
The wisdom of the sage, and saintly tone
Of those who traced the Word of God so fair
In the unaccustomed, crabbed, English tongue,

Thou, like thy great fore-runners, a new grace
 Of words to language, a new strength of thought
 To mortal minds, tired with life's cruel whirl,
 Hast given, and to us exiled afar,

Where the strong Sun enfeebles hand and heart,
 Many sweet messages hast sent. We dream
 Again we stand in pleasant English fields,
 Again we look upon our English homes,
 We trace our History back, with Harold stand
 And die heroic for the sacred soil,
 Or weep for Mary, of sad mother she

Sad child, sad wife of strange and loveless lord,
 Saddest of Queens! Oft, playing with ideas,
 We journey with the Prince whom Ida loved,
 Unknowing, till the touch of baby hands
 Upon her breast and nearing shades of Death
 Awoke her woman's heart and taught her truth.

We have mourned with thee thy friend untimely dead,
 Have wondering traced thy tale of noble hearts
 Most feminine;—but wherefore thus do I
 Sum up thy gifts, the details of our loss.
 When thou art dead, O Poet? Ah! If thou,
 That lovedst England, dost not quite forget
 Ourselves, her distant sons, receive of love
 These tears, where, sitting on some golden throne,
 To Arthur and a purer Guinevere,
 When Milton's harp and Shakespeare's pause awhile,
 And Chaucer smiling listens, happy songs
 Thou sing'st, and England's name is not forgot,
 Nor India's glowing with new births of Fame.

S. C. H.

ART. I.—THE LEGEND OF BUDDHĀ.

FEW of us find any difficulty in understanding how it comes to pass that our intelligent fellow subjects, the Buddhist monks of Ceylon, Burma and Darjeeling, believe in the truth of the pious legends which constitute the biography of Gautama, son of the virgin Māyā. They see clearly with the eyes of faith, and can dispense with the uncertain guidance of human evidence. But it is less easy to comprehend why Western students accept this monastic hero as a historical character, instead of relegating him to a place in the world of fiction, with Hercules and Bacchus, with Romulus and Numa, or rather with the twenty-four earlier Buddhas by whom, according to the monks, he was preceded. The reason given by Monier Williams, that "it is more easy to believe than to disbelieve," will not satisfy all; there are many people in these days to whom the one frame of mind is as natural as the other, and who, in such matters, are entirely guided by the evidence. These will ask who first told the tale? Are they persons in whom we can trust? How long after the event was their account of it recorded? Had they any interest in inventing the story? And is the legend itself credible, or does it bear the unmistakable stamp of fiction?

It will be readily granted that all our knowledge of Gautama Buddhā is derived from the monks who wrote the canonical books, and, in an earlier age, instructed the Emperor, Asoka. Hindu literature knows nothing of the "great hero," or of his reputed father, King Suddhodana, or of his eighty-two thousand ancestors, each of whom, we are asked to believe, reigned in turn over the kingdom of Kapilavastu. The Greeks who visited India as conquerors or ambassadors,* are silent on the subject of this story, though, from its nature, it was well calculated to make an impression on their lively intellects.

Now, the Buddhist monks of those days, like their successors whom we meet now, possessed many excellent qualities. They were charitable to all who suffered, self-denying, spiritual, devoted to their order; but their greatest admirers must own that, as historians, they are unworthy even of the slightest credit. The general reader has considerable experience in the field of fiction; accustomed in boyhood to classic myths, he has wondered at the gift of invention bestowed by Shakespear on Falstaff; he has followed the adventures of Gulliver and the feats of Baron Munchausen; but such a course of reading is only a preparation for the study of the works with which we have been favoured by the canonical writers of Buddhism.

There is an audacity in their style which might have excited the envy of Swift; their narratives, which purport to be most strictly historical, flow smoothly in a deep stream of uninterrupted fiction. They imagine thousands of kings, queens, saints, monsters, gods or spirits, and give the most circumstantial account of the action of these characters. For instance, they must necessarily have invented the eighty-two thousand predecessors of Gautama's reputed father on the throne of Kapilavastu; the history of the twenty-four Buddhas by whom his history on earth was anticipated, and the detailed account of his five hundred and fifty previous incarnations, which form part of the creed; also nearly every circumstance of his final life, as each act of his is a miracle, credible only by those who believe his faith. Even in relating events in historical times, which they could describe accurately were they so minded, they cannot refrain from statements such as those in the Mahawonsa, that elks and wild hog hurried of their own accord to king Asoka's kitchen, to grace his inaugural banquet with their flesh; that his grain was brought by dutiful parrots, and husked by admiring mice. They cannot be accused of falsehood, as it never occurred to them to tell the truth; their object was not accuracy, but edification; and, when they make a statement, we should infer, not that they considered it correct (which would be unworthy of their intelligence), but that they thought the hearer would be the better for believing it.

In enquiring what interval elapsed between the era in which the life of Gautama has been placed, and the first mention of him in any written record, we are on the treacherous ground of disputed scholarship. According to the latest authority, Mr. Monier Williams, "we shall not be far wrong" in asserting that the date of the saint's alleged birth was 500 B. C., and the earliest ascertained use of letters in India was in the Emperor Asoka's inscriptions, 260 B. C. Before that reign nothing can have been written about Gautama, because the art of writing was then unknown in India, as is clearly proved by the testimony of the Greeks. Asoka's inscriptions show that in his time the precepts of the Buddhist religion were attributed to a single teacher, called the Divine Buddha, and the White Elephant. About 85 B. C., the Buddhist canon was first reduced to writing. In its original form it gives us very little information about Gautama, except that he was the founder of the creed. The details which constitute the life, were added subsequently. Putting these aside, as recorded so long after the event that they are altogether unworthy of discussion, we have the fact that two centuries elapsed between the origin of Buddhism and the first written statement that the creed was devised by one man. During the interval the story must have been preserved

by the oral tradition of monks, whose habit it was to relate, not what happened, but what, had it happened, would have been for the honour of the ruler, and the edification of the laity. Now, can truth live for two centuries from mouth to mouth? Can it so live when each narrator has the habit of falsification? Few questions have been investigated by so many competent judges, in different countries, with reference to distinct data; and in every instance the conclusion has been the same. It has been found, always and everywhere, that statements of this class deserve no credit whatever; that they do not contain even a residuum of truth, distinguishable as such. Greece, Rome, England, France, Germany, and most other countries, had traditions as to their history before the era of letters, and the kings and devout men who made that period illustrious; but in no single instance have these been trusted. The Greeks, for instance, had very exceptional advantages for preserving the truth without the aid of writing. The historical and critical faculties were strongly developed among them, as shown by the accuracy of their later historians, and, in their exquisite poetry, so easily committed to memory, they possessed a medium by which generation could communicate with generation by oral tradition alone. Their municipal, tribal and family genealogies, in which they took great pride, gave them a special interest in biographical history. And yet, as Grote has conclusively shown, they failed to preserve a trustworthy account of any person who lived before the introduction of letters. In the same way Beaufort has made manifest the fictitious character of the early Roman Kings, despite their matter of fact appearance. Rowland and Oliver, King Lear and King Arthur, have been dismissed to the realm of shades by critics less distinguished, or rather by the very introduction of criticism. It has been established by a very wide induction, that biography, even of the simplest kind, cannot be preserved for many years by the illiterate. Truth of this class lives but for a very short period. To survive for generations by mere repetition, a tale must be nicely adjusted to the public taste; in this particular it must excel the thousand and one competing stories which contend with it for the attention of mankind. This special adaptation is only obtained by the happiest efforts of gifted authors; it can be found but rarely and by accident in narratives of actual occurrences. The common-place history of real events is thus rapidly superseded by fictions, generally of a supernatural and even of a grotesque character, suitable to the taste of an ignorant age. And if some poor fragment of true history is preserved by incorporation in such legends, it is not true to us, inasmuch as we cannot distinguish it from the vast mass of extraneous matter in which it is embedded. This

rule is of universal application ; but it is specially appropriate to oral traditions preserved by Buddhist monks, for the honour of their order. Their wide organisation gives them more power than isolated bards for the circulation of false history ; their disposition to avail themselves of this power is proved in every page of their writings, and their motive for so doing in the present case is only too apparent.

Reasoning of this kind would lose none of its force, were the Buddhist legend in itself as probable as the story of Becky Sharp's schemes, or that of Major Dalgetty's campaign. It bears, on the contrary, the broad stamp of the Indian imagination. When Buddha resolved (the tale runs) to become incarnate for the last time, he quitted heaven in a celestial chariot, dragged by four divine kings, and guarded by the God Indra, at the head of some millions of angels. He took the form of a white elephant, with gold tusks, and a head that shone like a ruby ; in this shape he entered the body of the Virgin Mâyâ on the right side, and, after the due period, made his exit on the left, as an ordinary baby. He passed as the son of her nominal husband, Suddhodana, the rich and noble king of Kapilavastu. At eight years of age the future Buddha was found to possess an intuitive knowledge of all learning ; as a young man, he outdid the athletic feats of all heroes of fiction ; for instance, he used a bow, which no other man could even lift, and with it sent an arrow at twelve miles through seven palm trees and a variety of other obstacles. The putative son of a king who desired to resign in his favor, married to a beautiful wife, blessed with children, and living in whatever luxury Hindu imagination could depict, he renounced all the pleasures of the world, to embrace the spiritual life, to which he had been called by a succession of miracles. He was tempted in his retreat by the devil and the devil's daughters, sent to earth for the purpose. Triumphant over these assaults, he tried successively the two Hindu systems of the time, that of the orthodox Brahmans, and that of the ascetics, without finding rest in either ; and therefore he established a new order of monks, proved by a thousand prodigies to be sacred, or rather divine. Within five months from the commencement of his mission, he converted his royal father and the neighbouring king of Magadha, with their attendants and subjects. He lived long enough to consecrate by his presence all the spots frequented in after days by his followers, and died in the utterance of the most virtuous sentiments. His relics are yet shown, a tooth (which to profane eyes is that of an elephant), a foot-print, and so forth, all corresponding with his stature, which was eighteen feet.

It is, of course, impossible for any one, not a Buddhist, to

accept this legend as it stands. The imperfect believer has to grant that the monks invented the greater part of the drama and of the characters acting in it, the previous incarnations of Buddha, as man and beast, his putative father's eighty two thousand predecessors, his chariot with its attendant spirits, the elephant, the virginity of Máya, twelve feet of the saint's stature, his precocious knowledge, his wonderful feats of arms, his visions, prophecies, and miracles generally. When all this is rejected, what remains? The somewhat bald statement, that the creed was founded by one man, a crown prince, who left a throne for a hermit's cell, and tried the existing systems before establishing a new religion. But even these poor fragments of a story which, when left complete, is excellent of its kind, are precisely what monks given to fiction would naturally invent for the honour of their order. The laws of successful fiction require that the origin of so great a power should be attributed to a single founder; in the world of legends every Rome should have its Romulus. The advantage of tracing all doctrine to one teacher is so decisive, that any other account of the development of a religion must give way, or the religion itself must yield to rivals which conform in this respect to the required standard. The oldest, perhaps, of Buddhist monuments, the Stupa of Bharat, created, perhaps, about 250 B. C., and the most ancient litanies of Nepal, suggest that originally there were seven Buddhas, of whom Siddartha was the last, and presumably the least. If this description of the foundation of the creed had been adhered to, the Buddhist monks might have remained in their jungles until superseded by Hindu ascetics of some newer type; it was only when the six earlier phantoms were practically withdrawn, that human interest could be aroused for the seventh. A single founder once accepted, it followed that he should be represented as belonging to the highest rank, gifted with all that can grace royal station; in his own person, with youth, strength and beauty, in his surroundings, with wealth, and luxury. For the main claim of the monks to respect was that they had renounced worldly pleasures, and it was obviously necessary that their founder should make this renunciation on the grandest scale. His trial of the two rival religions was a dramatic device for exposing the weak points of opponents; the temptations in the forest are incidental to all legendary accounts of the hermit's spiritual progress. The legend, in short, contains nothing which appears real; nothing which was not required for effect. Its very success is a proof that it was composed to meet the taste of believers. All who have resided in Buddhist countries can bear witness that the laity, to whom that religion assigns a very subordinate place, are reconciled

to the creed by this legend alone. A few Europeans of eccentric views may be attracted by the impudent claim of the Arhats to supernatural powers; the monks of the yellow robe may have a real love for its involved dogmas; but the ordinary Burmese in Thibet care for none of these things. He simply worships the placid, gigantic Buddha, scenes from whose life form his only artistic or literary studies. Many legends have had similar success; but, true religion apart, has any tale of real life ever aroused such interest?

In order to apprehend this view of the subject, it is necessary to understand that Buddhism is a religion of monks, with which laymen have very little to do. According to its tenets, beatitude, or *nirvana*, can be obtained only by members of the great order; all that good laymen can hope for is that, after death, they may be reborn to become monks, and thus approach heaven by the only open gate. In practice, religious life is confined to the monasteries, men of the world being required only to abstain from crime, and to fill the mendicant's bowl. In Thibet the monks actually govern the country, with such assistance from the Emperor of China as the third Napoleon gave to Pius the Ninth at Rome. The same description applies, with some modification, to Bhutan. In Burma they constitute the only recognised aristocracy; everywhere they are powerful and opulent. Their spiritual pride was at first satisfied with the second place in the universe; claiming for their saints superiority over all other gods, they yet worshipped a supreme being. But afterwards this appeared too little, and the great majority of Buddhists now hold with the doctrines of the Great Vehicle, that there is no God greater than their best monks. It will be readily understood that an order thus powerful and proud has a strong motive for claiming an illustrious founder, and special facilities for fabricating his biography.

The consideration most frequently dwelt on by those who give credit to the legend, is that the Buddhists teach excellent moral truths, which they must have learned from some one man of extraordinary gifts, the founder of the faith. It is thus assumed that in morality the highest eminence can be obtained by the efforts of a single individual without assistance, but not by the cumulative labors of a number of devout men, working together, or in succession. We might as reasonably maintain that the steam engine, in its present perfect form, must necessarily have been invented by a single engineer, or that the first Italian architect must have designed St. Peter's. Excellence of any kind is attained, not at a bound, but by the slow and painful efforts of many men, each going a little beyond his predecessor, to be himself excelled by his own disciples,

• And it is a fact most significant for our purpose, that all the Buddhist doctrines, including those which are most admired, are precisely such as would naturally be elaborated by the monks of the yellow robe, while they are most unsuitably placed in the mouth of their alleged author. It is to be remembered that all hermits are not formed on the model of Friar Tuck. Even in the days when recruits are drawn to the monasteries by so many worldly motives, the faces of many Buddhist monks bear clearly impressed the stamp of sweetness, holiness, and exalted thought. Before the religion was established by Asoka, those who sought the forests to lead a spiritual life in the shade of sacred trees, in union with each other and with God, will have been the most devout of the devout Hindu race. The morality devised by such men might be impracticable; it might be imperfect; but it could not fail to be striking and exalted. They taught the milder virtues, each in its highest degree; charity to all created things, forgiveness of the most cruel injuries, mortification of the flesh by fasting, voluntary poverty, perpetual chastity, entire obedience to a religious superior, continued meditation on divine subjects. We may well be surprised that such precepts were preached with earnestness and success before the Christian era; but, the fact once realised, why should we be astonished to find that the authors were recluses of a religious fraternity? Charity to men would commend itself to a brotherhood including persons of every caste, and subsisting on the gifts of all. The extension of a similar regard to animals is a logical consequence of the doctrine of metempsychosis, and would be drawn most readily by those devoted to abstract speculation. The form of charity most strongly recommended is that of alms to religious mendicants, that is, to the monks themselves. They tell how Buddha set an example in this matter when, in a previous incarnation, his spirit animated the form of a hare. A pilgrim then asked him for alms, and, having nothing else to give, the excellent hare gave himself to be eaten for supper, considerably arranging to spare the traveller the guilt of taking life by jumping into the cooking pot unassisted. Did the monks need a prince to teach them the excellence of this virtue? The forgiveness of injuries, difficult as it is to all, must be least repugnant to hermits, because they seldom have much to resent, and because they want the weapons of revenge, perhaps also the habits and disposition which tempt more violent natures to that crime. The renunciation of marriage, and of practices which make celibacy odious, is proved by experience to be a necessary condition of success for all religious orders; mendicancy, fasting, discipline and meditation are the usual ordinances of such

associations. On the other hand, a member of the Rajput caste, which holds fighting and hunting as its special vocation, a giant, a great archer, the crown prince of a flourishing kingdom, would be about the last person to discover and preach the excellence of these monastic virtues. The same train of reasoning applies to the abolition of caste distinctions, and of the ceremonial observances of the Brahmins, for which Buddhism has been much praised. Such a revelation would hardly commend itself to a Rajput, while to a dominant order, jealous of all distinctions except that by which its members were exalted, the doctrine was quite unavoidable.

Turning now to points on which the Buddhist moralists do themselves less credit, we find that they altogether ignore the virtues by which States are maintained in strength and independence, patriotism, courage, public justice, love of freedom. They depreciate industry by representing its fruits as indifferent or sinful; they represent family ties as bonds of the flesh, to be cast aside by all who seek salvation. The cause of truth is more injured by their example than promoted by their maxims. As a natural result of a training defective on this side, the Buddhists, after overcoming their opponents while the controversy was conducted with theological weapons, were vanquished, and altogether expelled from India, as soon as the issue was put to the arbitrament of the sword. The countries receiving the faith, when it was banished from its home—China, Ceylon and Burma—were never afterwards distinguished in military history. They have been conquered without much difficulty, and held in subjection with ease. All this is readily understood on the supposition that the system was devised by recluses, acquainted only with the morality required in the monastery. A Rajput prince would be less likely to overlook the qualities most proper to his caste and rank; he would have felt that without them his father's kingdom could not secure prosperity in peace, or escape disgrace in war.

An examination of Buddhist dogmas leads to the same result: they are such as a community of monks would naturally devise, and a Rajput prince would never think of, unless they were forced on his attention from without. The assumption that life is miserable, forms the basis of the whole system. This principle has been applied in great detail, and is deeply impressed on every disciple. The corollary is drawn that the object of all our endeavours should be to escape from existence, in its endless sequence of birth, death and re-birth in another form, to the happy repose of "nirvana." Now this is evidently the doctrine of the monastery. The recluse has fled from the outer world precisely because he was unhappy there, and, true religion

being absent, he can seldom find his case improved by the adoption of a joyless, monotonous, loveless routine. To him pessimism is an inevitable conclusion. It was a happy thought to attribute the authorship of this distinctively monastic dogma to one living in the enjoyment of youth, love, health and success. By doing so the Buddhist writers gained all the advantage of a dramatic contrast. But they must have felt that it would be difficult to induce others to accept the fair paternity they claimed for their own dark offspring; for they thought it necessary to invent a number of miracles to make Gautama Buddha believe life miserable at a time when he was perfectly happy. Those who credit the four supernatural visions, may accept a gay prince as the original pessimist; to the outer world no conjecture will appear less probable. And how are we instructed to escape the misery of existence? By entering the great order, a precept which only too plainly betrays its own origin.

The minor dogmas imputed to the great founder are too numerous for discussion here; but it may be said that they all smell of the cloister. They are abstruse, elaborate, formed to exercise the ingenuity of experts, and the memory of novices. Nothing can resemble less the bold, consistent conceptions to be expected from a single author establishing a new creed. Such a person, even if more given to speculation than is probable in the case of a Rajput prince, would scarcely have devised the mysteries of the two principles, united in *sangha*, the trinity of earth, the trinity of heaven, the four stages of conversion, the five moral forces, the six transcendent virtues, the seven jewels of the law, the eightfold path, the nine prayers, the ten fetters of existence, the eleven gates of the soul, the twelve-fold chain of causation, the numerous hells and heavens, with their various occupants: saints, monsters, gods, demons and Buddhas yet unborn.

The conclusion suggested by these considerations is that the Buddhist religion was not devised by a single man, a gifted young prince of the warrior caste, but by the recluses or monks who first preached it, and their predecessors in the great order. At the dawn of Indian history, that is to say, on the discovery of the art of writing, we find the faith in their exclusive possession; Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador to Chandra-gupta at Patna, then the centre of the creed, knew of it only as the special doctrine of hermits, hostile to the Brahmins, and this just two generations before its establishment by that monarch's grandson as the State religion. It bears every possible mark of having been developed among such persons, the internal evidence on this point being really overwhelming; and, on the other hand, no trace can be discovered

in it of the romantic origin related in the legend. It is true that the monks themselves told a different story ; but then they could not possibly know the truth, as their statements related to a period too long before the introduction of letters. Moreover, they were men who never by any chance recounted facts as they occurred, their object being not historical accuracy, but the edification of the faithful, and the conversion of the sinner. The legend itself is such as would almost inevitably have grown up among them, being precisely the account of the origin of their Order most calculated to flatter their pride and do them good. The story, indeed, possesses a kind of truth, being true to human desires, to the conditions of success in religious preaching, and to the laws of fiction, as they apply in the far East. This was the only species of truth which its original expounders cared for, or ever attained, and it is vain to seek in their writings for veracity of a different description. Edwin Arnold has done well in making the tale the subject of his charming poem ; like the author of the *Lays of Ancient Rome*, he thus restored the compositions of early authors to their most suitable and perhaps to their original form. Those learned commentators deserve less praise who curtail the legend of its fair proportions, by striking out whatever is most characteristic, because most incredible, to present the poor remains as genuine history.

P. NOLAN.

ART. II.—THE INFLUENCE OF NATIONAL SENTIMENT ON MUHAMMAD.

"If God had pleased, He had surely made you all one people ; but He would test you by what He hath given to each. Be emulous, then, in good deeds. To God shall ye all return, and He will tell you concerning the subject of your disputes."—Sura V. 53.

"Verily they who believe, and the Jews and the Sabeites and the Christians—whosoever of them believeth in God and in the last day, and doth what is right, on them shall come no fear, neither shall they be put to grief."—Sura V. 73.

MUHAMMAD was not, at all times, consistent with himself in his estimate of the relation of Islam to Christianity and Judaism. These verses show that in his mind there was no essential difference between all these religions. Later on in life, Muhammad departed from this conclusion. How is the discrepancy to be accounted for? Was the earlier favour shown to Christianity a crafty subterfuge, or did the belief in the superior excellence of Islam gradually develop itself in Muhammad's mind? For the purposes of this article I assume the latter to be the correct solution.

The relation of one religion to another may be co-ordinate or subordinate. In the former relation, the difference is only as regards non-essentials, and the final results of both are the same; in the latter relation, one religion is deemed temporary and preparatory to the other. Whether Muhammad, at first, looked upon Islam as simply co-ordinate with Christianity, and then, after a time, looked upon it as absolutely superior, is a subject on which there may be much diversity of opinion. On the whole, the co-ordinate theory best accounts for the facts of the case, which plainly show that, in the mind of the Prophet, the conception of the subordinate position of Christianity was one of gradual growth. It is also consistent with a very powerful factor in the inception of Islam—the influence of the political situation of Arabia, and of the national sentiment on Muhammad, and the skilful way in which, for a special purpose, he used the patriotic feelings of his fellow countrymen.

In the days of his youth Arabia was seeking freedom from the rule and control of the neighbouring powers. Until the end of the 6th century, many Arabs were subject to the Abyssinians, the Persians and the Romans. In the year 525 A. D., the Abyssinians had gained a great victory in the province of Yemen. Abraha, afterwards one of the Abyssinian rulers in that part of Arabia, was a zealous Christian, who endeavoured to follow up the secular by spiritual conquests. A magnificent cathedral was erected, and an effort was made

to attract the members of the various Arab tribes from Mecca and the Kaaba to this new shrine at Sana. This enraged the Meccans, who soon after utterly defeated an Abyssinian army sent against them. The people of Yemen, finding the power of their oppressors thus broken, turned to Persia for further aid; but it resulted simply in a change of masters; for, though the King of Persia appointed an Arab ruler of Yemen, he yet retained him only as a vassal. Still, the Arabs rejoiced at this seeming improvement, and Abd-al-Muttalib, the grandfather of Muhammad, was one of many persons of distinction who went to Yemen to express their joy. In the province of Hira the power of the Persians was very strong. It was not broken till the year 611 A. D., just after Muhammad had entered on his prophetic career. This part of Arabia then became free. In the year 610 A. D., the Roman Emperor Herodius sent Othman, formerly a Hanif, and now a Christian convert, to Mecca, as Governor of the city. Othman tried hard to win the Meccans to Rome but failed. His claims were rejected and he fled, leaving Mecca free from all foreign control. It must, however, be borne in mind that, at that time, there was no strong central Government in Mecca. If the majority of the tribes united in any matter, that decision, for the time being, became the law. There was no recognised head—no popular exponent of the national will, no guarantee that the decisions of to-day would be acceptable to-morrow. This disunion amongst the Arab people had allowed foreign States to encroach on Arab territory, and, directly or indirectly, to do as they liked. Abyssinia, Persia, Rome had thus ruled in Arabia. Now, with the defeat of the Abyssinians and the Persians and the failure of Othman's mission, it seemed as if the period of subjection would pass away. The national spirit was stirred. The division of the Arabs into hostile tribes, the want of brotherly union and national cohesion, had hitherto prevented any effective steps from being taken towards the achievement of national freedom. It is to Muhammad that the credit of changing all this is due. He united the Arab people; he broke the yoke of all oppressors, and made them strong, not only to resist, but to conquer, their ancient foes.

In that age a national movement, to be permanent and effective, required a religious basis; a strong central Government needed the support which only the impress of a religious character could give. The Arab religion centred in Mecca and the Kaaba, a temple of high antiquity; but the old idolatrous system had failed to unite its votaries. Still the national sentiment was too strong to be lightly set aside, when it could, if judiciously used, support a new system of religion which would bring national unity and strength with it. This was

the plan Muhammad followed, for he sought to make Arabia united and strong. The existing worship of the Kaaba was, as a whole, discarded, on account of its idolatry; but the people were much attached to it, and there seemed little hope of gaining them over to Islam, unless concessions were made in the case of some of their time-honoured institutions. In fact, all essential parts of the ancient ceremonial were interwoven with the reformed faith, and so the national sentiment was conserved and used. The rejection of idolatry was a less difficult thing than, at first sight, it seems. Whole tribes of Arabs were under the influence of Judaism. A form of Christianity prevailed in other parts. The idea of worshipping one God, instead of many, was by no means unfamiliar to the Arab people. Above all, there were in Mecca itself many thoughtful Arabs who utterly abhorred the prevailing polytheism, and who asserted that they followed the example of Abraham when he turned from idols to God, and that they, therefore, held the faith of Abraham. These Hanifs, or separatists, as they were called, sceptics as regards the national faith, were all strong nationalists and devout religious men. The idea of the appearance of an Arab prophet was familiar to the people in those days. Omaia, a celebrated poet of Taif, had a desire to occupy that position, because he had somewhere read that a prophet was to rise up from amongst the Arabs. When Muhammad proclaimed his mission, people said to Omaia: "This is he of whom thou didst speak and whom thou didst expect." But he replied, "I hoped to have been chosen myself."

Thus the time was ripe for a change. In the midst of this longing for national liberty, this striving, on the part of a little band of worthy men, for greater purity in religion, Muhammad's early manhood was spent. All that was now needed was a leader, who, in order to call into existence political union, should possess central authority, and thus command submission from independent tribes, now mutually jealous and suspicious. As the nearest approach to any thing like a national sentiment was connected with the temple of Mecca, it seemed that the traditional religion, purged of its polytheism, reformed and purified, would afford the best ground of hope for national political unity. The Hanifs, doubtless, desired such a union on such a basis. It is true that the more spiritually minded amongst them were less influenced by political motives, and were content to remain as simple seekers after truth; but the majority, apparently, allowed the temporal aspirations to precede the eternal, and let the national political sentiment confuse their spiritual insight to such an extent that they made a compromise with the old idolatry. They felt, and

so did Muhammad, that the plan most likely, under the circumstances, to succeed, was to combine some superior religious truth with such a recognition of the sacredness of the Kaaba as would conserve as much as possible of the old Arab faith. This would bring in the largest number of adherents, and thus set forward most effectually the unity of the nation. Some of the Hanifs were not prepared to go so far. Waraka, Othman, Obéidallah refused to accept any compromise with idolatry, and all joined the Christian Church. The reform proposed needed the support of a special revelation, and this accounts for Gabriel and the Quran; it needed, in order to become national, the support of the Kaaba, and this accounts for the Meccan pilgrimage of to-day.

Thus, the first conception of Muhammad seems to have been to found a national religion, a religion for the Arab people, which would unite them and thus enable them to resist their surrounding enemies. The idea of making Islam a universal religion is a later one; it grew as the political power of its head increased, and as conquests extended its power over its enemies.

Muhammad rightly judged that a religion requires some historical basis; so Islam is not represented as something new, but as a revival of an ancient and well nigh forgotten faith. Christians and Jews were both known in Arabia: both venerated the patriarch Abraham. To him Muhammad also turned with becoming reverence. He appealed to previous scriptures, and maintained that his mission was to purify the faith. It is assumed that the Jews and Christians corrupted their sacred books, in order to destroy all prophesies of his coming as a prophet. The old and new Testaments are spoken of with reverence. The Quran is said to be a 'confirmation' of them, not a supplanter. Thus: "O children of Israel. . . . I will be true to my covenant with you; me, therefore, reverence, and believe in what I have sent down *confirming your scriptures*." Sura ii, 38. "Whoso is the enemy of Gabriel, for he it is who hath caused the Quran to descend on thy heart, the *confirmation of previous revelations*." Sura ii, 91, "and when there came to them an apostle from God, *affirming the previous revelations made to them*." Sura ii, 95. "And to thee have we sent down the book of the Quran with truth, *confirmatory of previous scriptures and their safeguard*." Sura v. 52. "Say, O ye people of the book, ye do not stand upon any sure ground until ye *set up the Law and the Gospel*, as well as that which hath come down to you from your Lord" (*i. e.* Quran) Sura v, 68.

These and similar passages seem to show that, at first, Muhammad looked upon Christianity as co-ordinate with Islam, which was a witness and a safeguard of the Christian

Scriptures. The old Testament is, therefore, called a direction and a light; the Gospel guidance and light. The Quran was announced as concurrent with previous revelations, as an attestation in the Arabic tongue of what had gone before. The Quran was thus "auxiliary in its object and local in its action." Salvation was not confined to Islam. "Say, in whatsoever books God hath sent down do I believe; I am commanded to decide justly between you: God is your Lord and our Lord: we have our works, and you have your works: between us and you let there be no strife: God will make us all one, and to Him shall we return." Sura xlii, 14. This is a Meccan Sura, and therefore an early one.

The fact of a difference between the religions is admitted, but no superiority is claimed for Islam on this account. It is said to be beyond the power of man to alter this diversity, and beyond the province of man to blame it, for it is due to the decree of God. "Say the Jews and Christians, 'Sons of God are we and His beloved.' Say 'why then doth He chastise you for your sins?' Nay, ye are but a part of the men whom He hath created. He will pardon whom He pleaseth and chastise whom He pleaseth, and with God is the sovereignty of the heavens and of the earth and of all that is between them, and unto Him shall all things return." Sura v, 21. The people of the book may know that they have no control over aught of the favours of God, and that these gifts of grace are in the hands of God, and that He vouchsafeth them to whom He wills." Sura lvii, 29.

These verses clearly show that Christianity was then looked upon as a co-ordinate, not as a subordinate, religion. Islam could not, however, remain at this stage. The mind of Muhammad gradually gave up the co-ordinate idea, and, in his view, the future of Islam began to pass from the stage of a national, to that of a universal, religion. Then came the conclusion that Islam was to supersede all other religions, and that the Quran was to take the place of all previous scriptures. This is proved by such verses as:—"O Believers! take not the Jews and Christians as friends. They are but one another's friends. If any one of you taketh them as his friends, he surely is one of them! God will not guide the evil doers." Sura v. 56. "Let not believers take infidels for their friends rather than believers: whoso shall do this thing hath nothing to hope for from God." Sura iii, 27. The fierce denunciations of the ninth Sura show plainly that Muhammad's final conclusion was that Christianity was subordinate to Islam. "Kill those who join other gods with God, wherever you shall find them." This famous "verse of the sword," as it is called, is held by good authorities amongst Muslim commentators to have

abrogated the verse ; "Dispute not, save in kindly sort, with the people of the book, save with such of them as have dealt wrongfully with you : and say ye, 'we believe in that which hath been sent down to us, and hath been sent down to you. Our God and your God is one, and to Him are we self-surrendered.'" Sura xxix, 45.

It would seem that Muhammad found great difficulty in making up his mind on this important subject. At one time it looks as if he desired to establish a national monotheistic religion in Arabia, and then he tolerated Christianity. But gradually he appears to have realised the possibility of a wider influence for his monotheistic creed, and the national Prophet then claimed to be an universal one. The co-ordinate relation of Christianity to Islam gave way to that of the subordinate one. Muhammad now becomes the seal of the Prophets, the Quran is declared to be eternal ; all other scriptures temporal, and all other dispensations preparatory. This confused and doubting state of mind is, in part, accounted for, if we admit that a worthy national pride, and a true patriotic sentiment had a part in the shaping of Islam. Paganism knows only national religions and reveres national gods. Muhammad, after a long mental conflict, came into a clearer spiritual atmosphere, and had some grasp of higher spiritual truth ; but it does not necessarily follow that all the influence of his environment, all the accumulated force of centuries of national sentiment, had no effect on him or on his work. In fact, he never did get rid of one of the strongest elements of national faith—the mixing of politics with religion. It may be that the circumstances in which he was placed compelled him to take the course he did ; still, it is quite consistent with his conception of Islam as a national religion, for the benefit of the Arab people, that he should become the Ruler in the Church and in the State, and that his successors, the Khalifs, should be found only in the descendants of his own tribe, the powerful and influential family of the Koreish. All this impresses a distinctly Arabian stamp upon his work. The Kaaba is still the temple of Islam, circumcision is its initial ceremony, and Arabic is the sacred language of its scripture and the medium of its worship. The Haj, an old heathen custom, is still retained as one of the duties of a good Muslim.

The influence of the national spirit in Islam explains how it came to be spread by the sword. To accept Muhammad as a prophet in the religious sense, and to subject oneself to his political power, were actions most closely allied. Thus, this national religion fostered, at last, the claim for universal rule. Still, Islam has imposed on all conquered peoples the customs, laws, and religion of Arabia as Muhammad made it. It

has never been able to cast off this limited national idea, which, influential in its inception, powerfully aided its early progress amongst discordant Arab tribes, but which has proved to be its weakness ever since, and is now a positive hindrance to real and needed reforms within it. It was then, and is now, a religion of the letter and not of the spirit, and "the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life" (2 Cor. iii. 6). Christianity took just the opposite course. It quickly freed itself from the narrow limitations of Judaism. Jewish ceremonies and circumcision it left behind in Palestine. It gave up the letter to live in the spirit. It never aimed to be a national religion, and so became naturally a universal one. Thus it can flourish under all forms of civil Government, for it is dependent on none. It exists independently of the State, and survives all forms of political organisation. Lord Houghton has well expressed the distinction in the following verses :—

Muhammad's Truth lay in a holy book,
 Christ's in a sacred life,
 So while the world rolls on from age to age
 And realms of thought expand,
 The letter stands, without expanse or range,
 Stiff as a dead man's hand.
 While, as the life blood fills the growing form,
 The spirit Christ has shed
 Flows through the ripening ages fresh and warm
 More felt than heard or read.
 And, therefore, though ancestral sympathies
 And closest ties of race
 May guard Muhammad's precepts and decrees
 Through many a tract of space,
 Yet in the end the light drawn line must break,
 The sapless tree must fall,
 Nor let the form one time did well to take
 Be tyrant over all.

Again, a national religion is restricted ; it necessarily becomes involved in politics ; its morality is generally of a low order. National views of virtue, duty, and justice, which are generally of a limited character, get impressed on a religion which is based on national sentiment, and which originally received much of its strength from that source. The national gods represent the best the nation is acquainted with. A similar state of things is found in Islam. Universal philanthropy is not inculcated. The love of Muslims is for Muslims. At first, it was a limited tribal feeling, and when it extended to the people of other nations, it was only given to them after they had embraced the national faith of Arabia. The morality of Islam in this nineteenth century is the morality of the Moham-madan Arabia of the seventh. Muhammad himself is not the ideal embodiment of a 'Son of Man,' one common to all

humanity; he is not the ideal of a lofty ethical standard; he is the ideal of the national standard of ethics as he regulated it in his own day. He fulfilled the moral requirements of a perfect Arab, but the embodiment of a national character fails as an ideal for all men. It is too limited.

Another proof to show that Muhammad, at first, looked upon Islam as co-ordinate with other religions, is derived from the fact that some of its most distinctive rites were not fixed until he had become a political ruler. It was after the flight from Mecca to Medina, and after all hope of winning over the Jews to his side, was gone, that the Qibla was changed from Jerusalem to Mecca; that the observance of the Ramazan fast was commanded, in supersession of the Jewish Fast of the Atonement, which Muhammad had at first adopted; that, in the 'Id-ul-Zoha, Jewish sacrificial ceremonies, hitherto used, were discarded, and the ritual was brought into closer accord with the ceremonial usages of the Kaaba at Mecca, and that the Haj, as a Muslim duty, was instituted. "The pilgrimage to the temple is a service due to God from those who are able to journey thither" Sura iii, 91. At this stage the object and policy of Muhammad seemed to be to differentiate Islam as much as possible from Christianity and Judaism, and thus to place the latter in subordinate positions. The growth and history of Muslim dogma afford another illustration of the same truth. In the early days of his career, his teaching to a convert is thus described: "He taught him to worship one God, to return the kindness of parents, to shun every—even the most secret—crime,—not to kill any one, not to despoil the orphans, to hate lies and perjury, and to keep sacred his promise." This is quite consistent with the co-ordinate theory; but later on, as the subordinate theory began to take root in the Prophet's mind, more distinctive Islamic dogmas were taught. There was then a growing consciousness of the more extended influence of Islam, a definite deliberative working towards a fully developed and complete system which could tolerate no rival.

The conquest of Mecca placed Muhammad in a powerful position. Mecca was the spiritual centre of the kingdom, and no one could dispute his authority there. The recognition of his spiritual power involved submission to his authority in all other matters. Arabia became united under one political, religious and social constitution—all summed up in Islam. Henceforth there is no doubt at all on the question of the subordinate position of Christianity. "He it is who hath sent His Apostles with the guidance and a religion of the truth, that He may make it victorious over every other religion, albeit they who assign partners to God be averse from it." Sura ix, 33. The last clause refers to Christians especially. Muham-

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mad now extends his view and looks upon the world as the field of his operations. In the year 628 A.D., he summoned the Emperor Heraclius to repentance, submission, and confession of Islam. The King of Persia was also invited to acknowledge Muhammad's claims as a Prophet, and to accept Islam. The Roman Governor of Egypt, the King of Abyssinia, the heads of Christian tribes, were all addressed in similar peremptory terms. Islam no longer occupied a co-ordinate position with regard to other faiths. It passed from the stage when it claimed to be a national religion, and now assumed the character of a universal one; but the means employed to make it national, the principles involved in its early development, still clung to it, and prevented it then, as they will also do in the future, from successfully accomplishing that object.

The influence of the national sentiment in the inception of Islam without doubt gave it great immediate power. It certainly united the Arab tribes under Muhammad, and enabled them, as a united people, to achieve freedom and independence; but it has done lasting harm to Islam ever since. What was then its greatest strength has now become its greatest weakness; for it is thus that religion and politics are now inextricably mixed up. The constitution of a Muslim State possesses a sacred character, and thus becomes a petrified and immoveable system; and so, when Muslim States pass from the active stage of warlike aggression, and enter the circle of civilised Powers, and have to perform the duties and to develop the arts of peace, they always fail. Individual Muslims see the need of reform, but they are not responsible rulers. If a Muslim State accepted, and supported by force, the views put forth by such enlightened men, its religious basis would be weakened, antagonistic principles developed, and internal dissension would only hasten the end which most surely awaits all Muhammadan politico-religious organisations. The early strength of Islam is now its weakness. Muhammad did what seemed best in his day. He could not foresee the future. As an earnest, warm-hearted patriot, he elevated and raised Arabia religiously and politically to a higher level than that in which he found her; he made her a real direct power then, and indirectly a force ever since; but his conception of religion was too national and too narrow. It must fail to meet the needs and wants of "all sorts and conditions of men." The world has grown beyond that which met the requirements of a number of half-civilised Arabian tribes twelve hundred years ago. They, rightly or wrongly, were ruled by the letter and not by the spirit; and so that rule, strong and effective for them, as it undoubtedly was, remains too rigid and too immobile for universal application now.

ART. III—HOOGHLY, PAST AND PRESENT.

II.

The English in Hooghly.

WHILE the Portuguese were desperately contending with the Moguls in Bengal, the English, who were the first to follow them to the "gorgeous East," had gained a footing in India. In 1609 their ambassador, Hawkins, arrived at Agra,* and had the honour of an interview with Jehangir, who was highly pleased with him. The Emperor bestowed on him many favours, which induced him to prolong his stay till November 1611, when he left for England. The year following is memorable for the first settlement † made by the English in India. Hawkins was followed by Sir Thomas Roe, who landed at Surat in 1615. Early in the next year he waited upon Jehangir, by whom he was received in a manner quite becoming his position as ambassador from a powerful king. But, clever as he was, he clearly saw that his country could not expect much from a sovereign who so greatly resembled his own master, the only difference between them being that, while the one was a fool ‡ of Minerva, the other was a fool § of Venus. About the same time the Shirleys appeared as English envoys at the Court of the great Shah of Persia. Thus it is manifest that the English were very active in their endeavours to obtain a firm footing in the East, to the detriment of the Portuguese, whose power and influence were rapidly on the decline. But up to this time they had not been able to enter Bengal. This much-longed-for object was at last gained, not by the sword of the soldier, but by the lancet of the surgeon. Fortunately for them, a Princess of the Imperial family suddenly fell seriously ill. All the skill which the Court hakims possessed in the healing art had been employed in vain, when the sorrowful

* Akbar removed the seat of Government from Delhi to Agra, where he built the red-stone fort which still receives its tribute of praise from all beholders. Within the fort is Shah Jehan's *Moti-Musjid*, which, is, perhaps, the purest and loveliest house of prayer in the world. But the wonder of wonders is the *Taj Mahal*, a romance in marble, "designed by Titans and finished by jewellers." As "seats of mightiest Empire," the sublime poet of the *Paradise Lost* makes mention of "Agra and Lahore of Great Mogul."

† Surat is the Saurashtra of the Sanscrit writers. Here the Parsees also made their first settlement, on being turned out of Persia. Bishop Heber, who visited it in April 1825, described it as "a very large and ugly city."

‡ James I. was known in his time as "the wisest fool in Europe."

§ The Emperor's personal character is vividly portrayed by Sir Thomas Roe in his *Travels*. Indeed, he was an inveterate drunkard, and was led by the nose by the Empress Nur Jehan, the Helen of the East.

Emperor, in sheer despair, wrote to the English at Surat, asking them to send up a competent doctor to the Imperial Presence. Accordingly, Mr. Gabriel Boughton, of the London Company's ship *Hopewell*, who was the best man available on the occasion, was readily deputed to the Imperial camp, and, as good fortune would have it, he succeeded in effecting the cure of the Princess in a comparatively short time.

Shah Jehan was highly pleased with him and asked him to name his reward. Boughton could have made a fortune for life; but, preferring the good of his country to his own, he begged that the English might be permitted to establish a factory in Bengal and to trade in it free of duty. The prayer was no sooner made than it was granted by the grateful Emperor; and Piplee, near Baleswar, was the place fixed upon for the factory. There, in the year 1634, the English anchored their first ship. Boughton, who had come across the country with the Imperial firman, purchased a cargo without difficulty. All this took place during the Viceroyalty of Ajim Khan, who had succeeded Kasim Khan, and who ruled Bengal till 1637. But the trading privilege thus granted to the "Jan Kompani," as they were quaintly called, was very restricted, inasmuch as their vessels were prohibited from entering any other port than Piplee.

Their affairs continued in this state till 1639, when the same Doctor Boughton, by another successful cure in the viceregal court of Shah Sujah at Rajmahal,* obtained for his countrymen permission to establish a factory at Hooghly. No sooner was the privilege granted than it was availed of, and a factory was built, after the manner of the Portuguese, whose place the English occupied after an interval of only a few years. But, though they were allowed to build a factory, they were not permitted to approach it with their ships, but were constrained to anchor them further down, near the mouths of the river, and to bring up and send down all their cargo in sloops. Shah Sujah ruled Bengal for nearly twenty years, and his rule was one of unusual prosperity, not a little of which was owing to European trade. Sujah, who had such a sad end, was succeeded by that remarkable man, Mir Jumla, whose high military talents had been of immense service to Aurungzebe in his struggle for the throne of Delhi. This Viceroy removed the seat of Government again to Dacca, and engaged in a series of warlike operations which well-nigh engrossed his whole attention. Thus

* Rajmahal stands on the confines of Hindustan, separating it from Bengal Proper. It was once a very splendid city. Among its ruins, which, like those of Gour, are of great interest to the antiquarian, the most important are those of Shah Sujah's palace, built in 1640.

he fought on, like a veritable son of Mars, till 1663, when he breathed his last on his way back to his capital.

Mir Jumla was succeeded by Shaista Khan, who was the nephew of the celebrated Nur Jehan. Shaista Khan's administration was long, for, barring a break of about three years, he governed Bengal from 1663 to 1689. During the first period* of his rule, European commerce made great progress. In the year of his accession to the government, the English East India Company placed their factories in Bengal under the control of Madras† and established out-factories at Baleswar and Kasim Bazar. Their first manager was Marshall, probably the first Sanscrit scholar among the Englishmen. It has been already stated that the English, though they had been allowed to build a factory at Hooghly, were not permitted to approach it with their ships. This being found very inconvenient, they petitioned Shaista Khan for permission to proceed in their ships at once to their factory, and the good Governor granted it in 1668. A number of pilots having become necessary for the purpose, the Court of Directors‡ gave orders, and thus the present pilot establishment originated.

But it was not the English alone who benefited by the rule of Shaista Khan; three other European nations also came in* for their share of his favours. The Dutch had well begun their Indian career. They had already ousted the Portuguese from Malacca and Ceylon, but they had not been able to make any settlement in Bengal. It was Shaista Khan who granted the necessary privilege, and accordingly in 1675,§ they built a factory at Hooghly, whence they subsequently removed to the neighbouring village of Chinsura,|| and, we have the authority of Mr. Stewart, the well-known historian of Bengal, for stating that, in the very next year, the French made their settlement¶ at Chandernagore, and the Danes at Serampur.**

* Muhammad Sharif was Fouzdar of Hooghly about 1665.

† Madraspatam was purchased by the English from the Raja of Chandragiri in 1639. Here, Mr. Francis Day built Fort St. George, and became the founder of Madras, which was the first territorial possession of the Company in India. The sacred Kanchi is not far from Madras.

‡ The Directors were first elected in 1704. They were twenty-four in number, and were invested by the Company with the power of managing their territorial possessions in India, as well as their commerce in the East and the West.—Raja Ram Mohan Roy's *English Works*, vol. 11. p. 516, note.

§ Marshman's *Bengal*, p. 62.

|| Chinsura is the English form of the native name *Choochoora*, the "Chinchura" of Orme. The Dutch records have "Cintsurah."

¶ Marshman, however, places it in 1672.—*History of Bengal*, p. 62. Dr. John Fryer visited India in 1672.

** Serampur is about twelve miles to the south of Hooghly. It was visited in December 1823 by Bishop Heber, who described it as "a handsome place, kept beautifully clean, and looking more like an European town than Calcutta, or any of its neighbouring cantonments." At that time Colonel Krepting was the Danish Governor of Serampur.

• Shaista Khan resigned his high office in 1677. But, even when away from the Province, he did not forget the Europeans. The English had hitherto been obliged to take out a fresh firman on the appointment of a new Viceroy. This was no small grievance, for on every such occasion they were obliged to pay a large *douceur* to the Mogul officers. When Shaista Khan left Bengal, the Chief of the English factory sent an Envoy with him to the Emperor Aurungzebe to solicit a perpetual firman, precluding the necessity of periodical renewal. The order was at last obtained, but not without difficulty, and chiefly through the aid and influence of Shaista Khan. The well-known French physician, Bernier, was present at the Court of the Great Mogul at this time ; and had it not been for the fact that his countrymen had only recently made their settlement in Bengal, he would have tried to obtain some such order for them.

Shaista Khan was re-appointed to Bengal in the latter part of 1679. This time he proved the very reverse of what he had been before he resigned his office in 1677. But this change in his policy was not owing to any change in his character. The fact was that he could not disobey the unjust and arbitrary orders of a bigoted monarch, who ran counter to the wise policy of his illustrious ancestor, Akbar the Great, and, so far from endeavouring to weld his Musalman and non-Musalman subjects into one harmonious whole, greatly widened the gulf between them. The hated *Jazyah*, or poll-tax on non-Musalman, which had been abolished by his wise great grand-father,* was renewed by him, and under cover of it many Hindoo temples were destroyed and many harmless Hindoos were thrown into prison. But it was not the Hindoos alone who were harassed by this odious tax. At Hooghly the Nabob's officers demanded the same payment from the Europeans, but they got off by a rich present to the Viceroy.

The Company's trade in Bengal having acquired considerable importance, the Court of Directors decided to make Bengal independent of Madras. Accordingly, in 1681, they raised it to the dignity of a separate and independent settlement, and Mr. Hodges, who was appointed its first Chief, entered Hooghly with a body-guard consisting of a corporal and twenty European soldiers. This was the germ of the British Army in India. Before this time the ships bound for Bengal had always called at Madras to receive their orders ; they now sailed right up the Ganges, and one of the very first that came was armed with thirty guns.

* Blochmann's *Ain*. Vol. I, p. 186.

The Company's trade proving very lucrative, many private merchants intruded into it, though, by the terms of the Charter which had been granted by Queen Elizabeth, the right was restricted to the Company's Agents. Many efforts were made to put down these "interlopers," as they were called, but all to no purpose. The Court of Directors at length found that the only way to prevent their trading in Bengal, was to prevent their entering the river. Accordingly, they desired the Chief at Hooghly to solicit the permission of the Nabob to erect a fort at the mouths of the Ganges, or on its banks, that they might more effectually intercept the vessels of the interlopers. But Shaista Khan, rightly thinking that this would give the English the command of the whole river, refused their petition. There had also been about this time some disturbances in Behar; and the Company's Agent at Patna, having been charged with complicity, was placed in confinement. The heart of the Nabob was, in fact, quite alienated from the English, and he issued orders confiscating all their factories in Bengal. Thus the trade of the Company was thrown into the utmost confusion, and their ships returned with scarcely half their cargo. The Dutch took advantage of this gloomy aspect of their rivals' affairs to push on their own traffic. It was about this time that they began to fortify their settlement at Chinsura. The fort,* however, was not finished until 1687.

The English now perceived that they must either give up the trade in Bengal or resort to force. They determined upon the latter alternative, and in this they were supported by their King, James II. A fleet of ten ships was sent out under Admiral Nicholson, on board of which were six hundred soldiers. His orders were to embark all the Company's servants and property, and, proceeding to Chittagong, to capture it, with the assistance of the zemindars of East Bengal and the King of Arracan.† But this ambitious scheme was doomed to a disastrous end. A storm at sea having dispersed the fleet, only a few ships reached the Ganges and sailed up to Hooghly. A little before this time, the Chief at Madras had sent four hundred soldiers thither. These preparations for war, both by sea and land, alarmed the Nabob, and he was anxious soon to make up his differences with the English. But, while negotiations were going on, an accident happened which gave a fatal turn to the whole affair. On the 28th October, 1686, three English soldiers, strolling into the market-place in Hooghly,

* The fort was called Fort Gustavus, after the name of the then King of Holland.

† Otherwise called Racan, the Roshun of the natives. The Ain-i-Akbari has Arhung.

quarrelled with some of the Nabob's people and were severely beaten by the latter. This little row soon assuming a formidable shape, troops were turned out on both sides, and a regular engagement ensued. Many men were killed, and more were wounded. During the engagement Admiral Nicholson opened fire on the town, and five hundred houses were destroyed, including the Company's godown, in which property worth thirty lacs of rupees was lost. The Fouzdar, taking alarm, begged that hostilities might cease; to which the English agreed, on his assisting to convey their saltpetre on board their ships. Not only was this done, but their trade was allowed to continue until orders could be received from the Emperor.

As soon as the Nabob heard of these events, he directed all the out factories at Patna, Malda, Dacca, and Kasim Bazar to be seized, and sent both infantry and cavalry to Hooghly with the view of expelling the English from the country. The merchants at Hooghly, not thinking themselves safe, retreated, under their president, Job Charnock, about twenty-six miles down the river, to the swampy village of Sutanuti,* on the 20th December. About a week after their removal, three of the Nabob's officers arrived at Hooghly, whither Mr. Charnock proceeded to treat with them; and a treaty was agreed upon, whereby the English were restored to their former privileges. But the Nabob's object was only to gain time, in order that he might crush the Company once and for ever. Accordingly, in the beginning of February 1687, he sent a large army to Hooghly, whereupon Mr. Charnock quitted Sutanuti for Hijlee.† On his way down the river he destroyed the fortress at Tanna,‡ and captured some Mogul ships. The island of Hijlee was the worst site for a settlement that could have been selected. It was a low, unhealthy swamp, covered with long grass, where not a drop of fresh water could be found. Thither, however, Mr. Charnock escaped, and commenced building fortifications, with a view to protecting himself from the attacks of the enemy. In three months half the troops perished, and the other half were only fit to be sent to hospital. The prospects of the Company thus wore a very gloomy aspect, and it seemed as if they would ere long be obliged to abandon Bengal, when fortune again began to smile on them. This favourable turn in their affairs was owing to the determination of the Court of Directors to carry everything by force.

* So called from the innumerable *hanks of cotton thread* which the inhabitants, who were mostly of the weaver class, used to dry in the sun.

† De Laët, in his *India Vera*, calls it "Angeli," which he places in the province of Orissa, not far from "Ugeli," the Port Piqueno of the Portuguese.

‡ The Fort of Tanna lay about 5 miles below Calcutta, on the opposite shore. Orme's *Indostan*, Vol. II.

When the troubles in Bengal commenced, the Court sent peremptory orders to their Governor at Surat to close the Company's factory, and to seize on every Mogul ship of war that could be found at sea. Now, Surat was the port whence pious Musalmans embarked on the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the chief business of the war-vessels was to protect the pilgrims during the voyage. As the English now guarded the harbour and commanded the sea, the way to Mecca was virtually closed; and it was with a view to re-opening it that the haughty Emperor condescended to accommodate matters with the English. Accordingly, on the 16th August 1687, a treaty was concluded, by which the English were permitted to set up factories in different parts of the Empire, and Uluberiah* was given them for magazine and docking purposes, while Mr. Charnock, on his part, engaged to return all the Mogul ships which he had captured. After the treaty was concluded, the English, under their Chief, removed to Uluberiah, whence they afterwards returned to Sutanuti.

The Nabob, however, soon renewed his oppressions. He ordered the English to return to Hooghly, and not to build either with stone or brick at Sutanuti, at the same time allowing his soldiers to plunder them, and also demanding a large amount from Charnock, who had neither army to oppose his men, nor money to satisfy his demand. He, therefore, sent two of the members of his council to Dacca, in the hope of conciliating the Nabob and obtaining leave to continue at Sutanuti. After much difficulty these officers had just succeeded in their endeavours, when the affairs of the English were again involved in still darker clouds. The Court of Directors, having heard of the engagement at Hooghly and the retreat of the troops to Hijlee, had, with great promptitude, sent out re-inforcements under Captain Heath, with orders to take all their servants in Bengal and proceed to Madras, in case they failed to obtain what they desired, namely, a fort and a mint. Heath was a hot-headed, inexperienced soldier, governed more by passion than by "the pauser, reason." He arrived in Bengal in October, 1688, and ordered all the Company's servants to embark with all the public property on board his fleet, and on the 8th November sailed down to Baleswar. When he had reached the Baleswar Roads, the Mahomedan officer of the town seized the Company's factors there, and held them as pledges. But, though the two chief officials of the factory were now prisoners, and the two deputies were still in the power of the Nabob at Dacca, Heath landed his troops

* So called from the place having been for the most part covered with *ulu* grass. The Uluberiah of olden times has since been washed away by the river.

at Baleswar on the 29th November, and, after plundering it of all its goods and chattels, burnt it to ashes. Having thus ravaged the place, he sailed direct to Chittagong, but, failing to capture it, moved his fleet down towards Arracan. On his arrival there, he sent word to the King offering to join him in attacking the Moguls, if he would permit the English to settle in his dominions. Not having received any reply for a fortnight, he became very impatient, and sailed towards Madras with the whole fleet, consisting of fifteen sail, on which were embarked the Governor, the Council, the Company's servants and all their merchandise. Thus were the English settlements in Bengal wholly abandoned about fifty years after their first establishment. As Bombay and Madras were well fortified, they were not touched; but the Emperor ordered all the other factories of the English to be destroyed, and their goods to be seized throughout his Empire; and Shaista Khan was obliged to comply. He accordingly sequestered all the Company's property in Bengal, and placed their two agents at Dacca in irons.

III.

Shova Singh's Rebellion and the Marhatta Raids.

The Nabob, Shaista Khan, having grown very old, was permitted to retire into private life. The high office resigned by him was given to Ibrahim Khan.* The new Viceroy proved a very mild ruler, and the prospects of the English again brightened under his "temperate sway." They were invited back to Bengal, and, on the auspicious day of 4th August, 1690, Job Charnock hoisted the standard of England at Sutanuti and laid the foundation of Calcutta. But he did not live to see it become a flourishing town,† as, two years after, he departed this world. This remarkable man‡ who founded "the City of Palaces" and has given name to the Viceregal villa, which is still called "Achanuck"§ by the grateful natives, lies humbly buried in the churchyard of St. John's Church.

* Mir Ali Akbar was, it would seem, appointed Fouzdar of Hooghly about the same time.

† Towards the close of 1692, the seat of Government was transferred from Hooghly to Calcutta.

‡ Charnock is well worthy of high praise, and may be considered to have paved the way for Clive. Though he had suffered much for the Company, yet he steadily persevered to advance their interests. On one occasion he was severely scourged by order of Nabob Shaista Khan.—*Wheeler's Early Records*, p. 162.

§ The English name is Barrackpur, so famous for its fine park, which, to use Bishop Heber's words, "offers as beautiful a display of turf, tree, and flowering shrub, as any scene in the world can produce." In the park there was once also a menagerie which was well worth a visit. Orme writes "Job Chanock" instead of Job Charnock.



The English had all along longed for a fort and a mint, but the jealousy of the Mogul officers had hitherto stood in the way of the fulfilment of their wish. In 1696, however, an event happened which enabled them to effect their purpose, at least to a certain extent. Rajah Krishna Ram, * of Burdwan, having plundered Shova Singh, the troublesome Zemindar of Chitwa, † the latter was highly enraged, and marching through a forest by a road unknown to the people of Burdwan, passed the river Damoodar ‡ and took up a strong position commanding the Rajah's palace. Krishna Ram, being thus taken quite unawares, and finding no means of escape, secretly sent away his son Jagat Ram to the Court of Ram Krishna, the Rajah of Nadia, while he, in right Rajput fashion, slew the females of his family in order to avoid their falling into the hands of the enemy. After this horrible deed had been committed by Krishna Ram, Shova Singh, with his army, entered the city, and, in the battle which ensued, defeated and killed him. Thus his power extended over the whole of Burdwan. A beautiful maiden daughter of Krishna Ram, who by a pure accident had escaped from the slaughter committed by her father, fell into the hands of the victor, who, smitten with her personal charms, kept her as his mistress, little thinking that she was destined ere long to prove his murderer. Prince Jagat Ram, having made his way from the Court of the Nadia Rajah to the Viceregal Court at Dacca, and laid his complaint before the Viceroy, Ibrahim Khan, the latter forthwith ordered Nurulla, Fouzdar of Jessore, to punish Shova Singh, who had by this time been joined by the Afghan Chief, Rohim Khan. A body of troops, three thousand strong was despatched to Hooghly; but, no sooner did the rebels make their appearance, than the Nabob's army took fright, re-crossed the river and fled; and Hooghly thus fell into the hands of the rebels. The English, taking advantage of the confusion, fortified their settlement at Sutanuti. §

The rebels, having taken Hooghly, became much elated, and sent out troops in all directions to ravage the country; and the

* Krishna Ram was the third in descent from Babu Rai, the founder of the family. His son, Jagat Ram, was slain in 1702, and was succeeded by Kirti Chandra, in whose time the poet Ghanoram Chuckrabarti wrote his admirable Epic, entitled *Dharma Mangal*.

† Now in Midnapur. Abul Fazl, in the *Ain-i Akbari*, says that Chitwa is a *mekhal* lying intermediate between Bengal and Orissa: Stewart spells the name wrong, Jetwa, and Marshman distorts it into Chituyan. It belonged to Shova Singh, as also Barda, which lies close to it.—Blochmann's *Notes*, appended to Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. I.

‡ The "Jan Perdo" of Colonel Gastrell's charts.

§ Here they laid the foundations of the original Fort William.

wretched people crowded into Chinsura where they found refuge. To put a stop to these ravages, the Dutch sent up two of their ships of war to Hooghly, which poured in such a shower of balls that the rebels quitted it and fled to Sâtgaôn. Thence Shova Singh, having detached Rohim Khan, with the larger portion of his army, to take possession of Nadia and Murshidabad, returned to Burdwan. Here he soon after met his deserved end at the hands of the young princess of Burdwan, whose person he, in an evil hour, attempted to outrage. Just as he folded her in his embrace, the outraged girl, pulling out a sharp knife which she had concealed in her luxuriant hair, plunged it into the bosom of the ruffian, and then stabbed herself. This double tragedy was enacted towards the close of 1696.

After Shova Singh's death, his son, or younger brother, Himmat Singh—for the accounts vary on this point—came up to Burdwan with a considerable army, and began to behave as unjustly as the deceased had done. As Ram Krishna had given shelter to the Burdwan Prince, Jagat Ram, Himmat sent a detachment of soldiers against him; but they were repulsed with heavy loss. As long as Shova Singh was alive, the Afghân, Rohim Khan, had acted as his deputy; but after his death the troops under his command elected him as their Chief, and he, to give dignity and importance to the office, assumed the pompous name of Rohim Shah. The rebels daily extended the range of their depredations, and by March 1697 they had become very powerful in both purse and possessions.

The Governor, Ibrahim Khan, having failed to quell the rebellion, the Emperor's grandson, Azim Ushan, was appointed to succeed him on the Viceregal throne, and his own son, Zuberdastr Khan, to take the military command. Zuberdastr was a very able general. True to his name, he immediately assembled the troops and proceeded in search of the rebels, with whom he came up at Bhagwangola.* A desperate battle ensued in which the rebels were completely routed. Rohim Khan was driven from Murshidabad to Burdwan, and from thence back to Orissa. He was, however, only scotched, not killed, and it was not long before he resumed his ruinous depredations.

The valiant exploits of Zuberdastr Khan having excited the jealousy of the new Viceroy, the latter, who feared that

* Bhagwangola was visited by Bishop Heber in August, 1824. He found the place very interesting and even beautiful: a thorough Hindu village, without either Europeans or Mussalmans." Here he composed a delightful little poem, beginning with the beautiful line

"If thou wert by my side, my love!"

there would be nothing left for him to do, ordered the victorious general not to risk another battle. Zubberdast plainly saw through the motive of Azim Ushan, and accordingly asked leave to resign the service, which was readily granted. He took away with him eight thousand soldiers, who were the flower of the Bengal army; and, when they departed, the province might have been considered almost without defence. Azim Ushan came down to Burdwan, where he held his court in right royal fashion, and received the congratulations of the Rajahs and the Zemindars. Rohim Khan despised this silken prince as much as he dreaded the iron Khan. He readily assembled his men, plundered Hooghly and Nadia, and approached within a few miles of Burdwan itself. But his end was near. Having resolved to kill the prince at any risk, he surrounded his camp with a body of sturdy Afghans, and would have succeeded in his enterprise, but for the bravery of Hamid Khan, the bravest of the brave attendants of the prince, who having challenged him to single combat, severed his head from his shoulders. The rebels, seeing their Chief fall, dispersed in all directions. Azim Ushan continued some time at Burdwan. While staying at this historic city, he caused to be constructed, at some distance to the north of Hooghly, a Bazar to which he gave the name of Shahgunge.* He likewise regulated the customs of the port of Hooghly at two-and-half per cent. for Mahomedans, five per cent. for Hindus, and three-and-half per cent. for Christians. The English, however, were exempted from this tax, as, according to the Imperial firman, they had only to make an annual payment of Rs. 3 000 in the lump. He was said also to have established the sayer, or internal duties, on articles passing from one place to another. In 1700 he formally transferred † to the English, the zemindari rights of the villages of Sutanuti, Calcutta and Govindapur. This little zemindari, which has now developed into a great Empire, was placed under the charge of a Civilian, assisted by a native Dewan ‡.

The Portuguese had left Hooghly for good; but they were not much missed by the natives, as their place was soon after taken by the English. When, however, the latter retreated,

* Shahgunge still keeps up its reputation as a place of trade.

† In this very important matter, Mr. Walsh was agent for the Company. The consideration for the transfer was Rs. 16 000.

‡ The Civilian was styled the '*Zemindar*,' while his native assistant was called the '*black Zemindar*.' The salary of the former was Rs. 200 per mensem, and that of the latter Rs. 30 only, which was eventually raised to Rs. 50. In 1720, one Govinda Ram Mitter was appointed Dewan. His influence was very great, even greater than that of the Civilian Zemindar himself. When Mr. Holwell was placed in charge of the Company's Zemindari in 1762, Govinda Ram was compelled to retire.

towards the end of 1686, and none came to fill the void, Hooghly began to decline. True it is, it continued to be the seat of the Fouzdar; but that officer, it would seem, was quite unmindful of the duties of his office. Accordingly, a great many wealthy Hindus removed to Calcutta, where the English had made their new settlement. This naturally excited the jealousy of the Fouzdar, who threatened to place a Kazi in Calcutta, to administer justice according to the Mahomedan law. But the English made a handsome present to Azim Ushan, and the Fouzdar was told to leave them alone.

It was about this time that a rival East India Company, called the *English Company*, in contradistinction to the old London Company, was established in England. The new Company sent agents all over India, and, among other places, to Hooghly. But the rivalry of the two bodies having been found seriously injurious to English interests in India, they were amalgamated in 1702, under the title of the "United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies."* Thus the dark cloud which had threatened to ruin the English trade, passed away without doing any great harm. But fresh difficulties were in store for them, and it was not long before they presented themselves.

In 1702 Jaffar Khan was appointed Dewan of Bengal. His extraordinary talents, soon attracting the notice of Aurungzebe, he was elevated to the seat of Governor in 1704, and was dignified with the title of Murshid Kuli Khan, which was perpetuated in the new capital which he founded. Murshid Kuli was the ablest ruler the Province had under the Moguls; but, able as he was, his ability suffered much from his tyrannous habits. The English fell under his displeasure, and he began to oppress them so severely, that, in 1715, they sent an embassy to the Great Mogul† at Delhi, which ultimately proved successful through the instrumentality of the Doctor attached to it, Mr. Hamilton, who had the good fortune to cure the Emperor of a serious illness.‡

But it was not only to subjects under his rule that the Governor was severe; his subordinates also were made to feel his

* I Marshman's *India*, p. 219.

† Emperor Ferokhshe, son of Azim Ushan.

‡ Hamilton having, on being desired by the Emperor to name his reward, preferred the Company's interests to his own, the English in 1717 obtained the royal license for the purchase of thirty-eight villages in the vicinity of Calcutta; but this license they could not carry into effect, owing to the machinations of Murshid Kuli Khan, who secretly instigated the Zemindars of those villages not to sell them to the Company. Thus, for more than half a century, the three villages of Sutanuti, Calcutta and Govindpur continued to be the whole of the Company's possessions in Bengal.

high-handedness. From before his time, Zynuddin had been the Fouzdar of Hooghly, but no sooner had he taken charge of his high office, than he dismissed that officer, and appointed in his place Wullee Beg, a Mogul protégé of his. The powers of the Fouzdar were also curtailed, and he was made subject to the Viceroy's orders, and rendered accountable to him for his conduct. Thus the Fouzdar became a mere tool in the hands of the provincial Governor. Wullee Beg's successor, Ashan Ali Khan, fared no better: he, too, was a mere tool in the latter's hands*. Murshid Kuli Khan was succeeded, in 1725, by his son-in-law Shujah-ud-din, who was far from being tyrannical. Shujah's rule was one of peace and prosperity. In 1726 the English established a Mayor's Court at Calcutta † on the model of the one at Madras; and, except on one occasion, they were not molested during the whole period of his administration, which lasted fourteen years. The Nabob favoured not only his kith and kin, he was also very kind to his servants and dependants. The office of Fouzdar of Hooghly falling vacant, he gave it to his old domestic, Shujah Kuli, in 1727. This officer having seized a boat laden with silk belonging to the English, the latter sent up a file of soldiers and released it; and this being represented to the Nabob as a great affront, he issued an order forbidding the natives to supply Calcutta or the other factories with grain. In view of the inconvenience caused by this, the English averted his displeasure with a large present. Their trade was greatly augmented during Shujah's rule, but it was ill-managed, the Agents of the Company being too deeply engaged in trade on their own account to pay sufficient attention to the interests of their masters.

Shujah-ud-din was succeeded, in 1739 by his son, Surferaj Khan; but it was not long before the latter was defeated and slain at the battle of Gheriah, by Aliverdi Khan, who accordingly ascended the throne. During Aliverdi's rule the Marhattas ‡ gave an immense deal of trouble, and the

* Holwell, in his *Interesting Events*, thus describes Murshid Kuli's character: "His name to this day is remembered with detestation; to fill his coffers he inflicted the most cruel punishments on the Rajas and Zemindars by ways and means unheard of and unknown but in this Eastern Government. He also highly oppressed the Europeans settled in these parts; yet, notwithstanding his very bad administration, he had the address to obtain the Government of Behar and Ori-sa united with that of Bengal in his person, which ever before had been distinct and separate Nabanships."

† Mr. Bait, who is well known for his *Considerations*, was a Judge of the Mayor's Court at Calcutta. This Court, in which the Governor presided, was superseded by the Supreme Court, with Sir Elijah Impey as its first Chief Justice.

‡ The Marhatta freebooters much resembled the Scythians of old, and like them, were all horsemen. Their incursions were greatly dreaded by the people of Bengal, who were repeatedly plundered of their property and tortured in their persons.

country was thrown into great confusion, which reached its highest point in 1742. Mir Hobeeb, who had gone over to the Marhattas, induced Bhaskar Pundit, who had made up his mind to return to his country, to establish his headquarters at Kutwa for the rains which had already set in. The renegade, taking several thousand of the best horse, ravaged the country from Baleswar to Rájmahal. Hooghly did not escape uninjured:—indeed, it was sadly plundered and the inhabitants were roughly handled. It was at this time that the Marhatta Ditch* was dug in order to secure Calcutta against their depredations.

Bhaskar Pundit was treacherously killed† in 1744. By this event the Viceroy obtained some respite from the Marhattas, but a more dreadful enemy soon appeared in his own camp. This was no other than his famous General, Mustapha Khan, to whose advice and valour he owed so much. This proud Afghan revolted from the Nabob, and marched out of Bengal with eight thousand horse and as many thousand foot. He looted Rájmahal, took Monghyr, and encamped before Patna. Before he left Bengal, he had invited the Nagpur Marhattas to join him in his projected attempt at conquering that country. The Nagpur Rajah, Raghuji Bhoonsla, who was still burning with revenge for the murder of his General Bhaskar Pundit, readily acceded to his proposal, and entered Bengal with a large army. Aliverdi, who had gone in pursuit of Mustapha, hastened back to Murshidabad on hearing of the arrival of the Marhattas, directing his son-in-law, Zynuddin, Governor of Behar, to keep his eye on that rebel, and prevent his approaching Bengal. Some time after, Zynuddin met Mustapha in battle, slew him, and dispersed his followers. The Nabob, on his part, fought several engagements with Raghuji with success. After the last battle, which took place at Kutwa, the latter fled to his own country. But the Marhattas, though repeatedly defeated, did not cease to make incursions: the province of Orissa was still in their hands. The Nabob again gave them battle, and, beating them, returned to Murshidabad before the rains of 1748.

A few days after, Zynuddin was murdered by the Afghans, Shumshere Khan and Sirdar Khan, who had revolted from the Nabob. Haji Ahmed, the father of the murdered Governor, also shared the same fate. Again the Marhattas invaded

* This celebrated Ditch continues to mark the Municipal boundaries of Calcutta, and has fixed on its citizens the sobriquet of the inhabitants of the Ditch.—I Marshman's *India*, p. 27.

† Tradition, however, reports that he fell fighting at Bishenpur, on which occasion the god Madan Mohan, much like Castor and Pollux at the battle of Regillus, is said to have taken an active part in the engagement on behalf of the Raja.

Bengal, but again they were repulsed. Siraj-ud-daula, son of Zynuddin, was given his father's place in Behar, while Syed Ahammad, second son of Haji Ahmed, was appointed Fouzdar of Purneah. Sokut Jung, who figured afterwards as a rival of Siraj-ud-daula, was son of Syed Ahammad.

During the Marhatta raids, Hooghly was plundered several times. Sâtgaon fared still worse. It was about this time that the renowned Mohâshaya family, of Bansberia,* dug a deep and wide moat around their extensive dwelling-house; and not unfrequently the inhabitants of Bansberia and the adjoining villages took shelter in their well-fortified residence from the attacks of the Bargis,† as the Marhatta marauders were called in native parlance. The moat is still in existence, though in a state of disrepair.

Nabob Aliverdi concluded a treaty with the Marhattas in 1751. Thereafter they never appeared in his dominions, as they were quite satisfied with its terms. The chauch, or 'one-fourth' of the revenue of Bengal, together with the cession of Orissa‡ was certainly a big sop. The Province had suffered much from their ravages, and the few remaining years of his life were spent by the old Nabob in repairing the damages. He died on the 9th April 1756.

IV.

The Dawn of British Rule in India, and the Reforms of Hastings and Cornwallis.

On Ali Verdi's death, the Government of Bengal and Behar devolved upon his daughter's son, Siraj-ud-daula, whom he had spoiled by too much indulgence. The new Viceroy, who was still in his teens, soon proved himself a veritable tyrant, and his subjects longed in their hearts for his death or dethronement. Even the foreign merchants were not allowed to live unmolested. The Nabob soon picked a quarrel with the English at Calcutta, the head and front of their offence being that they had repaired their ramparts facing the river, and refused to deliver up Krishnadas §, who had taken refuge with them. Siraj-ud-daula marched against the settlement with a large army. The command was given to Manick Chand, Fouzdar of Hooghly, who attacked the place. Both Drake, the Governor, and Minchin, the Commandant, fled, and

* More properly 'Bangshabati.'

† This word seems to be another form of the Arabic word *bâgî*, which means an insurgent, a rebel, a mutineer. The Bargis are not to be confounded with the Bagree Dacoits, of whom Colonel Sleeman wrote a very interesting account.

‡ Orissa remained in their hands till 1804, when it was ceded to the English by the Raja of Berar, after Wellesley's campaign in the Deccan.

§ A son of Raja Rajbullabh, Deputy Governor of Dacca.

thus Calcutta surrendered on the 20th June. The night of this day was dreadful indeed, for in it was enacted the horrible tragedy of the 'Black Hole.' One hundred and forty-six able-bodied persons were thrust into a dark little room, with the painful result, that, when the door of the prison was opened the next morning, only twenty-three came out alive. A few days afterwards, the Nabob quitted Calcutta* leaving it in the charge of his General, Manick Chand.

The news of the 'Black Hole' massacre filled the hearts of the English at Madras with mingled feelings of alarm and indignation. Fortunately Clive had come back from the mother country. Preparations for war were immediately commenced, and in October, he and Watson sailed from Madras with about 2,400 soldiers, and reached the mouths of the Ganges in the month following. The Mogul fortification at Budge-Budge was soon afterwards attacked. Manick Chand, who had arrived there two days before with a pretty considerable reinforcement of horse and foot, retreated to Calcutta after some resistance, and from thence to the Viceregal capital, leaving five hundred men to defend the fort. Clive entered the dismantled town on the 2nd January, 1757, and the fort surrendered at discretion.

About a week after, he sent an expedition to the important port of Hooghly. Nanda Kumar,† who had succeeded Manick Chand as Fauzdar, made some resistance, but was at last obliged to yield.‡

The news of these transactions filled the Nabob with indignation, and he lost no time in marching down to Calcutta with an army of forty-thousand men. Clive was anxious for peace, and he offered most reasonable terms, but the Nabob turned a deaf ear to his proposal. Finding a contest inevitable, that brave soldier determined to take the initiative, and, accordingly, marched to attack the enemy's entrenchments. An engagement ensued in which the Nabob's army was worsted, and he consented to a treaty which restored to the English all their privileges, and gave them ample compensation for their losses.

But this peace was only short-lived, and, as matters stood,

* The Nabob ordered the name of Calcutta to be changed to Alinagar to perpetuate the memory of his conquest.

† Nanda Kumar, on whom the Emperor of Delhi afterwards conferred the title of "Maharaja Bahadur," played a most prominent part in the political affairs of his day. He rose very high, so much so that even the Governor-General, Hastings, stood in fear of him. At last, he was tried in the Supreme Court on a charge of forgery, and, having been found guilty, was hanged on the 4th August, 1775, much to the wonder and amazement of the general public. Raja Gurudas was his son.

‡ Hooghly was stormed by the English, under Major Kilpatrick, on the 10th January, 1757.—Colonel Malletson's *Clive*, p. 172.

it could not have been otherwise. Siraj-ud-daula was at heart an enemy of the English, and, though his anger was stifled for a time, it was not altogether quenched, and an occasion now presented itself which stirred the hidden fire into a blaze. War having been declared between England and France, Clive rightly thought that Calcutta could not be safe while the French kept a large garrison at Chandernagore. Accordingly, in March, he attacked their settlement, and captured it after a nine days' siege. This proceeding incensed the Nabob, and he encamped his army at Plassey* forty miles south of Murshidabad. But Clive had already bought over some of his principal officers, of whom Mir Jaffar was the most important, and, when he saw that his plans were ripe for action, set off from Chandernagore, on the 13th June, with 1,000 Europeans, 2,000 natives, and 8 pieces of cannon. On the 5th day he reached Kutwa, and immediately captured the fort. The rains having set in with great violence, he was obliged to halt till the 22nd, when he crossed over with his little army, and encamped for the night in the mango-tope at Plassey in the vicinity of the Nabob's army, fifty thousand strong, supported by fifty pieces of cannon. The memorable 23rd of June dawned, when the two armies faced each other in battle array. The fight was loud and long, but at last victory sided with the English. Mir Jaffar, who all day long had kept himself aloof, now moved off with his troops and joined their standard.†

Clive entered Murshidabad on the 29th June, and, proceeding to the palace, placed Mir Jaffar on the throne, being careful to obtain a *firman* from the Mogul Emperor, Alamgir II. Thus within one year the English raised themselves from the lowest to the highest position. As a fitting reward for the services performed by Clive, the Court of Directors appointed him the first Governor of the Company's Settlements in Bengal.‡ He entered upon the duties of his high office with his usual ability, energy, and earnestness, and, before he left for England, he had dispersed the army of the Imperial Prince, arrested the progress of the French in the Deccan, and defeated the Dutch, whose settlement at Chinsura existed thenceforth only on sufferance.

From 1760 to 1765, Clive was away in his native country,

* More properly Pálsi.

† The battle of Plassey gave a death-blow to native rule, and made the English masters of Bengal. Well does the poet sing :—

"The English bless the Plassey day,
They sure will shed their blessing aye,
And sing with merry hearts and gay
How Clive the battle wondrous won."

‡ Watson, who, like Clive, really deserved reward for his services, did not live to get it, for, as Colonel Malleon says, he died soon after the battle of Plassey.—*The Founders of our Indian Empire*, p. 283.

his *locum. tenens*, for almost the whole period, being Mr. Vansittart. The latter, though a very honest man, was not a good ruler. The machinery of Government soon went wrong, and there was confusion on all sides. In 1761 "Clive's Jackass," as Mir Jaffar was called, was dethroned, and in his place his son-in-law, Mir Kasim, was appointed.* The new Nabob was a very able man, and he applied himself to the duties of his office with remarkable energy. But he soon forgot that he owed his elevation to the English, and endeavoured to play the rôle of an independent ruler. He returned to Monghyr—a strong position on the Ganges—organised a regular army under Gurgin Khan† and carried on secret negotiations with the Nabob Vizier of Oudh.‡ Having thus strengthened himself, he abolished all transit duties throughout the land. This greatly enraged the English, and the consequence was a resort to arms.

The commencement of the conflict was favourable to the Nabob, but this temporary sunshine was soon followed by gloom. His trained regiments were defeated in two pitched battles by Major Adams, and he himself took refuge with the Nabob Vizier of Oudh, who refused to deliver him up. Thus was the war prolonged, and it closed only with the decisive battle of Buxar, on the 23rd October, 1764. This victory laid Oudh at the feet of the English, and brought the titular Emperor, Shah Alam, as a suppliant to the English camp. Mir Jaffar was made Nabob a second time, but he died in January 1765. In May following, Clive (now Baron Clive of Plassey in the peerage of Ireland) arrived at Calcutta as Governor of Bengal for the second time.

In August, the Dewani§ of Bengal, Behar and Orissa was conferred upon the Company by the titular Emperor, but the actual collection of the revenues remained for seven years longer in the hands of native officials. In 1766 he organised the service in spite of very strong opposition, and left India for good in the year following.

In 1770 a terrible famine overtook Bengal, and swept away

* The consideration for the appointment was a sum of £200,000 and the surrender of the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong to the Company.—James's *British in India*, p. 37.

† This famous General was an Armenian by birth, whose real name was Gregory.

‡ Sujah-ud-doula, recently named Vizier by the Emperor Shah Alam.

§ In a letter from the Select Committee in Bengal, dated the 30th September 1765, and signed by Clive himself, the Dewani is explained to be

"The collecting of all the revenues, and after defraying the expenses of the army, and allowing a sufficient fund for the support of the Nizamut, to remit the remainder to Delhi, or wherever the king shall reside or direct."

—Bolt's *Considerations*, p. 34.

one-third of its inhabitants.* In 1772 Warren Hastings, a tried servant of the Company, was appointed Governor by the Court of Directors, with express instructions to carry out a series of reforms. The Court, to use their own words, had "resolved to stand forth as Dewan, and to take upon themselves, by the agency of their own servants, the entire care and administration of the revenues." In execution of this plan, Hastings removed the exchequer from Murshidabad to Calcutta, appointed European officers, under the now familiar title of Collectors, to superintend the land dues and to preside in the revenue Courts, and established two Courts of appeal at the seat of Government. Though no lawyer himself, he drew up unaided a short and simple code of regulations for the new Courts, which showed, in a remarkable degree, the versatility of his genius.† The system of administration inaugurated by him, worked well for some time; but, with the arrival of the new members‡ of Council, towards the close of 1774, the state of affairs took so bad a turn, that he was at last obliged to resign his office. He left India in February, 1785, and was received with great honour in England, where a well-known member of the House of Lords described him as the Company's great Minister—"the Chatham of the East." But soon a change came over his fortune, and he was made to undergo a trial which, though it terminated in his honourable acquittal, reduced him to poverty. Hastings had faults, but they were cast into the shade by his brilliant talents. One of the most eminent statesmen of the day very justly observed, "though he was not blameless, if there was a bald place on his head, it ought to be covered with laurels." Indeed, Hastings was no less the "heaven-born" Governor, than Clive was the "heaven-born" General.

Hastings was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis, who reached Calcutta in September 1786. The new Governor-General

* This famine, which is still called by the natives "the great famine of '76," Lord Macaulay has graphically described in his *Essays* (Lord Clive), p. 529.

† Hastings was the administrative organiser, as Clive was the territorial founder, of the British Indian Empire. Cornwallis only completed the edifice. See also Mangleson's *Founders of the Indian Empire*, p. 496.

‡ Of these members, Sir Philip Francis, the reputed author of Junius's Letters, proved his bitterest enemy. Referring to his Indian appointment, by which Junius was silenced, Lord Campbell, in his admirable *Life of Lord Mansfield*, observes:—"At last, 'the great boar of the forest,' who had gored the King and almost all his Court, and seemed to be more formidable than any 'blatant beast,' was conquered—not by the spear of a knight-errant, but by a little provender held out to him, and he was sent to whet his tusks in a distant land."—*Lives of the Chief Justices*, Vol. III. p. 376.

possessed dignity and firmness of character, and the current of business, which had hitherto been disturbed by the spirit of faction and insubordination, soon began to run smoothly. Several abuses were corrected, and the salaries of public officers were increased, thereby giving a death-blow to the old and vicious principle of "small salaries and large perquisites." But the great fame of his administration rests upon the revenue and judicial reforms which he effected in 1793, a year memorable in the annals of British India. The Settlement of the land revenue of Bengal and Behar was made permanent; and the result has been increase of population, extension of cultivation and general improvement of the people. Not less important were the reforms in the Judicial department. The Collector of revenue had hitherto acted as Judge and Magistrate. Lord Cornwallis separated the financial from the judicial functions, and confined the Collector to his fiscal duties, placing him under the Board of Revenue at the metropolis. A Civil Court was established in each zillah and in the principal cities, with a Judge, a registrar to determine petty cases, and one or more covenanted assistants. To hear appeals from the zillah and city Courts, four Appellate Courts were constituted at Calcutta, Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna, and from the decisions of these Provincial Courts, a second appeal lay to the Sudder Court, the jurisdiction of which also extended to criminal cases. The zillah and city Judges were likewise invested with the powers of a Magistrate, and authorized to pass and execute sentences for trivial offences, and, in other cases, to commit the offenders for trial before the Judges of Circuit, who were no other than the Judges of the Provincial Courts when exercising their criminal functions. In the department of Police, the native Daroga took a leading part, and his influence for good or for evil was very considerable. He was more dreaded than the Magistrate himself, as the latter in later times has been more dreaded than the Commissioner of the Division.

For more than a decade the clear and simple rules for the administration of justice drawn up by Sir Elijah Impey, the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, had been the guide of the Courts. Lord Cornwallis considered it important that his new institutions should have all the certainty of fixed rules, and that all regulations affecting the rights, persons, and property of British subjects should be formed into a code. Mr. George Barlow, a distinguished Civilian, had the chief hand in framing what was commonly called the Cornwallis Code. Cumbrous as it was, it did not well answer the purpose for which it was framed, and thus justice "was made sour by delay, and equity smothered by legal processes."*

* See also Bacon's Essay on Judicature.

ART. IV.—A FORTNIGHT IN CEYLON.

Where the feathery palm-trees rise,
And the date grows ripe under sunny skies.
Or midst the green islands of glittering seas,
Where fragrant forests perfume the breeze,
And strange, bright birds, on their starry wings,
Bear the rich hues of all glorious things.

HEMANS.

NOT very long ago, I had an opportunity of disposing of a month's leisure as I willed. But it was not easy to settle what it should be. At one time I was for wandering into Tibet: at another, I inclined towards an excursion to the mammoth Temples of Chellubrum and Tiroovanamalai in the Madras Presidency. But finally the fascinations of Ceylon prevailed over the attractions of other places, and I elected to visit that "Pearl upon the brow of India."

It occurred to me that from the days of Onesicritus and Nearchus it had been famed as an earthly paradise. Indeed, from its shores the Hebrew sage-king, Solomon, had obtained "gold and silver, ivory and apes and peacocks," as well as "the almug tree and precious stones in abundance."* The early geographers, Strabo† and Pomponius Mela‡ had described it, and Pliny§ had waxed eloquent in its praises; while the Egyptian merchant, Cosmas, had spoken of the Christian Churches he found already planted there. I further bethought me that "Lanka, the resplendent," had been the scene of the love-story of the Ramayana, and was consequently the holy isle of the Brahmans. Sacred also to the Buddhist was the sea-girt realm of King Watakamani, and it had preserved, through many a faded century, the valuable, though unpublished, Pali literature. My imagination was quickened by the recollection that Ceylon, for its ruby, amethyst, topaz, sapphire, cat's-eye, beryl and pearl, had been of yore envied by the Chinese as "the island of jewels," and coveted by the Greeks as "the land of the hyacinth and ruby." These, to my mind, were attractions enough; but, if further temptation were needed, who would not seek the shores "where every prospect pleases?" And so my choice was made.

Accordingly, one fair moonlight night, with two companions, I hastened down to Garden Reach, and went aboard the British

* I Kings, x. v. 11 and 22.

† Taprobane (Pali, Tappapani)—Geog. Lib. ii. 180, 192; Lib. xv. 1012;

‡ *De Situ Orbis*, Lib. iii., Ch. 7;

§ *Nat. Hist.*—Lib. vi. Ch. 22.

India Steam Navigation Company's steamer, *Warora*, which was bound for Mauritius, *via* Colombo.

For the next few days nothing of any importance took place. But, on the sixth morning after our departure from Calcutta, we got our first glimpse of land on the northern horizon. This was Ceylon itself; but we were at such a distance that we could distinguish nothing. The mountain appeared shrouded in mist, and might have been mistaken for clouds. During the day we skirted the southern coast of the island, and, as we had steered nearer land, we were able to observe many of the beauties of the shore with the aid of a powerful day-and-night marine telescope. All the way, the water's edge is fringed with dense growths of graceful cocoa-palms and palmyra. The many dents and crevices add beauty to the outline. The range of mountains, culminating in the lofty Adam's Peak, forms a picturesque and imposing background. The surge dashes against the strand with a roar that is re-echoed till its murmurs reach our ears. Every here and there, and to the water's very brink, there peep, through clumps of swaying acacia and broad-leaved banana, quaint Tamil hamlets, pledges of the extensive fisheries for which Ceylon is so famous. No painter's brush or poet's pen, can give the true colouring to the scenes which enraptured us—they defy description. With such avidity did we drink in the beauties of the verdure-enamelled beach as they discovered themselves in unbroken succession, that we were loath to leave deck for a moment, however brief. We passed Basses Reefs at noon; but, as twilight darkened land and sea, the beacon of Point-de-Galle flashed its lurid light across the southern sky, and we steered away further into the Indian Ocean.

During the night we doubled the south-west corner of the island, and by the next morning we were nearing Colombo. As we approached its horse-shoe haven, the city looked enchanting. Spires and turrets, cupolas and Buddhist shrines, tiled tenements and brick mansions, struggled into sight through slender palms and leafy palmyras, while the magnificent clock-tower, surmounted by its revolving beacon, shot above and contributed its graceful outline to complete the picture. We soon passed by the light-house which terminates, on its seaward side, the giant granite break-water that runs from the shore, with a moderate flexure, a mile into the sea, and behind it the *Warora* cast anchor in the placid waters of historic Colombo.

On landing in the ship's gig, we drove down to Christ Church parsonage, where the Rev. Mr. Higgins, of the Church Missionary Society in Ceylon, had kindly arranged for our recep-

tion. Our programme was to spend a few days in Colombo on our return journey, and so, by two o'clock in the afternoon, we bade our host a brief farewell, and proceeded by train to Kandy, a run of some seventy-five miles. The first thirty miles from the beach covers a level plain, intersected with gurgling runnels, and clad with dense foliage. Nowhere have I seen Nature more chaste in her choice of vestment, or more happy in her blending of colours. The velvety sward here serves her as a becoming material for trimmings of betel, palm, satin-wood, and acacia, while countless creepers, of every shade of green, ribbon their leafy coils in graceful knots about her party-coloured mantlet. Garlands of flowers wreath her brow with tropic elegance; dribbling fountains lave her feet; and gentle drizzles fall in gauzy folds, to veil her from the glare and glance of Noon-tide.

Speeding on our way through scenery that unfolds fresh beauties each hour, we become conscious that we are gradually going up an incline. Kandy is some 1,650 feet above the sea, and we have begun the ascent. The railway lines are laid on the excavated side of the hills with uncommon engineering skill, and there are no less than twelve tunnels—one of them over a mile in length—through which the train passes. The gradient is increased to 1 in 45, and the rise becomes more and more pronounced as we speed ever onwards and upwards. The labouring engine snorts and pants as it draws its burden. Now we are shooting through a tunnel in darkness that can be felt. Now we are leaning over a precipice whose bottom is obscured. Now we sweep past a silvery cascade, whose waters, leaping from crag to crag, dash in white foam, with the roll of distant thunder, adown the giddy depth below. We see Castle Hill and Bible Rock vanish behind us, and the train, sailing upwards in its winding pathway, travels uncomfortably near the brink of a yawning ravine, till it seems suspended mid-air—equipoised on the edge of a mighty rock. On the left the beetling crags of Allagala, whose frowning crests pierce the clouds, fill the mind with awe. On the right, depth of slow depth dazes the brain and bewilders the eye. The breath is caught, and but one more moment seems all that is left—when suddenly the engine darts with a bound round a angle. A sense of relief supervenes. We thrust our heads out at the windows to view the scene of our peril. We have passed Sensation Point! We still whirl on our way. Scant towers begin to fall, for the monsoon has burst to allay the heat. The ascent ceases to be severe. We have reached the plateau whose further end leads to our destination. Peradeniya Junction is called. One more station, and we alight at Kandy, soon after twilight has deepened into night. On

the platform we find our kind hosts awaiting our arrival. Our reception is most cordial, and in half an hour's time we are in that garden-girt cottage, Katherine Villa, the very home of hospitality.

The following morning we strolled out to make a general survey of the town. Kandy lies nestled in an elevated plain, that is hemmed in, crown-like, by a circlet of the most beautiful mountains, that are its Moriah and Olives, its Palatine and Quirinal. The inaccessible heights of the mountain-ranges, the dense jungles inhabited by wild elephants, and the absence of roads in past ages, contributed formidable obstacles to invaders. Its security was, in an early century, recognised by a powerful native Chief, who fixed the seat of his Government there, and proclaimed himself king. A town sprang up in course of time, and the erection of the Dalada Malegawa, or Shrine of Buddha's Tooth, soon appealed to the religious sentiments of the inhabitants, and made Kandy a sacred city. In 1807 the last Kandian King, who, indeed, earned for himself the reputation of an inhuman monster, constructed a magnificent lake about a mile in length. It forms one of the most charming sights of the city. The slopes of the mountains are clad with dense vegetation, and are traversed by serpentine path-ways. One of these leads to Arthur's Seat, a pretty cottage situated half-way up the spur that overlooks the lake. From this favoured spot the best bird's-eye view of Kandy is obtained. The picture presented from this vantage ground is more than beautiful. At the foot of the hill, and directly below the observer, there stretch, on either side, the calm and silvery waters of the lake, mirroring the verdant slopes of the mountains, their dainty villas, and the azure sky speckled with fleecy clouds. There, in its centre, is the island, appearing as an emerald set in the golden flood that betokens a rising sun. Beyond it lies the "smooth shaven green" known as the Esplanade. In perspective proportions the symmetrical roads of the city extend away on the further side, to the base of a hill whose acclivity is chequered with sober-coloured masonry that proclaims it to be "God's Acre." In more than one place appears the winding causeway on which the train, visible in the distance, creeps serpent-like till it disappears in the gorge which Good Fortune has provided as an access to Newera Ellia, the Sanitarium of the Island. All these beauties of landscape are read by the eye at a glance, and they amply compensate for the wearying walk to Arthur's Seat.

Our next excursion was to the Royal Botanical Garden at Peradeniya—about three miles from Kandy. Part of the outing was done by rail, and the rest on foot through scenery characteristic of this Island of Palms. Our way lay by coffee

plantations, and over the Mahawalla Gunga, the largest river of Ceylon. The approach to the Gardens is shaded by a magnificent colonnade of India-rubber trees. They are, without exception, giants, and have their roots coiling about their base in the fashion of basking alligators, and covering an area represented by a diameter varying from 40 to 50 feet. Speaking broadly, the Gardens are beautiful enough notwithstanding a certain lack of design in the laying out of the walks, and of method in the disposition of plants. The undulating ground is adorned with luxuriant clusters of ratan, palmyra, fir, bamboo and aca-cia. Here and there may be seen

Huge trunks ! and each particular trunk a growth
Of intertwined fibres, serpentine,
Up-coiling, and inveterately convolved ;
Not uninformed with phantasy.

Plants from all parts of the world are here assembled, and the conservatories contain several species of fern and orchid that are strangers to Northern India. The native herbaceous plants belong, for the most part, to the natural orders *Compositæ*, *Leguminosæ*, *Rubiaceæ*, *Scrophulariaceæ* and *Euphorbiaceæ*.

The following day, we paid our respects at the Dalada Malegawa—the Shrine of Buddha's Tooth. On arriving at this fane, we were fortunate enough to witness a procession threading its way round the inner chamber wherein the sacred relic is preserved. It was led by three drummers and a trumpeter. As it moved with measured tread, the drums were beaten vigorously, and the trumpet brayed its loudest. Before each of the four doors of the sanctuary there was a flourish, and the devotees prostrated themselves on the floor. They presented offerings of flowers and repeated, with striking reverence and earnestness, certain formulæ prescribed by their religion. The Holy of Holies in which the hallowed relic reposes, is a small chamber, into which there enters no ray of light, and its air is stifling—heavy with the perfume of scented flowers. The thresholds of its doors are inlaid with carved ivory. In its centre, on a massive silver table, stands a bell-shaped shrine, bejewelled and hung round with chains. It consists of six cases, each smaller than the other, and fitting into one another in the manner of Chinese boxes. The largest is of silver, gilded and studded with rubies. The innermost case discloses a golden lotus, in whose cup lies the Tooth of Buddha. All the poetry of this, however, disappears, when we reflect that this illustrious incisor is two inches long and proportionally broad. It is exhibited only once a year, and the event is made the occasion of great festivity. No stranger may see it without a "permit" from the Governor.

Along the outer cloister of the quadrangle enclosing the

Dagoba, are niches containing brazen effigies of Buddha. Framing them are pictures painted on the wall, representing some of his 550 transmigrations. In one of the corners of the edifice is a more pretentious shrine, with a priest in attendance. Into his hands we saw a suppliant put an offering and he took the gift by a side door behind a net veil which hung before a Buddha, and laid it before the image. Meanwhile the petitioner prostrated himself three times, and repeated his prayers in an audible undertone.

There is a corridor communicating with the street without and its walls are illuminated with paintings representing men and women suffering the agonies of hell. They form a gruesome gallery—the unfortunate subjects are grotesque even in the midst of their anguish. Outside the gate sits a gabbling *pungli*, and on the circular table before him passers-by deposit their alms.

A side stair-way leads to an octagonal building, with a tent-like roof. This is the famous Library of Kandy, whose shelves and presses preserve some of the most valuable and authentic manuscripts that exist in any literature. The inner walls of the edifice have shelves let into them, and the volumes are arranged according to the language in which they are written—Sanskrit, Pali, Singhalese, or English. Among the Pali works

धर्मचक्र (*Dharmma-chakra*) claims to have been written eight hundred years ago by a Buddhist priest whose name is unknown. The **त्रिपिटक** (*Tripitaka*) or three Sacred Baskets sets forth (1) The Rules of Buddhism. (2) Its Doctrines (3) The Metaphysics of the system. The **दीपवंश** (*Dwīpavansa*), "Island Dynasty," and **महावंश** (*Mahāvansa*), "Great Dynasty," are the Chronicles of Ceylon. These books are composed of several hundred strips of talipot (palm) leaves, that are bound together by a chord running through them severally, and the two boards that form the covers. Some of these are of quaintly carved ivory. Others are of gold set with costly jewels. The pages vary from one to one-and-a-half inches in breadth, and the characters are imprinted on the leaves, Roman fashion, with a *stilus*. Of such volumes there are said to be some 3,000 in the Library, and, with but few exceptions, they are accepted as genuine and authentic manuscripts of ancient date. The colour of the leaves, and the browned strings that thread them together, all tell a tale of great antiquity.

It is supposed that the good Gautama, while enduring a self-imposed exile from his father's court, lay under a bo (*ficus religiosa*) tree at Gaya, at the time when *buddhi* (enlighten-

ment) was vouchsafed to him. For this reason the tree is to be found near every Dagoba, occupying, as it does with the Buddhists, a symbolic signification corresponding to that of the Cross among Christians. It was, therefore, with much interest that I read on a bo leaf the autograph of Edwin Arnold and the following dedication :—

“ Leaf from the Bodhi tree,
at Buddha Gaya.

Offered by Edwin Arnold,
6th February 1886.”

The custodians of the Library have attached a silver *petiole* to the leaf, and it is assigned a prominent place by the side of many other literary relics.

The English books in the Library are, for the most part, translations of the Pali Scriptures by Max Müller. The Singhalese department possesses the Teachings and Precepts of Lord Buddha, and the Sanskrit shelves preserve the Laws of Manu, and a variety of religious works treating of तन्त्र (tantra), Religious Meditations, and ज्योतिष (jyotish), Astronomy and Astrology.

The day after our visit to the Dalada Malegawa, we took leave of our friends at Katherine Villa. The inclemency of the weather did not permit us to proceed to Newera Ellia, as we had intended. We accordingly retraced our steps to Colombo and Mr. Higgin's parsonage. Our esteemed host soon satisfied our enquiries by preparing a list of places worth seeing. Thus equipped, we set out for the old Dutch Church in Wolfendal Street. This massive building, constructed in 1699 without beam or rafter, lays no claims to architectural beauty, but was evidently built to brave, for all time, the ravages of wind and weather. Its centre is a quadrangle, to which are attached four transepts in the direction of the cardinal points. The southern aisle is paved with tomb-stones of Dutch Governors, taken from graves as they fell into ruins in the Fort cemetery. They are inscribed with the armorial bearings of the deceased, and with lengthy epitaphs recounting the deeds that made their actors famous in their country's history. The older memorial tablets on the walls are of wood, and are decorated after the Dutch fashion. The pulpit of the church is against a corner, and, with its massive oak canopy, reminds one of pictures of German churches as they were in the days of Martin Luther.

In the evening I went with a company of friends to the beach, just as the moon rose. Galle Face—where we had seated ourselves on a rustic bench—is a pebbly walk that braids the strand. Here the ocean comes and goes, and returns yet ever

again, in ceaseless, unwearying, restless grating on the shore. As the dark waters recede, they lay bare a million shells which glitter in the moonbeams. Again the surge speeds its rapid roll toward the strand, and, racing up the shingly shallows, flings itself on the sandy beach in wreaths of foam and hissing spray. Scarce has its bellow died away, when a renewed rumbling, as of distant thunder, is heard in the offing, and the ocean swell, gathering power as it advances, seems to concentrate its might, and bursts at our very feet with a deafening roar. The fair moon meanwhile sheds her borrowed light with a gentleness and absence of ostentation which bring into bolder relief the self-assertion and raging of the vexed waters.

The Kotehena Temple in the bazaar is interesting. In it reposes, under a glass covering, an image of Buddha, eighteen feet in length. He is represented reclining on his right side and in deep meditation. The ceiling is gaudily illuminated with floral and geometrical designs, treated in the most audacious mixture of colours. The walls bear paintings representing Gautama at the various stages of his life—from infancy to old age.

- Perhaps the most striking edifice in Colombo is the unfinished Roman Catholic Cathedral. In comparison with it, the Governor's Mansion, the Courts, and other public buildings dwindle into insignificance. It is in the form of a cross. The central transept supports a noble vault of wondrous span. Flanking it on either side, are cloisters roofed with cupolas. The vaulted wings on the north, east, and south join the main aisle at its northern extremity, and over the point where they meet, a lofty dome, with an immense diameter at the base, rears its proud hemisphere far above the neighbouring Town Hall.

The Cinnamon Gardens lie away to the west of the city. I was much disappointed to find the so-called garden a very wilderness, besprinkled with irregular patches of cinnamon bush, and altogether innocent of pathways. In its midst stands the Colombo Museum. This is an unadorned building, but it contains a valuable assortment of the handicrafts and products of the island. There are on view the hideous masks of the "devil dancers," and specimens of over a hundred articles that are manufactured from the leaves, trunk, and fruit of the palm brotherhood. The mural antiquities are as abundant as they are ancient. Of special interest are inscriptions of King Gajabahu, dated A. D. 190; and an edict of King Siri-Sang-Boi, found at Anuradhapur, which embodies an Ordinance on Fishing, A. D. 937-954. There is also a stone lion from Polonnaruwa, on which the throne of King Niccanka used to be placed, A. D. 1187-1196. The collection of birds, fishes, corals, reptiles and butterflies is

extensive. One gallery is devoted to pottery, and exhibits sherds and clay toys moulded in the first century before our era. What one does not see every day is a rattan 400 feet long. In a corridor of this museum, however, there is a single cane of that measurement. It is coiled about a marble pillar, and there lies beside it a bamboo with an interior diameter of one-and-a-half feet.

The remaining days of our stay in Colombo were spent in visiting the Hospital, the Lunatic Asylum, the de Soyza Medical Museum, the Governor's Bath in the sea, and the Railway workshops. But our excursions were quickly ended by a message from the Shipping Agents that our return vessel, the *Ethiopia*, had been sighted, and that she would leave at night-fall. We accordingly greeted her with our presence soon after she cast anchor, and in the dim twilight of that evening, we strained our eyes watching the receding shore, till even the faint outline of Colombo melted from view, and the lights at windows and along streets flickered as glow-worms on the fading horizon. Still we watched and watched till the flashes of the light-ninified by distance, mingled with the twinkling stars, as "new we were viewing our last of "Araby the blest."

HERBERT A. STARK, B. A.

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ART. V.—LAND ACQUISITION IN FRANCE AND ITALY.

PRIVATE property is subject, in the interests of public utility, to various restrictions. Perhaps the most important of these restrictions is that which imposes on the owner of property the duty of giving it up, in accordance with certain rules for compulsory acquisition (*l'expropriation pour cause d'utilité publique*), when it is required for some object of public utility.

M. de Tocqueville* mentions it as one of the chief complaints brought forward by the Provincial Assemblies, on their re-assembling in 1787, that the State was in the habit of taking lands for nothing. The following is Article 17 of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man": "Property being inviolable and sacred, no one can be deprived of it except for public necessity, legally established, and on payment of just compensation." This fundamental principle is reproduced in Art. 545 of the *Code Civil*, the broader word "utility" being substituted for "necessity." At first the whole procedure from first to last was entrusted to administrative authorities. But, owing to the complaints to which this gave rise, the First Napoleon, in a famous note written at Schœnbrunn, himself sketched the outline of a law on the subject of expropriation. His ideas formed the basis of the law of the 8th March, 1810, which, while maintaining the Government as the sole authority for declaring the public utility, entrusts the judicial authority with the duty of ordering dispossession and fixing the compensation. But this law was hardly ever put in force under the Empire. At a later period, the dilatory procedure of the Civil Courts was found to be incompatible with the necessity for the execution of public works. The first modification was made in 1809, in reference to works of fortification, and the law was recast on the 7th July, 1833. This law substituted for the Courts a special jury composed of proprietors, acting under the direction of a member of the Court. It was considered that landowners who were daily selling, buying, and exchanging land, would be eminently fitted for experts; though, as landowners, they might have an interest in fixing a high value on their land, still as payers of the land-tax, their interest would be directed to the reverse, and so they would arrive at an exact calculation of the compensation. Facts, however, turned out otherwise, and, in consequence of the excessive awards made, and with the view of still further simplifying the procedure, a law was passed

* L'Ancien Régime et la Revolution, p. 3-57

on the 3rd May, 1841, and this law is still in force. A brief outline of its chief principles and provisions may be of interest, at the present moment, when a Bill for amending the Land Acquisition Act of 1870 is before the Indian Legislative Council.

The Persons who can acquire.

The law of 1841 recognises only the right of the State, departments, and communes, or persons obtaining concessions from them. Later laws have, in the interests of agriculture or industry, extended the right to certain associations *and even private persons*. For instance, the law of the 10th June, 1854, authorises drainage companies to acquire the lands necessary for their operations; and this privilege has been extended by the law of the 21st June, 1865, to all associations formed for carrying out works of general utility, when authorised by an order of the Prefect. Finally, the law of the 27th July, 1880, permits concessionaires of mines to acquire lands for all necessary works in connection therewith.*

What may be acquired.

From the general terms of Art. 545 of the *Code Civil*, it would appear that moveable as well as immoveable property can be acquired; but, as a matter of fact, the laws contemplate only immoveable property, the reason being that the administration can generally procure moveables similar to those which an owner might refuse to part with. However, there are some exceptions, among which the principal is that of military requisitions (law of the 3rd July, 1877).

The question whether the subsoil can be acquired without acquiring the surface, has arisen in connection with tunnels pierced by railway companies. The Tribunal of the Seine and the Court of Paris had held that, in the terms of Art. 552 of the *Code Civil*, the soil and the subsoil form but one property, the acquisition of one involving the acquisition of the other. But the Court of Cassation, having regard to Art. 553, which permits a third person to acquire, even by prescription, the subterranean soil under the buildings of others, has decided that there is nothing to prevent the acquisition of the subsoil only for any purpose of public utility (Cass., 1st April 1866).†

Declaration of Public Utility.

At different epochs it has been doubted whether the declaration of public utility should emanate from the legislature or

* A law of the 24th July, 1873, is exceptional. It authorises the Archbishop of Paris to acquire land for the construction of a church on the Montmartre Hill.

† This ruling seems reasonable. It would hardly have been reasonable to compel the Mont Cenis and St. Gothard Tunnel Companies to acquire all the superficial soil above the tunnels.

from the executive power. According to the law of 1810, an imperial decree was sufficient in all cases; the laws of 1833 and 1841 divided the jurisdiction between the legislative and the executive power, a law being necessary for all national works of great importance, whether departmental or communal, while a declaration of the executive authority was sufficient for works of less importance. The decree of the Senate, dated 25th December, 1852, conferred on the executive power the right of ordering or authorizing, by decrees passed in the Council of State, all works of public utility, except that a law was necessary if the works were to be done at the expense of the State. The law of the 27th July, 1870, has gradually returned, as regards State works, to the system of the law of 1841, leaving the system introduced by the decree of the Senate of 1852 for departments and communes. A clear definition is required of "important public works," as opposed to "works of lesser importance." Hence doubts arise as to whether the executive power, in declaring the public utility of a certain work, has encroached on the province of the legislature. The law of the 27th July, 1870, makes it clear that an administrative declaration of public utility is sufficient for all works undertaken at the charge of departments and communes; while a law is required for State works.

Specification of the Lands to be acquired.

The law, or the decree, which declares the public utility can specify at the same time the lands on which the works are to be executed; but it often happens that the declaratory order is generally worded and indicates only the extreme points, with a few principal intermediate points. In such cases, the specification of the lands is subsequently made by an order of the Prefect. It is his duty to determine the lands to which the order of acquisition is applicable, and his order of cession (*l'arrêté de cessibilité*) constitutes an essential formality of the procedure of expropriation.

Transfer of the Property.

The lands which have been declared the subject of the acquisition by the order of the Prefect can become the property of the administration in two ways: (1) by amicable arrangement between the administration and the parties interested; (2) in default of such arrangement, by the effect of a judgment of the Civil Court of the arrondissement in which the lands are situated. Only the latter is expropriation properly so called.

Function of the Civil Court.

Article 2 of the law of 1841 is to the following effect: "The Courts can pronounce expropriation only if the utility has

been established and declared in the forms prescribed by the present law. These forms consist: 1. In the law or the decree which authorises the execution of the works for which the acquisition is required; 2. In the act of the Prefect which designates the locality in which the work is to be carried out, when such designation does not result from the law or decree; 3. In the ultimate order by which the Prefect determines the particular lands to which the acquisition is applicable. The Courts have the right, and are bound, to satisfy themselves that the formalities prescribed by the law have been fulfilled, and to examine whether the administrative acts from which such fulfilment results, have a legal existence. But they are not allowed to go further and see whether such acts are tainted with irregularities which render them voidable. The principle of the separation of powers is opposed to this; the administrative authorities are alone competent to adjudicate on objections raised against the validity of administrative acts. The Court of Cassation has always maintained this distinction with the greatest care (Rulings of the 14th November, 1876, and 12th February, 1884). For example, the Court which orders acquisition must ascertain whether the declaration of public utility has been made by competent authority, that is to say, by a law, a decree, &c., according to the distinctions above indicated; or whether it applies properly to the works for which the acquisition is necessary; but it cannot refuse to pronounce expropriation on the ground that the decree ought not to have been passed by the Council of State; for that is an irregularity of which only the Council of State can take cognizance on an application for revision on the ground of excess of power.

The Judgment of Expropriation.

The judgment of expropriation, or, in other words, the order for acquisition, must be supported by reasons and disclose, on the face of it, its legality by a reference to the documents showing the observance of the formalities prescribed by law. The judgment also appoints a Magistrate director for the jury charged with fixing the compensation. It affects not only the owners, but the usufructuaries, farmers, lessees, &c.; hence it is necessary that it should be made very public. An extract from the judgment is published and fixed up in the commune, and is also inserted in one of the newspapers published in the arrondissement, or, if there is none, in one of those of the Department. Each proprietor also gets a notice.

The effect of the judgment of expropriation is to pass the property absolutely, and free of all encumbrances, to the person acquiring it. The judgment puts an end to all rights of

property, usufruct, user, habitation, and servitude; those who have such rights, retain them not against the property, but against the price fixed as compensation.

RULES CONCERNING COMPENSATION.

Persons having a Right to Compensation.

Acquisition of land can affect a large number of persons owners, usufructuaries, farmers, lessees, sub-lessees, &c. All these persons have a right to a distinct compensation, and the administration must make them offers. But how are they to be known? In this matter the law divides those having rights into three classes: (1) The owner, who must receive an individual notice of the judgment of expropriation; (2) the interested persons, whom the owner is bound to inform, under penalty of having to pay himself the compensation which they can claim; (3) those who must get information themselves. As to persons who have easements over the land, the proprietor is only bound to inform those who enjoy the easements regulated by the Civil Code; those who have rights of pasturage and the like, ruled by the Forest Code, must inform themselves. The number of these rights is always considerable, and some times extends to all the inhabitants of a commune. Those whom the proprietor is not bound to inform must make their claim within eight days from the order of expropriation; and if they fail to do so, they are deprived of all rights to compensation.

Offers made by the Administration.

Before having recourse to expropriation, the administration may, but is not bound to, attempt to arrive at an amicable arrangement with the owners and other interested persons, and for that purpose may make offers. The owners are bound to declare their acceptance of the offers within the fifteen days following, or to state the amounts claimed by them. If the owners accept, or if the administration accepts their claims, the matter is settled accordingly; otherwise the matter goes before a jury.

Claim for Complete Acquisition.

When it is necessary to acquire a part of a building, a claim for complete acquisition may be made in all cases. But as regards lands, such a claim can be made only on three conditions: (1) that the piece of land is reduced in extent to one quarter of its original amount; (2) that the owner does not possess any other land immediately contiguous; (3) that the piece which remains is less than ten acres. It is doubtful whether the right to demand acquisition of the whole extends to the tenant also. Probably not. The tenant is sufficiently

protected; he can, at his choice, demand the cancelment of the lease or a reduction of the rent.

The Special Jury.

An annual list of jurors is framed by the General Council of the Department. Under the Code of Criminal Procedure, the jury are chosen by lot; but, as special knowledge is required for fixing the value of land, it is left to the Court of Appeal, or the principal Civil Court, to select 16 persons from the list, together with four supplementary jurors.* The list is sent to the Prefect, or Sub-Prefect, who causes the appearance of the jurors on the day fixed. The jury must consist of not less than nine persons. After the jury is sworn, the presiding Magistrate places before them (1) the statement of offers and claims made; (2) the plans of the land, together with the title deeds, or other documents, produced by the parties in support of their offers and demands. The parties are then allowed to make their observations summarily; the jury can hear any persons who can throw light on the subject matter, and may visit the spot in a body, or depute one or more of their members to do so. The discussion is public and may be adjourned to a second sitting. The decision of the jury being a regular judgment, it has been considered necessary to admit the publicity of discussion, and the parties may be represented by duly-constituted agents or advocates. But it is the intention of the law that the arguments should be summary and should never be allowed to degenerate into long-winded discussions. The closure of the proceedings is pronounced by the presiding Magistrate. The jury at once retire, choosing one of their number as their president. The jury fix the amount of compensation by a majority; where their numbers are equal, the president of the jury has the casting vote. The jury has no other function than to fix the amount of compensation. But it may reject for want of *bona fides* and leave out of consideration documents or acts which appear to have been intended to create fictitious rights, or to enhance the compensation.

Rules relating to the Determination of the Compensation.

The compensation (*l'indemnité*), as the word indicates, must be the exact equivalent of the injury caused by the expropriation. The owner, then, is entitled to compensation for any damage directly resulting from the acquisition, or the execution of works contemplated, provided that such damage is ascertainable definitely and with certainty at the time of

* The supplementary jurors are appointed in case of the absence or illness of any of the original jury, or of the disqualification by illness of any juror.

fixing the compensation. But the jury cannot take into consideration any eventual damage which may result from the execution of ulterior works.* Many frauds used to be committed. Owners, having learnt the direction a road or railway was to take, used to hasten to make plantations, or run up constructions of sorts, with the view of increasing the amount of indemnity. In order to prevent such frauds, Art. 52 is as follows: "Buildings, plantations, and other improvements will not give a claim to any compensation, when, having regard to the time when they were made, or any other circumstances whatever which they choose to take into consideration, the jury are satisfied that they were made with the view of obtaining an enhanced compensation.

Now it may happen that, though a proprietor loses a part of his land, yet he will be a gainer by the additional value of his other land resulting from the road, street, canal, &c., which is to be made. In India this value is not taken into consideration. In France it is set off against the compensation, provided that the additional value (*la plus-value*) be *immediate* and *special*, that is, peculiar to the lands acquired; if other lands not acquired share in the increased value, it would not be just to consider it as against those only whose lands are acquired. There is a law of the 16th September, 1807, on the subject of the reclamation of marsh lands, and Art. 54 of this law enacts that, when it is necessary, at the same time, to pay compensation to a proprietor for his land taken up, and to receive from him a *plus-value* for the advantages accruing to the rest of his property, the one must be set off against the other, and the balance only paid either to or by the proprietor, as the case may be. The laws of 1833 and 1841, however, merely direct the jury to take the additional value into consideration, and they suppose that *some* compensation will be given to the owner. From this the law infers. (Court of Cassation, 31st December, 1867) that the jury must in every case give some compensation, even if it be only a franc, so as not to infringe the principle that no one can be compelled to give up his property without compensation.

Another rule is that the compensation fixed by the jury cannot be less than the offer of the administration, or more than the demand of the party interested. This merely embodies the principle of the common law that a Judge must not adjudicate *ultra petita*. If the owner makes no specific claim before the jury, the award cannot exceed the offer of the administration. (Cassation, 15th May 1866).

* Rulings of Court of Cassation, dated 16th January 1877; 8th January 1883.

† Had such a set off been allowed, Calcutta would have got its Central Road much more cheaply.

Costs.

The rule as to costs is fairer than that which prevails in India. If the award of the jury does not exceed the offer of the administration, the parties who have refused the offer bear all the costs; if it is as much as the parties have claimed, the administration pays all the costs. If it is some amount between the two, the costs are proportionately divided. For instance, the administration offers 50,000 francs, the parties claim 60,000 francs, and the jury award 53,000 francs, the administration bears three-tenths of the costs, and the owners seven-tenths. In India, if the Civil Court's award exceed the Collector's offer by a rupee, the Government has to pay all costs. Such a rule is obviously unfair on the administration, or, in other words, on the general tax-payer.

Revision by the Court of Cassation.

The Court of Cassation can annul the award of a jury, incompetence (as when the jury is irregularly constituted, or excess of power; for instance, if the jury have included in their award lands other than those specified in the judgment of expropriation, or if they adjudicate on claims which the Prefect is competent to deal with.* The application for revision must be made within fifteen days from the date of the decision. If the decision of the jury be reversed, the matter is sent before a new jury.

If the lands acquired for public purposes are not actually used for such purposes, the former owners can demand their return on payment of the value. The administration has always maintained the exclusive right of deciding whether the lands will, or will not, be used for public purposes, and the Council of State has admitted this claim. However, it seems to result from certain rulings that, if the administration delay too long in carrying out the projected works, the owners can go to the Civil Court to claim the right which the law confers on them. The price paid by the owners cannot exceed the price for which the lands were acquired.

Acquisition of land by Companies and Grantees.

Companies, having concessions from the State for executing any public works, exercise the same rights, and are under the same obligations as the administration.

* The Prefect in Council can make awards where the value of the land does not exceed 500 francs; also if the lands are being acquired at the request of a commune and for purely communal interests. The Court of Cassation has ruled that the Prefect has no jurisdiction if the works concern several communes, or are executed on the lands of more than one commune (Cass. 13th March 1848).

Taking of Possession in Cases of Urgency.

In cases of urgency, possession may be taken on the deposit of a sum of money representing approximately the amount of the compensation. The urgency must be specially declared by a decree.* The amount deposited must include, besides the principal, such a sum as will give interest on it at five per cent. for two years. The only object of the declaration of urgency is to put the administration in possession at once. After that the compensation is fixed by means of the ordinary procedure. These provisions apply to lands only, and not buildings, except when the buildings are required for fortifications.

Finally most of the formalities above described are dispensed with in the case of military or marine works.

THE LAW OF ITALY.

In France the jury's award is final, revision being allowed to the Court of Cassation only for certain irregularities. In Italy the Court appoints one or three valuers, and owners dissatisfied with their valuation, can institute a suit in the Civil Court, which is tried in the same way as ordinary civil suits.

The law in Italy is contained in the law of the 25th June, 1865, as amended by the law of the 18th December, 1879, and the laws of the 30th August, 1868 and 14th June, 1874. It will be instructive, even at the risk of some repetition, to notice some of the most salient provisions of these laws.

The Law of the 25th June, 1865.

Article 2 of this law enacts that lands may be acquired not only by the State, Provinces or Communes, but also corporate bodies, private societies, and even individuals, provided that the acquisition be *in the public interest*. For instance, a private person may acquire land to dig a tank, or construct a fountain, which he intends to dedicate to the public use. The request that a work may be declared to be one of public utility must be published in the commune in which the work is to be done, and also in the official journal for the administrative publications of the Province. Any person is at liberty, within fifteen days from the publication, to make his observations, and the person asking for the declaration has the right of reply. These provisions, of course, are not applicable where the declaration of public utility is made by law.

The Declaration of Public Utility.

1. The declaration of public utility is made by law.

(a) In the case of the construction of national roads, public railways, navigable canals, draining of

* In India the urgency is declared by the Local Government.

lakes, and all works of great importance and general interest the execution of which must be sanctioned by law, whether or not the State shares in the cost ;

- (b) When the execution of a work involves the imposition of a rate on the owners of the neighbouring lands.
2. For provincial works the declaration is made by the Minister of Public Works, when the projects require his sanction ; in all other cases, it is made by the Prefect.
3. It is made by the Prefect for all purely communal works.
4. The declaration is dispensed with in the case of those communal and provincial works the execution of which is made obligatory by law.
5. In the case of fortifications and military arsenals or workshops, the declaration is made by Royal Decree, on the proposal of the Minister of War and Marine.
6. In cases not provided for in the preceding clauses, it is made by Royal Decree, on the proposal of the Minister of Public Works, after hearing the Council of State.

The Compensation and the Mode of Fixing it.

If the compensation is not amicably settled before the Prefect, he sends the record, with the plan and documents, to the President of the Court of the Circle in which the lands to be acquired are situated. The Court, within three days, and without necessarily sending for the parties, appoints one, or three, experts to fix the value of the land. It is not necessary that the parties interested should be present at the valuation.

If the compensation fixed by the jury is less than the amount offered, the owner of the land bears the costs. If it exceeds the amount offered by not more than ten per cent., the costs are equally divided between the acquirer (*l'espropriante*) and the person whose land is acquired (*lo espropriato*).

In the case of total occupation of a man's land, the compensation must be the just price which the land would bear in a free contract of purchase and sale. In the case of partial occupation, the compensation will be the difference between the just price of the land before occupation, and the just price which the remainder of the land will bear after the occupation. When that part of the land which is not acquired derives a special and immediate advantage from the execution of the public work, the value of such advantage will be estimated and deducted from the indemnity which would be

otherwise payable.* The increase of value likely to accrue to the land from the works executed cannot be considered so as to enhance the compensation. As in France, works undertaken, or trees planted, or improvements made, with a view to enhance the compensation, cannot be taken into consideration; but the owner may, at his own expense, remove the materials and all that can be removed without prejudice to the work to be undertaken.

The award of the experts is communicated by the President of the Court to the Prefect, who orders payment of the sum, or its deposit in the Bank of Deposits and Loans, pronounces the order of expropriation, and authorises the occupation of the lands, at the same time notifying the fact to the expropriated proprietors. Any proprietor may, within thirty days from such notification, appeal to the competent judicial Court against the valuation of the experts, as well as their order regarding costs. Such Court decides in accordance with the Civil Laws.

Result of Expropriation.

When the expropriation has been pronounced, all rights against the land, mortgages, easements, &c., *ipso facto* cease; they continue only *against the sum awarded as compensation*. The necessary alterations are made in the Survey and Land Tax Registers.

Temporary Occupation of Lands.

In the execution of any work declared to be one of public utility, private lands may be temporarily occupied for the purpose of taking stone, gravel, sand, and earth, for the deposit of materials, establishment of offices, temporary ways, diversion of water, and other necessary objects; such lands, if enclosed by a wall, cannot be occupied; materials specially collected by an owner for his own use except in cases of *vis major* and urgency. The person wishing to occupy must petition the Prefect, stating the compensation he is willing to give, and the Prefect calls on the owner to state within ten days whether he accepts it. If he does not, the Prefect appoints a valuer to make a valuation, and fixes the duration of the occupation. The owner may appeal to a Court against the valuation, but this does not stop the occupation. In cases of damage by *vis major* and cases of urgency generally, the Prefects and Sub-Prefects, and even the Syndic,† may

* Calcutta would, on this principle, have got its Central Road for say 10 instead of 20 lakhs, letting alone the profit to be derived from letting out the adjoining strips as building sites. The enormous awards, while enriching a few individuals, have inflicted injury on the whole tax-paying community. It is often forgotten in India that the interests of the administration and of the general tax-payer are indential.

† The *Sindaco* is the equivalent of the *Maire* of the French Commune.

order temporary occupation for a maximum period of two years. There are similar provisions regarding the occupation of lands for military or marine works.

Obligation of Proprietors to contribute to certain Works of Public Utility.

When, in any law which declares a work to be one of public utility, an obligation is imposed on the owners of the bordering, or contiguous, lands to contribute to the same by reason of the greater value conferred on their lands, and the said law does not specify the rate of contribution, it is fixed in the following way. The contribution for each proprietor must be equal to one-half of the greater value resulting from the execution of the work. The contribution is payable by tenths, each year, along with the land tax.

Historical Monuments and National Antiquities.

Ancient and historical relics of an immoveable nature, the preservation of which would be endangered if they belonged to private bodies or persons, may be acquired by the State, or by Provinces or Communes.

Special Provisions relating to the Improvement of Communes.

Communes containing a population of not less than 10,000 inhabitants can, when it is necessary for the public good to provide for health and necessary communications, make a plan for the reconstruction of any part of the inhabited portion in which the buildings are badly arranged. The plans must be deposited for fifteen days in the office of the commune, and must be approved by the Council with an appeal to the Provincial Council. The approval of the Minister of Public Works is equivalent to a declaration of public utility. Again, all communes, in which the necessity for extending the inhabited portion is demonstrated, can present a plan for extension (*piano regolatore di ampliamento*), with a view to provide for health, and also to make the houses more secure, roomy, or beautiful. The decree of approval is notified to the proprietors, and, after such notification, houses can be only erected in accordance with the approved plan. If otherwise erected, they may be demolished and the offender fined 1,000 lire.

Important Provisions regarding the Sanitation of Communes.

It is provided by the laws of the 24th December, 1885, and 16th June, 1887, that, when bad conditions of sanitation and drainage render the necessity clear, communes can get special assistance by a Royal Order, passed after hearing the Council of State. For instance, they can get loans on favourable terms, and the Syndic is given larger powers for the removal of the

causes of bad water and unhealthiness of sites. *The calculation of the compensation for the acquisition of land for these objects forms a notable exception to the general law.* The compensation is based on the average of the market value and the rents collected *during the preceding ten years.* The Italian Legislature has considered itself justified in imposing a sort of tax on owners of land in communes for the general benefit of the inhabitants living therein. The paramount interests of the public health and sanitation have in this instance been allowed to override the rights of private property. Municipalities in Bengal would consider themselves very fortunate if they could acquire land on such terms for sanitary projects.

The Bill to amend the Land Acquisition Act of 1870, which is now before the Supreme Legislative Council, follows the Italian law in allowing recourse to the Civil Court, but, in the place of expert valuers in the first instance, the Indian law retains the Chief Revenue Officer of the District. The necessity for this is beyond dispute, as expert valuers are not forthcoming in India, and experience has shown that the system of private assessors has led to corrupt and partisan awards. Indeed, the private assessor goes into Court with explicit instructions to award the amount claimed by the owner appointing him, and this fact is so notorious, that no attempt is even made to conceal it. The following remarks and suggestions seem to be worthy of consideration.

1. The Indian law should facilitate the acquisition of land by Companies. The restrictions imposed by Part VII. of the Act cause needless trouble and delay. To give an instance, it takes about two years before the India General Steam Navigation Company can acquire little plots of land for their landing-stages along the rivers Ganges and Megna.

2. Should not private persons be permitted, under certain circumstances, to demand the acquisition of land? How many works of public utility are not prevented by the obstacles in the way of getting land. I have often come across instances in villages of ryots wishing to dig a tank for the use of the public, and deterred from doing so because the zemindar's agents wanted as much as a hundred rupees *salami*, whereas, if the land were regularly acquired, the zemindar's share of the compensation would not exceed thirty or forty rupees?

3. The Prefect of a Province is in some respects the equivalent of the Commissioner of a Division; but, broadly speaking, he is the equivalent of the District Magistrate. As he makes the declaration of public utility for works in communes, so the District Magistrate might be authorised to make such declaration in the case of lands required for a public purpose in municipalities, whether for a road, a hospital, a burial-ground,

a town-hall, a market, and the like. As regards important District Board roads, the declaration might be made by the Commissioner, leaving to the Local Government the case of tramways, railways, cutcheries, jails, and other provincial or imperial buildings.

4. Should not the words "public or *administrative* purpose" be substituted for "public purpose?" The French and Italian phrase, "public utility," is better. Doubts have arisen whether land can be acquired for a school, a liquor shop, experimental cultivation, a dairy, and the like.

5. It might be better to define more clearly the expression "person interested."

6. It is probably not necessary to extend the Act to the acquisition of moveables. Regulation XI. of 1806 empowers the Collector, through the Police, to requisition provisions and other things necessary for troops, officials, and even private travellers.

7. The sixth matter to be left out of consideration in determining compensation is "any increase to the value of the other land of the person interested likely to accrue from the use to which the land acquired will be put." It has been seen that in France and Italy this increased value is deducted from the compensation, and this practice seems to be fairer to the general tax-payer than the Indian law. The seventh matter is "any outlay or improvements on the land acquired commenced, made, or effected after the date of the publication of the declaration under Section 6." For the last twelve words should be substituted "with the view of enhancing the compensation to be awarded under this Act." It is a matter of common knowledge that an owner often expends money on land with the object of deterring some local body from acquiring it, or of getting enhanced compensation. This is done long before the publication of any declaration. An owner hears that land is likely to be acquired, and acts as above. Then, a good deal of speculative buying goes on when it is known that a new railway will take a certain line or route.

8. The amending Bill continues to give fifteen per centum on the market value mentioned in Section 24. As this market value includes (a) damage by reason of severance; (b) damage by reason of injury to other property, or to earnings; and (c) expenses incidental to a necessary change of residence, it

* In India great injustice is often done to the occupants of houses in towns, no portion of the compensation being given to them, on the ground that, where they have no permanent lease, they can be treated as tenants-at-will under s. 106 of the Transfer of Property Act. Truly these elaborate Acts, based on English models, inflict frightful injury on the established customs of whole communities. Twenty years ago a suit to eject from a dwelling was almost unheard of.

is not easy to see why an additional fifteen per centum should be awarded. Such a provision goes dangerously near to the assumption that in land acquisition there is something of the nature of confiscation. This idea has been ably refuted by German, French, and Italian jurists. They point out that land acquisition savours of confiscation far less than ordinary taxation, and no sane person can assert that taxation is confiscation. It might be said that taxation is a burden borne by all. But what about the legacy duty? Moreover, the man who pays that gets no equivalent from the State, whereas the man who is made to part with his land receives its true and just value. In the public interests and for the public good, all persons are under an obligation to give up land for objects of declared public utility. Acquisition cannot be confused with confiscation. False weights and measures are confiscated; also teacherous weapons (*le armi insidiose*), tools of convicted persons, nets and implements for poaching, minerals extracted in defiance of the law relating to mines, &c. Confiscation generally affects moveables, it is always the result of the violation of some law, and no compensation is given for the property confiscated.

9. Finally, although the onus of proof lies on the plaintiff, still the Act should distinctly state that the Collector's award should be presumed to be the market-value till the contrary is proved. The Collector is in a better position than any purely judicial officer to ascertain the value of land. It may be said that in the Calcutta Dock and Central Road cases the Court has given awards far exceeding the Collector's.* Some may argue that the Collector's awards were inadequate. But is it not equally permissible to argue that the awards of the Courts have been erroneous and excessive? Who shall decide? The decision may well be left to a disinterested and well-informed Legislature, which desires only the good of the people and the material improvement of the country. If only those who speak glibly of misappropriation could have access to the mass of information and specific instances, which demonstrate the failure and injustice of the present system, they would still use the word misappropriation and even robbery, but in a different sense,—namely, that the money of the general tax-payer is being misappropriated and robbed. It may not be the fault of the Courts so much as of the system. But to demonstrate this by facts and concrete instances would require a separate article.

* It is a matter of surprise that the Central Road awards aroused no comments in the Press. It would be worth the while of Government to appoint an expert Commission of judicial and executive officers of high standing, in order to determine whether the Collector's, or the Judge's awards were nearer to the true and real market value.

ART. VI.—SAHIBGANJ AND RAJMAHAL.

L that Murray's hand-book says of Sahibganj is that it is a large place, with a fine large structure, the church, is very conspicuous. This is rather an unfortunate notice, for Sahibganj does not possess a church. The building which Mr. Eastwick mistook for one, is the Institute, though on Sundays its reading-room is used for divine service.

Sahibganj is picturesquely situated, for it occupies a rising ground on the south bank of the Ganges, and is backed by an amphitheatre of hills. It is not, however, an attractive place, for it is both noisy and dirty. Railway engines and steamers whistle and screech at all hours, and the dâk bungalow is a bad specimen of its class. It has scarcely any compound, and is close to a noisy and dusty thoroughfare, and the rooms are small and stuffy. As it does not seem much frequented, and has more accommodation than is required, it might be greatly improved by having two rooms thrown into one. The chief merit of Sahibganj in the eyes of the tourist is, that it is a convenient centre for visiting several places of interest. It is nearly midway between the historical passes of Teliyagarhi and Sakrigali, the former being seven miles to the west, and the latter six miles to the east, of Sahibganj. Further to the west there is Pir Pointi, with its splendid prospect, and its mosque and tombs, and about nine miles to the eastward is the very pretty waterfall of Motijharna, near Maharajpur. There is also a fine view to be had by climbing the hill a little to the south-west of the railway station. This hill is interesting, too, on account of the immense quantity of thatching grass which is brought down it by the Sonthals, to be pressed at the foot by machinery, and made into bales for despatch to Calcutta. Then, if one wants a short trip on the Ganges, he cannot do better than take the steamer from Sahibganj or Sakrigali to Manihari Ghât. Unfortunately for the sightseer, there are very few trains, and it is difficult to visit a station and return in reasonable time. It is often necessary to make one of the journies on foot or bicycle, but here the Sahibganj roads leave much to be desired. The district authorities do not seem equal even to the task of putting up bambu sankhoes over muddy creeks. I write feelingly on this subject, for I walked to and from Sakrigali, and from Pir Pointi to Sahibganj. I now proceed to describe the interesting places near Sahibganj, and I shall begin with Teliyagarhi.

TELIYAGARHI.—This place is sometimes spelt Terriagali, but such a spelling is incorrect. The place is not, and never was, a gali, or narrow path between rocks or high banks. It

was a fort or garhi, and is sometimes spoken of as the fort or Garhi. Thus Castanheda,* writing in 1518, says that to one ascending the Ganges, the boundary of Bengal is a fort called Hori, or Gori, situated on a mountain twenty leagues beyond Gaur. Abul Fazl, too, calls it Garhi, and speaks of it as the gate of Bengal. According to the natives, it derives the name of Telya from a Rajah of that name, and it is very probable that it was a Hindu settlement long before the time of the Mahomedans.† The large tank to the eastward was probably a Hindu work, for, though it runs from east to west, whereas Hindu tanks are generally from north to south, this is a circumstance which could hardly be avoided when the available space was a narrow strip between the mountain and the Ganges. Sir Alexander Cunningham‡ considers the place to be of great antiquity, and is inclined to think that it is referred to by Hwen Thsang. He also says that it contained a considerable number of large statues, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, and that most of these were afterwards removed to Colgong, from whence they seem to have disappeared.

The fort stood on a plateau, perhaps artificial, on the lower slope of a hill at a point where the Rajmahal range touched the Ganges. Formerly the river ran right under the rock, and the railway coolies told me that the tradition was, that the soldiers used to sit on the bastions and fish with rods in the river below. Perhaps this was only a coolie's idea of the *summum bonum* of life, nor is it a bad one, and might compare with Dr. Paley's version of supreme happiness when he was a young man at Cambridge. According to him the *summum bonum* was to sit by the fire in winter, to blow with the bellows into one's shoes when it was hot, and to read Tristram Shandy. Unfortunately a large char has been formed, and the river is far away, and a line now dropped would only fall on the East Indian Railway.

Tieffenthaler, II, 400, gives a plan of the fort as it was about 1765. It was then a square enclosure, with a tower at each corner. What we now see is a long, massive wall, made of stone and bricks in alternate courses, and with one or two bastions. At the west there is a mosque built into the wall. The mixture of stone (black trap) and bricks, reminded me of the old wall round Pevensey Castle. The translator of the Siyar§ thus describes it :—

* Quoted by Du Perron in Tieffenthaler, II, 400, n. Castanheda's book was reprinted at Lisbon in 1797.

† Teliya, however, means black in Hindi, and may have been applied to the fortress on account of the black trap rock used in building it. Buchanan says it was built by Sultan Shuja. Garhi is marked as Gorij in Da Barros' map of 1640.

‡ Archæological Survey Reports, XV. p. 39.

§ *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 334.

"Talia-Garry is a fort that shuts up the passage into Bengal. It consists in a wall, strengthened with towers, that extend from the foot of the hills to the rocky bank of the Ganges. It has neither ditch nor rampart, and yet answers well enough the purpose in a country where they know nothing of sieges, and hardly anything of artillery. Else a battery of twenty-four pounders would make a breach in it in half a day; and a couple of mortars, placed upon the brow of the hill, would destroy every man and every building in the fort."

In another place* he remarks, that Raghoji and his Mahattas had no difficulty in turning both it and Sakrigali, in 1740, marching inland and so penetrating into Bengal. Mir Jafar had done the same thing in the previous century. He found that Sultan Shuja had shut the passes of Teliyagarhi and Sakrigali against him, and so he entered Bengal with 2,000 cavalry through Birbhum. I may also quote Ives's description of Teliyagarhi as it appeared to Major Coote in 1757:—

"This is only a wall, carried on from the brink of the river (which at this place is prodigiously rapid) to the foot of the mountain, and is almost impassable, being covered, like that at Sicarigully, with thick woods and jungle; and hath this further impediment, that very near to the wall runs a rivulet, † on the side of the hill, seemingly impracticable to pass over. The bastions are without parapets, having eight sides that are not eight feet wide, and they have contrived to build the walls so artfully, that the rivulet serves for a ditch in front. The bastion wall, which is about 14 feet high and 50 yards long, entirely commands the river, which though it be three-fourths of a mile broad here, yet the current is such as to carry all boats close under the platform."

After leaving Teliyagarhi, Major Coote's next halt was at the ancient village of Shahabad, about six miles to the west. Shahabad is remarkable for an old mosque which has the unusual feature of a handsome verandah.

M. Law halted at Teliyagarhi for two days when, in obedience to Sirajah-ud-doula's summons, he marched down from Bhaugulpore. *Aprpos* of this, Orme remarks, that, if he had immediately proceeded twenty miles further, he would the next day, have met and saved Sirajah-ud-daulah, and the order of events very different from what the historian has related, would in all probability have ensued. This remark is often been quoted, but I doubt its justice. Orme, as Millar says, loved a little of the marvellous, and, moreover, he was not accurate enough for the minute style of painting which he had adopted. Rajmahal is nearer thirty than twenty miles from Teliyagarhi, and it would have been no easy matter for him to march there through a flooded country. Major Coote, in the full activity, only got as far as Sakrigali on his first day's march from Rajmahal, *i. e.*, thirteen miles short of Teliyagarhi.

* Archæ. Surv. I. p. 375.

† I do not remember this rivulet. The aspect of the country has no doubt been much changed. The stream in front of, *i. e.*, west of the Sakrigali Pass must, I think, have always been a more formidable obstacle than any near Teliyagarhi.

garhi. But a more fatal objection to Orme's thought, is that, if Law had got to Rajmahal, he would not have met Sirajah-ud-daula. The latter was on the other side of the Ganges, and was caught at Bahral in the Maldah district. He was only brought to Rajmahal as a prisoner and was immediately shipped off to Murshidabad.

PIR POINTEE.—This place * lies a good deal to the west of Teliyagarhi, and is fourteen miles from Sahibganj. The railway station is three miles inland from the Pir Point † bazar and hill. The road is a very pretty one, and the pedestrian is amply rewarded when he gets to the "Pahar." There a splendid panorama is spread before him, and one almost unique in its character. It must be remarkable, for it impressed that solemn prig, Lord Valentia.

The river no longer flows under or near the hill, and what one sees is a vast delta of chars dotted with villages, and silver streak of the Ganges in the distance. Looking eastward one sees down as far as the long, wooded promontory Sakragali. On the right there are the Rajmahal hills, and behind it, to the westward, there are the Karakpur hills, near Monghyr. There are a mosque and tomb on the hill, and it would seem from Ives' account ‡ that the latter is that of Shah Kamal. But there is a more interesting tomb a little higher up the hill and under the shade of a tamarind tree. This is a pyramidal column of the kind ordinarily seen in Anglo-Indian graveyards, and was described by the khadims of the mosque as the tomb of an Englishman. There is no inscription, and they could not tell me the name of the Sahib; but I have no doubt that it was Mr. Samuel Middleton, who was Chief of Murshidabad about 1770. The Siyar § says of him that he resigned the service when he was called upon by Clive to refund the present he had got on the accession of Najam-ud-daulah in 1765. The author adds :—

"Middleton, who had been long in India, addicted himself to a mercantile life; and after some time he found means to be re-admitted in the service, when he became Chief of Murshidabad, when, his last moment arriving, he died at Pointee, a spot near Shahabad, || midway betwixt Azimabad (Patna) and Murshidabad; he was entombed on that very hill of Pointee, where his monument is seen from afar. In his nation he bears a celebrity for goodness of heart and much benevolence; but supposing that he was a man of much

* The town is old, and is marked in Broucke's map as a toll-station.

† It appears that both Pointee and Sakragali were Invalid villages, i.e. they were places where lands were assigned to invalided sepoys in lieu of ~~quarters~~ ^{quarters}. Such lands are called Inglis by the natives, and the word is supposed to be a corruption of invalid. In the Murshidabad district, below Dhumra, there is a village and bazaar bearing the name of Inglis.

‡ p. 161. The tradition told to Lord Valentia was, that the Saint conquered a tyrannical Rajah, and sent him floating down the Ganges in a Kidjari jar.

§ Archæ. Surv. II, 379-81.

|| This is the Shahabad near Teliyagarhi.

goodness, nevertheless there was no comparing him in genius and many other good qualities to Doctor William Fullarton; nor in bravery and military abilities, as well as firmness in friendship and steadiness of temper, to Colonel Goddard; nor in wisdom of conduct, attention to the rights of friendship and love, or in knowledge and keenness in the intricacies of business and government, to George Vansittart; * nor in goodness and in civility and many other qualifications to Mr. Ewan Law and Mr. Thomas Law.†

Certainly there could hardly be a finer site for a tomb; not even in Darjeeling. From Pir Pointee I walked back to Sahibganj, but got benighted at Mirza Chauki, and had to hire guides to conduct me through the jungle and paddy fields.

SAKRIGALI.—Sakrigali ‡ is six miles west of Sahibganj. It is in appearance a much less formidable place than Teliagarhi. There are no remains of fortifications, and the much dreaded pass is now a pretty lane, reminding one of a Devonshire lane. Ives describes the road as from 9 to 12 feet wide, cut through a rock, and covered on each side by an impenetrable jungle, and says, that, if a ball was discharged here, it could not go above 100 yards in a line, the road everywhere abounding with intricate windings. This is true, and if, as he says, there were deep breastworks and trenches in it, it would have been very difficult to force a passage. But then one does not see why an invader should choose the lane. There is abundance of easy ground to the right of it. Sakrigali is a long, low, promontory, running down to the Ganges from the Rajmahal hills. It terminates in a rocky knoll, † and at the top is an old tomb, which Ives calls that of Saiyid Ahmud Makdum, and says that it was built by Shaista Khan, the uncle of Aurangzeb. It seems to me not improbable that this was the place that little Henry and his bearer climbed up to, and discoursed about Christianity.

“It was in one of those lovely places near the Rajmahal hills: Henry and his bearer went to walk. . . . The sun was just setting, and a cool breeze blew over the water, with which the little boy being refreshed, climbed without difficulty to the top of a little hill where was a tomb. Here they sat down; and Henry could not but admire the beautiful prospect which was before them. On their left hand was the broad stream of the Ganges winding round the curved shore, till it was lost behind the Rajmahal hills. The budgerow, gaily painted, was fastened to the shore just below them; and with it many lesser boats, with thatched and sloping roofs. The dandies and native servants, having finished their day's work, were preparing their khana, in distinct parties, according to their several castes, upon the banks of the river;

* Francis gives a different character of this gentleman. He says: “Europeans by long residence in Bengal, contract the character of the country, and without the insignia of black faces and white turbans, are as completely Banyans as the people who serve them. The only difference is that, to the vices of slaves, contracted by intercourse, they add those of tyrants, contracted by command.” Then he brackets Vansittart with other two of his antipathies and cries: “There are no such men in Europe, for example, as Hastings, George Vansittart, and Barwell.”

† The name seems to mean the narrow path for Sakra, from the Sanscrit Sanghama, means narrow. It is sometimes spelt in Persian, Sankrigali. There is a good view of the pass in Hodges' Travels.

‡ The cliffs, or river bluffs, between Sakrigali and Paltanganj, closely resemble those at Rangamati in the Murshidabad district.

some grinding their masala, some lighting their little fires, some washing their brass vessels, and others sitting in a circle upon the ground, smoking their cocoa-nut huqqas. Before them, and on their right hand, was a beautiful country, abounding with cornfields, topes of trees, thatched cottages with their little bamboo porches, plantations, and palm trees; beyond which the Rajmahal hills were seen, some bare to their summit, and others covered with jungle. . . . Henry sate silent, a long time. At last he said, "Boosy, this is a good country, that is, it would be a very good country if the people were Christians. Then they would not be so idle as they now are; and they would agree together, and clear the jungles, and build churches to worship God in. It will be pleasant to see the people, when they are Christians, all going on a Sunday morning to some fair church built among those hills, and to see them of an evening sitting at the door of their houses reading the Shaster. I do not mean your Shaster, but our Shaster, God's Book." Boosy answered that he knew there would be a time when all the world would be of one religion and when there would be no caste; but he did not know when that would be, and he was sure he should not live to see it."

Had poor little Henry been living now, he would have found his dream partially fulfilled. At Táljhari, between Maharajpur and Tin Pahar, there is a fair church built among the hills. Pir Pointee would also suit Mrs. Sherwood's description, ~~on~~ it is rather too far to the west of the Rajmehal hills. It is likely enough that Mrs. Sherwood was acquainted with Sakrigali, for close by there is a bazaar called Paltanganj, § which was probably a halting place for troops, and near which Mrs. Sherwood may have stopped when marching with her husband. In a ploughed field near here, I saw an old milestone with the inscription 51 miles from Murshidabad to B-pr (Bhaugalpore?).

Some five miles east-south-east of Sakrigali, there is the railway station of Maharajpur, and near it is the beautiful water-fall of Motijharna. It is about two miles south-west of the station at the head of a romantic looking glen. There are two falls, each 50 or 60 feet in height, the water coming down over two successive ledges of rock. The falls were visited by Hodges, in the last century, and he says that they are together 105 feet high. Unfortunately there is not much water except in the rains. Then the place may resemble the Fall of Foyers, for the surroundings of the two are not unlike. A fair is held here in Phalgun, and then a Jogi takes up his quarters in a cave at the foot of the lower fall. There are the remains of an old brick dam, and the place is sacred to Siva or Mahadev, this god being apparently the divinity worshipped by the aborigines of India. Many years ago I saw an Indian tale, written, I think, by a Mr. Vernet, which was called the Hermit of Motijharna.

RAJMAHAL.

Rajmahal is one of the ruined capitals of the Ganges. It is said that the old name was Agmahal, and that Man Singh

§ Paltanganj seems to have derived its name from the fact that Cleveland had arracks for his levies here.—See *Heber's Narrative*.

changed the name to Rajmahal, and afterwards to Akbar-nagar. But Agmahal is not likely to be the old or Hindu name. There is an old pargana (now partly on the east side of the Ganges) called Kānkjol, and there is also a village of that name a few miles south-east of the Bahawa railway station. Sir Alexander Cunningham* thinks that this was once the head quarters of the province, and that it is perhaps a place mentioned by Hwen Thsang. He adds that Kānkjol village is situated on a jutting point of the old high bank of the Ganges. Not having visited the place, I cannot say if this account is correct, but it is certainly a good way west of the Ganges now. It is on the Gumani river.

About four miles west of the Rajmahal station, there is a hill or rising ground called the Hadaf, and on it, on the left or south side of the road, there is a large Jama Masjid, of which Buchanan has given a plan. Hadaf is an Arabic word, and means a hill, and also archery butts. The mosque was built by Man Singh, and he probably resided in the neighbourhood. The fullest account of the splendours of Rajmahal in the 17th century is to be found in Graaf's travels.

Nearer the station, being about two miles out of it, and also on the left hand side of the road, there is the tomb of Miran, the son of Mir Jaffar. The spot was kindly pointed out to me by Mr. Swinden, the Sub-divisional officer. There is no inscription, and the tomb is in a neglected state. It once stood in a compound surrounded by a wall. On the other side of the road are the tombs of some Mahomedan ladies.

Miran was killed by lightning on 2nd July, 1760, somewhere in the Bettiah district, while out with Major Carnac in pursuit of Qadim Husein Khan. The tradition is that he was killed at the same moment that Aliverdi's daughters, Ghasiti Begam and Amnah Begam (the aunt and mother of Sirajah-ud-daulah) were drowned by his orders at Dacca. But I believe that the drowning of these ladies has not been authenticated. What seems more certain is, that he died on the anniversary of Sirajah-ud-daulah's murder. The Siyar says, that Miran's body was put into a coffin, and carried rapidly on men's shoulders to the Ganges, where it was put into a boat. The intention was to convey it to Murshidabad, but "the abominable stench that exhaled from it obliged the messengers to land it immediately, and it was buried in a spot which now goes by the name of his monument."† He was hardly older than Sirajh-ud-daulah at the time of his death, being only 21.

* Archaeological Reports, XV, 37.

† Siyar, III, 135.

UDWA NALA.—Udwa, the scene of Major Adams' victory of 5th September 1763, is only six miles from Rajmahal. It lies to the south, and on the old road to Murshidabad. Udwa is a point, or rising ground, coming down to the Ganges from the Rajmahal hills, somewhat as Sakrigali does. It was a strong position, for it had the Ganges on the left, a large jhil on the right, and one or two hillocks, which were connected by a line of intrenchments, in front. At the back was the Udwa Nāla over which Mir Qasim ‡ had built a substantial bridge of stone and brick. An arch of it is still standing. The jhil on the right, and through which our troops waded on the night of the surprise, is part of the great jhil through which the railway line passes between Tin Pahar and Rajmahal. Udwa is an interesting place to visit, for the lines of intrenchment can still be seen, and Mr. Savi, the manager of the quarries there, has in his possession a piece of cannon and many cannon balls, which have been picked up on the field of battle. I do not know why Colonel Malleeson has put an "n" into the word Udwa, and the village of Palkipur (Pulkeepore of Broome), where the English army is said to have halted, seems to be a mistake for Phudkipur. In Rennell's Atlas there is a plan of the attack, and there is also a view of Udwa as it appeared before the attack. The latter is all the more interesting because it is the handiwork of the famous Claude Martin.

H. BEVERIDGE.

more probable account is, that it was built by Sultan Shuja.

ART. VII.—AGRICULTURAL HISTORY IN MADRAS AND WHAT IT TEACHES.

Memorandum on the progress of the Madras Presidency during the last forty years of British Administration. By Dewan Bahadur S. Srinivasa Raghanaiyangar, B. A., Inspector-General of Registration, Madras.

THE Madras Government has recently issued a blue book setting forth an *apologia pro vita sua* during the last forty years. The document is an able piece of special pleading, admirably calculated to blind the eyes of the ordinary observer to the realities of the situation. No one in his senses supposes that there can be, in the words of the apologist for the Madras Government, "two opinions as to the very great advance made by the country during the last forty years." The last forty years have seen many great economic changes, and India, in common with the rest of the world, has felt the results of the great gold discoveries of the middle of the century. These, coming after a period of nearly twenty years during which no serious famine had visited the country, and the effects of the *pax Britannica* were telling on it, had free action, and, until the early seventies, the country passed through a period of marked and almost unchecked progress. During that twenty years, the population increased by over 35 per cent., and the public revenues by over 60 per cent.; a large additional sum was raised in the form of Local and Municipal taxation, and the value of the sea-borne trade of the Presidency trebled. As Sir William Robinson, then a member of the Governor's Council, said: "From about 1850-54, a tide of prosperity set in in this Presidency (Madras) which was in full swing" not long before the great famine, and "which exercised a most salutary influence on the movement of population, the extension of agriculture, and the wealth of the people." Since 1870, the opening of the Suez Canal, the great development of railways and other means of communication, and the springing up of the local mill industries, have so altered the conditions of life and the circumstances of the country; and the great fall of prices in the early seventies, followed as it was by the famine of 1876-78, exercised so much effect in checking the unexampled wave of progress above alluded to, that to draw attention to the changes that have occurred during so long a period of forty years, is only to obscure the question of the actual effect of recent administrative action on the prosperity of the country. To arrive at such results, it is for practical purposes

more to the point to take a much shorter period, and no more suitable one can be found than the last twenty years. India, it is true, has during this period suffered to some extent from the general depression of trade throughout the world; but the effects of improved and cheaper internal and external communication should have stimulated enormously its greatest industry—agriculture—where the products are so bulky and difficult to move. From an official point of view, and with the object of diverting public attention from the actual state of things, it may be an admirable move to draw such a comparison as has now been put forth; but we should be neglecting our duty to the public if we allowed it to pass without comment.

Twenty years ago, Dr. Cornish, in the course of his general review of the results of the Madras census of 1871, remarked that "the actual condition of the cultivating classes is a subject of serious anxiety in a country where so many millions are dependent on the products of the soil. A single bad season is often sufficient to bring the population of extensive tracts to the verge of starvation, and to necessitate wholesale remissions of the land assessment, and national losses in many indirect ways. All this is extremely unsatisfactory." In writing thus, he little thought to have seen his remarks enforced by the severest famine known in Southern India during the present century, which occurred within five years of the date of his review, and caused an estimated loss of about four millions amongst the population, and of nearly 200 lakhs of revenue, while it cost the country over 600 lakhs in actual expenditure on relief, and threw back the Presidency to an enormous extent. We are not among those who would ascribe such a visitation to the defects of British administration; but the fact remains that the administration was unable to cope with the disaster, and has not, since it occurred, shown any real effort to strike at the root of the causes and conditions which contributed largely to the severity of its effects. Dr. Cornish wrote of the condition of the Presidency as he knew it in the early seventies, after it had passed through the period of unparalleled progress already mentioned, and the question is whether, in the last twenty years, any of the causes for anxiety to which he alludes, have been removed or mitigated. The question is almost entirely one of rural economy, and, in a country so purely agricultural as India, the commonest manner of gauging progress, which is to consider the extension of cultivation, is no doubt the right one to start with. In Madras, however, it is not possible to do this with any approach to accuracy, for, except regarding the *otwari* land, the information available is very incomplete, or ere is none.

does not say much for the administration that, after nearly forty years of peaceful rule, the Government of Madras should be in entire ignorance as to the condition of the Zemindari areas, which occupy about one-third of the Presidency. Regarding the ryotwari lands, or land held direct from Government, the information is more or less complete. What data are available are, however, rather old, none later than those relating to the revenue year ending in June 1890 having yet seen the light. Taking these, and comparing them with the figures for the year ending in June 1870, or twenty years earlier, it appears that the area of Government land occupied by the ryots has increased nominally by 1,430,000 acres, or by rather less than 12 per cent. Bearing in mind the operations of the new survey during the period, which have disclosed, on the average, an increase of 8 per cent. on the older areas in the districts surveyed, and the fact that the area of what are known as Government lands is always receiving small accretions from lapses of favourable tenures, the real extension has been very small indeed. How far this may properly be attributed to the throw back of the last great famine, it is impossible to determine with any approach to accuracy; but, in a great measure, it is undoubtedly due to that cause, that the extension of cultivation has been so much less than the increase in population. In the four districts of Kurnaul, Cuddapah, Bellary and Anantapur, which lost collectively, between 1871 and 1881, one-fifth of their original population, the area in occupation in 1890 was about 143,000 acres, or 3 per cent. less than it was 20 years earlier. Since 1881, these districts have recovered wonderfully in population, under the influence of the rebound from the famine, so that in 1891, the number was nearly 95 per cent. of that recorded twenty years earlier. Besides these four districts, which suffered so much in the great famine, the area of ryotwari holdings decreased in Trichinopoly also by 22,500 acres, or 2 per cent. In this district the survey and settlement operations were carried out during the sixties, and remarkably low assessments were then imposed, in the hope of stimulating an extension of cultivation. Over the remainder of the Presidency, there has been a general nominal increase in the area held by the ryots. In Nellore, Coimbatore and Tanjore, the proportionate extension has been small, and it has not exceeded 7.5 per cent. in Salem, or 9 per cent. in Kistna, where 157,000 acres have been added to the holdings, and the whole of this increase in Kistna and Coimbatore may be attributed to the revision of the survey areas, whilst in Salem it represents actual retrogression, as the survey brought to light a net increase of 15 per cent. over the area in the old accounts. Salem suffered severely in the famine also. In other parts of

the Presidency, the proportionate extension has been larger, and, excepting in the two northernmost districts, Ganjam and Vizag, where it has amounted to 25 per cent., of which 20 per cent. is due to the survey, but where the area of extension is a bare 100,000 acres only, the general ratio has been about 14 per cent. In Madura and Tinnevely, it has amounted to 12 per cent., of which 8 per cent. is due to the survey; in North Arcot to 16 per cent. of which 18 per cent. is survey excess, and in Chingelput to as much as 20 per cent., 11 per cent. being due to the re-survey. On these figures, therefore, the last mentioned district has progressed during the last twenty years more than any other in the Presidency, which, considering the fact that it surrounds the Presidency town, is not surprising. But, when the figures representing this progress are looked into, it is found that the total area of extension is merely 102,000 acres, of which much more than half is due to the more accurate survey. It is true that, of this 102,000 acres, 75,000 appear under the heading of irrigated, or 'y land'; but it is a well-known fact that there has been no large development of irrigation works in the district during the last twenty years, and this result has been brought about by the transfer of a very large area of land from the category of the more lightly assessed 'dry' land to that paying more land tax under the name of 'wet.'

For the Presidency, as a whole, it is also true that the area of the wet land held by the ryots has increased in a much greater proportion than that of the dry land. In the case of the former, the ratio is 13·8 per cent.; in that of the latter, only 5·8 per cent.; but this result is due in part to the fact that, in 1870, the land irrigated under the Godavery anicut was not classed in the accounts as wet land, so that the great extension of the area of wet land in that district—nearly 115,000 acres, or nearly 46 per cent.—is misleading. In Kistna, in 1870, the system was different, so that it may be said that the still larger extension of the area of wet ryotwari holdings in that district—126,000 acres, or nearly 80 per cent.—may be attributed almost entirely to the development of the delta irrigation. In the face of these two items, due to special and easily noted causes, it will be well to eliminate particulars relating to these districts from any consideration of the circumstances of the Presidency as a whole. If this be done, the increase in the wet land occupied amounts to 7·8 per cent., or about a quarter of a million acres.

Again, nearly half of this increase is contributed by the two districts of Chingelput and North Arcot alone, where, for the reasons given above, it must be regarded as almost purely nominal. In Tanjore, the next largest contributor, the extension

sion has been about the average, and is probably real, as also is probably an increase of about 15 per cent. in South Arcot. In Tinnivelly, an extension of about 14 per cent. represents the improvements of the irrigation under the Tamraparni, but it is difficult to assign a reason for an extension of over 40 per cent. in the area of wet holdings in Salem. On the other hand, there has been a decrease of the wet area in Ganjam, Bellary and Anantapur, amounting to nearly 70,000 acres, which may be ascribed to re-classification of the original areas.

Except as regards the development of irrigation in the deltas of the Godavery and Kistna, which is a well-known and much made-use-of feature of progress, it cannot be said that the figures and data analysed above show any real progress. As far as the landed interests are concerned, they rather indicate stagnation; and, considering the fact that the recent census showed that the Presidency maintains a population larger by over four millions than it did in 1871, a very considerable extension of the area in occupation would have been natural. Whether the census of 1871 enormously understated the population; or, whether the productive powers of the soil have been increased; or, whether the general standard of living amongst the masses of the people has been reduced during the period, are serious questions which the analysis made above must suggest to any thoughtful mind. The second contention cannot be maintained except as regards a considerable, but, with reference to the Presidency as a whole, in reality a comparatively small area, lying in the deltas of the Godavery, Kistna and Tamraparni. Mr. Stuart may be able to answer the first question in his forthcoming census report; but still, if the population of the presidency is to increase in future years at a rate of over 1·5 per cent. per annum, as it has done between 1881 and 1891, the demands of the people on agriculture for subsistence will necessitate an increase of production which the present rate of extension in the area of cultivation will not suffice to meet. Even if the rate of increase between 1871 and 1891—69 per cent. per annum—be maintained, bearing in mind the fact that all the better land has long been under the plough and is probably now reduced to "prairie value" for productiveness; that extension can only bring in land which, unless liberally dealt with, soon becomes unprofitable to cultivate, and is always exposed in an extreme degree to the vicissitudes of season, and that the extension of irrigation on a large scale is not practicable, the situation is sufficiently grave. The official apologist does, indeed, endeavour to show that the increase of production of late has been very considerable, owing to improvement in the irrigation works; but except in one or two localised areas, that improvement has been, as we have

shown, purely fictitious. Again, in reference to the question of soil exhaustion, whilst he quotes Professor Wallace's exploded hypothesis, that the land in India receives more combined nitrogen from the air than land elsewhere does, and endeavours to bolster up this theory by quotations from Dr. Voelcker, he seems to be ignorant of the fact that the last named scientist has entirely disposed of the former's idea, and that he endorses the views which our apologist desires to upset, in the latest paper he has published on the subject, when he says:—

"It has often been asked whether the soil of India is undergoing exhaustion or not, and to this question I gave particular attention. That there is no clear evidence of exhaustion having actually taken place, I am ready to admit, although no one will be prepared to say that the produce is an increasing one. It is argued that, after a time, a certain level is revealed, and that this is maintained without further deterioration. Now, in the case of India, what we see is exportation of crops such as oil seeds and wheat, and also of manures; while even what is consumed by the people and by cattle is not returned to the land, the constituents of which have been drawn upon. Manure is not properly preserved, or it is burnt as fuel; the urine of cattle is wasted, bones and oil-seed refuse are exported, and night-soil is almost universally neglected. In the end, therefore, the soil is having greater demands made upon it; and what is taken off is not being replaced. Whether deterioration will be marked or not, the soil, at all events, will not be enabled to provide the requirements of an increasing population, unless there be a change in the present agricultural system."

Our apologist also quotes a most damning piece of evidence from Professor Wallace himself, when he notes that in the Central Provinces virgin land, which, after it has first been reclaimed and brought into proper condition, yields for about five years 50 per cent. more than the old fields, is reduced in five years more to the level of the old cultivation, or to what is known as prairie value. This is the level from which, when reached, the deterioration is so slow as to be most difficult to observe; and this is the level which those best fitted to form an opinion believe that a majority of our Indian fields have already reached.

There is another aspect of the data available regarding the ryotwari land of the presidency which is worthy of study, but the consideration of which is attended with greater difficulty than that of the single question of area, and that is the relative demand made by the Government on the ryots. In this case the question is complicated by the custom, prevailing generally in Madras, of imposing a consolidated assessment on the wet land. In 1870, this had not been done in the case of the land irrigated in the Godavery delta, whilst the fact that the area irrigated in that and in the neighbouring Kistna delta, has so largely increased during the last twenty years, vitiates any comparison of the total land revenue at the beginning and at the end of the period. It is a great obstacle

to a proper study of the subject that two such different things as the land assessment and the charge for irrigation water supplied should be so muddled together as they are. As a consequence, it is necessary to proceed to a consideration of this branch of the subject in a different manner.

Taking the dry land first and separately, whilst there has been an increase of 5.8 per cent. in the area, the liabilities of the land for tax have increased by 1.2 per cent. only, or the rate per acre has decreased from Rs. 1.08 to Rs. 1.03, or by about 4.6 per cent. This might be taken to indicate a more lenient demand on the ryots for the Government share of the produce of the land ; but, putting aside the whole question of additional local cesses for the moment, the contention demands further investigation. In the Godavery and Kistna, very large areas have, as has been shown already, been transferred from the category of dry to that of wet land. That much of this land, in the former district at least, was of very superior quality, is borne out by the fact that, whilst the area of dry land in occupation in Godavery has increased by four thousand acres in the twenty years, the assessment has decreased by 94,000 rupees. In Kistna, the conditions are different. The new settlement has been introduced since 1870 in a large part of the district, chiefly the upland dry taluks, and the assesment on the dry land has been increased from Rs. 1-4-3 to Rs. 1-4-7 per acre. In Kurnaul Bellary, Anantapur and Cuddapah, the conditions are so very peculiar, owing to the throwback of those districts after the great famine, which threw so much land, chiefly of the poorer soils, out of cultivation, that it is necessary to eliminate them, as well as the Godavery, before summing up the matter for the Presidency generally. If this be done, it will be found that, whilst the area of the ryots' holdings of dry land increased during the 20 years by 9.4 per cent., the assessment for which the holdings were liable, increased by 2.5 per cent., and the rate per acre decreased by 7 per cent. When we remember that the holdings at the earlier date included all the richer and therefore more highly assessed lands, and that increase of area means the bringing in of the poorer land, while a great deal of the increase in the area on which the ryot is now made to pay, is due to errors discovered by survey, it cannot be maintained that the reduction of the average assesment per acre from Rs. 1.2 to Rs. 1.12 indicates any greater leniency or moderation in the demands of the Government on the produce of the soil, but rather the reverse.

In the case of the wet land, it is essential to a proper consideration of the progress and changes of the twenty years, to exclude from the total all particulars regarding the Kistna and Godavery districts for reasons already given. If this be

done, the apparent result is an increase of the liabilities of the land by 6.8 per cent., whilst the area bearing this increased assessment has increased by nearly 8 per cent. ; in other words the average wet assessment has sunk from Rs. 4.9 to Rs. 4.82 per acre. This result is chiefly governed by the increases in the four districts of Chingelput, North Arcot, South Arcot and Tanjore, which account for 212,000 out of the 255,000 acres of net increase in the area of wet land in occupation, and in them, though the area has been extended by over 14 per cent., the assessment has increased only by 10.5 per cent. But it must be remembered that a great deal of the former increase—that of area—is entirely nominal, whilst the latter is real and actual. In Chingelput and North Arcot the recent survey brought to light a very large nominal increase in the area of wet land, which accounts almost entirely for the apparent extension of occupation in these districts. Thus, whilst the assessment in these two districts ~~has been lowered from~~ an average of Rs. 4.68 to Rs. 4.38 per acre of wet land, or by 6.4 per cent., the actual total demand for the wet land has been enhanced by over 15 per cent., and the greater part of this is a real enhancement of the demand, although there has been a nominal increase of 23 per cent. in the area. To a considerable extent corresponding results have been brought about in other parts of the Presidency. Viewed as a whole, therefore, whilst some local alleviations in the demand made by the Government have been allowed, the general tendency of the twenty years has been to take more from the ryot. This is, again, of course, over and above any increased demand for local taxation.

One aspect of the matter, closely connected with the wet land, does, however, present signs of very material progress and ~~indicates that the produce of the land has been increased,~~ and that is the larger amount of revenue that has been realisable of late years in the form of additional assessment for water supplied, either, as in the Godavery and Kistna, in the form of water tax, or for second crop assessments, or in other minor ways. In 1870, the demand on account of these services, making allowance for the Kistna water tax, not then shown separately in the accounts, was about 22,84,000 rupees ; in 1890, it was Rs. 39,64,000, an increase of not far short of 75 per cent. Remembering how much more valuable to the ryot a supply of water is than what he has usually to pay for it, the fact that the Government has been able to make this increased demand, shows that there has been distinct progress in respect of the irrigation works. Nearly seven-eighths of this increase is, however, to be found in the two northern deltas, and the greater part of the rent is accounted for by the two districts of South

Arcot and North Arcot, so that the feature alluded to is not, for the Presidency as a whole, so satisfactory as it at first sight appears. The extension of the Godavery and Kistna delta irrigation systems is too well known to need comment, but in the other two districts a good deal has been done to develop irrigation under the Péné, Palár, Cheyár, Penniár, Vellár and Coleroon, which accounts for the increase. According to the official record, there has been no increase in the value of produce since the early seventies to alleviate the demands of the Government, and this period has seen a great increase of local cesses, and other forms of local taxation, so that the ryot is probably now contributing more largely to the State than he was in 1870.

It is, however, not from the extent of land that he occupies, but the produce of the area that he is able actually to cultivate, that the ryot has to meet the Government demands, and, therefore, when it is stated that in 1870 the ryot kept nearly 90 per cent. of his holding under crop, and that in 1890 he was unable to cultivate more than 85.5 per cent., the increase in the actual demand on him would be greatly emphasised, for, if the total net demand from the holdings, after adding all charges for water, and allowing for remissions, be taken, the average demand in 1870 was Rs. 1.94, and in 1890 Rs. 2.06 per acre, excluding local taxation.

In reviewing the report on the administration of the land in 1890, the Madras Government quote figures indicating results similar to the above with complacency, whereas, if they were trustworthy, they would indicate a decided retrogression in the capacity of the ryots to carry on the cultivation of their holdings. If the record could be accepted, it would show that there has been an extension of less than 2 per cent. in the nominal area of Government land actually cropped; and, when the general increases in the area, owing to the causes already dealt with, were allowed for, this would indicate large absolute retrogression; which, in the face of other known facts, is inconceivable. As a matter of fact, the figures indicating what proportion of the area occupied is actually cropped are not to be relied on, as it appears that the earlier figures grossly exaggerated the situation, and the system of record has been altered in recent years, so that any detailed comparison would be useless. The official apologist, however, does make a comparison, and, to enable him to do so, applies *what he estimates* to be the necessary corrections to allow of fair results being arrived at. As, however, he nowhere explains the method by which he arrives at his assumed rate of correction, or states on what data he founds it, his whole argument based thereon must be rejected as without justification, and we are thrown

back on the system of comparison, incomplete though it be, which we have followed with results so entirely divergent from those which the Madras Government would have the world believe that the record of their administration during recent years reveals. As regards the actual facts recorded for the latest year of the period with which we are dealing, the data are probably much less inaccurate; and, though it is well-known that they still include a wide margin of error, they are of some value, and, except that in Tinnivelly the area of cultivation was less than usual, they represent the facts of a fairly average year. Speaking generally, the proportion of their holdings which the ryots cultivate, is much larger in the Northern Madras districts than in the Southern; and this supports the belief, that variations in this particular feature are more dependent on the keenness of the struggle for the land than on any other factor. There is one exception to the general description of the facts, or rather of the figures which purport to represent the facts, which lends confirmation to our deduction, and that is the Godavery district, where barely half the dry land occupied by the ryots is actually cultivated. It seems very doubtful whether this is a correct representation of the case, but a knowledge of the methods of the ryots and a proper appreciation of their value, do not allow of the fact being regarded with the complacency of the official apologist. It is true that he regards cultivation under a system of fallows, "as, of course," being poor and slovenly cultivation, but he evidently does not know what he is talking about when he uses these terms, for the Indian ryot's fallowing is not cultivation and it is more than slovenly. But the figures on which his theories are based are far more than simply suspicious. They are actually misleading. They show that the lowest proportion of actual cultivation to the ryots' holdings is always reported in Tinnivelly and Salem. An acquaintance with these two districts, and especially with the greater part of Tinnivelly, enables us to assert that most of the land never gets even such rest as the ryots' system allows to the land elsewhere; and especially is this true over the greater part of Tinnivelly, which our apologist might have shown, had he honestly summarised the facts recorded in a paper on the growth of cotton in Tinnivelly, in which he quotes in support of his own theories of the unpimpaired condition of land that has long been severely cropped. Further discussion of such misleading figures would be useless; but we cannot but remark that it is the duty of the Madras Government, at a very early date, to secure and publish really accurate data on the subject, so that the public may no longer be left in the dark on so important a particular as the rural economy of the country.

One point of agricultural development which our apologist does legitimately put forward, and which is a most satisfactory feature of real progress, is the increase in the number of wells, and the extension of cultivation carried on by their aid. But even here a defective knowledge of the situation prevents his showing the facts in all their bearings, and a reliance on untrustworthy statistics vitiates his deductions. No one doubts that the number of wells is increasing; but an increment of 3,000 wells a year is not likely to effect the increase in the production of food for 35 millions of people necessitated by their prolificacy. Nor would anyone but a special pleader single out, for example, the one district, *i. e.* Coimbatore, where progress is well-known to have been far greater in this respect than in any other part of the country. Nor, again, would a fair-minded statist quote figures showing absolute retrogression in some districts, without explanation, in order to prove progress, or fail to note that, during the period he was dealing with, much of the increased area shown as dependent on wells is purely nominal, owing to an alteration in the classification of the land. Such defects in the methods followed necessarily dispel faith in the conclusions of the apologist, and it is the more to be regretted that they should be conspicuous when he is dealing with the least unsatisfactory portion of the case he pleads for. The truth of the matter is that, speaking generally, the statistics regarding well irrigation in Madras are unreliable, and any argument bolstered up by them, must fall about the ears of the author.

So far, therefore, the official record of actual cultivation in Madras must be rejected, for any help it can afford for the elucidation of the economic progress of the Presidency during the period under reference, and we must have recourse to information of a different character for the purpose of forming an idea whether the county is really maintaining its capacity for providing the people with the means of subsistence. So far, we have shown that, in the twenty years, there has been no practical extension in the area of cultivation at all proportionate to the increase of the population shown by the different censuses. But this information only applies to about two-thirds of the gross area of the Presidency; as to the rest, there is a blank. It is usually pleaded that the increase of the exports of produce shows that much more land has been put under industrial crops of late years than formerly, and therefore it would be argued that, as the net export trade of the Presidency in food-grains is maintained at about the same level as formerly, production area for area, must be increasing. The latter part of the argument takes no note of the fact that the native States at the back of the Madras Presidency have, of late years, been

much opened up with the Madras Coast, nor does it agree with the generally accepted view, that improved communications have, in a great measure, broken down the ancient custom of storing up from the 'fat,' to meet the requirements of 'lean,' years. These two points would account for the maintenance of the usual exports of food-grains, though some part of the area formerly occupied by them has, in recent years, been sown with industrial crops; and this view is endorsed by the fact that the recent comparatively trifling scarcity in Madras has not only caused an entire cessation of exports of grain, but led to large imports also. Though, therefore, there has been a small increase of late years in the area of land sown with the more valuable industrial crops, we do not consider that there is any evidence to show that the produce from the area under food-grains has been increased, except, as noted before, in a few extremely localised areas.

How far this increase in the area occupied by the industrial crops has extended, the Madras Board of Revenue in its annual report on the administration of the land, purports to show by figures it gives of the areas occupied by the three products, cotton, indigo, and sugarcane. Although oilseeds are of equal or greater importance than these crops, it has apparently never yet dawned on the Board that such is the case. In volume the exports of oilseeds head the list for the Presidency, and their value stands only a little below those of indigo. The Board, moreover, does not seem to have any clear ideas as to what oilseeds are. The exports of oilseeds from Madras now amount to about a million hundredweight annually, over and above the enormous trade in ground-nuts that passes through Pondicherry. The Presidency figures, by themselves show an increase of about 20 per cent. in the last twenty years. Some of this increase is due to importations from Mysore and Hyderabad, and a large portion consists of the produce of the great Zemindaries in the northern districts. Much of it has been stimulated by the use of kerosine for illumination; but, however the figures may be viewed, the drafts on the soil of the Presidency in this form of produce have vastly increased of late years. The increase has been especially marked in the case of ground-nuts, and this feature is noted with more than complacency by the official apologist. He says that, as ground-nuts do not require irrigation or much care in cultivation, and as they grow on dry sandy soil, the trade in this article has increased the profits and the value of inferior lands. This statement is objectionable in three ways: it assumes, what has not yet been proved, that ground-nut-cultivation can go on as at present without ill effects; it suggests that all the inferior land of Madras has increased in value

owing to the introduction of this crop, whilst the crop is grown generally only in three or four districts, and extensively only in one ; and it entirely ignores the inherent evil character of an export trade in oilseeds, as is shown in our quotation from Dr. Voelcker above. It is, moreover, inaccurate, as the ground-nut crop is most carefully weeded, and, where possible, is irrigated ; a considerable amount being raised under wells.

When we turn to the other three crops, the information available shows that the area sown with cotton has not altered much in the twenty years ; that under indigo, has increased from about 300,000 to nearly 500,000 acres ; and that occupied by sugarcane from 43,000 to 59,000 acres. Looked at, therefore, with a knowledge of the general causes tending to show a nominal increase, these figures do not point to any considerable or important displacement of food-crops by crops, grown for export. The progress of the export trade also lends countenance to this view. The exports of indigo have increased in most exactly the same proportion as the area during the last twenty years and we are unable to see in this any evidence for the official apologist's statement, that "indigo manufactured in Madras is supplanting the indigo of Bengal," which is, of course, entered as a mark of progress. In the case of sugar, the exports from the Presidency by sea at the end of the period, were more than five times as large as they were at the beginning. It is true that the period from about 1867 to 1873 was one of very much smaller exports of sugar than had been customary previously, and that in recent years very large quantities of sugar have been brought out of Mysore to the Madras coast, and from Travancore into Tinnivelly ; yet even these facts do not reconcile the small increase of the area under sugarcane with an addition of nearly 50,000 tons to the exports by sea, whilst a larger quantity has been drawn from the Presidency by rail to Hyderabad and Bombay. There is, of course, no means of telling how far the latter trade is new traffic, but the fact remains that, during the four years ending 1891, an average of 7,000 tons of sugar has been so exported.

Looking a little further into the figures of the sea-borne trade, we find that the Godavery alone accounts for nearly half the gross increase, a result no doubt due to the development of the delta irrigation in that district ; the neighbouring district of Vizag. accounts for nearly another seventh, which must be ascribed to the extension of sugar growing in the zemindaries which occupy so much of that district ; whilst from Tuticorin, the port of Tinnivelly, has sprung up an average export of over 9,000, and from Cuddalore one of 5,600 tons, which are almost entirely new traffic. The greater part of the trade of the last two ports

consists of Tinnevely sugar, which, in former years, scarcely found an outlet, and in this connection we must note two misleading remarks of the official apologist : one, in his selection of the port of Tuticorin, to show the manner in which the trade of the Presidency has expanded, and the other, an allusion to the large proportion of their holdings which the ryots in Tinnevely allow to lie waste. By selecting Tuticorin and its exports of 1889-90, he was able to pitch upon a year when the quantity of sugar exported was nearly double the average, and the cotton far larger than is at all customary. He, moreover, does not note that the port was, until it became the southern terminus of the South Indian Railway, very inaccessible. As regards the other point, a reference to the official statistics shows, that no proper system of recording the area occupied by the "Palmyra forest" is existent, and this accounts for the fact that much land is shown as uncultivated in Tinnivelly, though it is held by the ryots. It is really occupied by Palmyra palms, from which the Tinnivelly sugar is obtained.

In the case of the cotton trade, there is no doubt that the extension of railway communications has enabled a good deal of cotton grown in Bombay and Hyderabad to be brought to Madras for export, which probably was formerly either worked up locally, or went by road to Bombay ; and this cause has operated in some measure to bring about an increase, of late years, in the exports of raw cotton by sea, as compared with those of the period ending in 1870-71. But the year 1870 was a year of depression in the cotton trade, owing to the low prices then prevailing and the interruption of trade owing to the Franco-German war, whilst in the last two years for which data are available, an enormous stimulus was given to the exports by comparatively high prices and an exceptionally low rate of exchange. It may also be that part of the recent enormously increased exports of the raw article, have been rendered possible by the greatly increased imports of cotton piece-goods, the value of those imported at the end being about double that of those imported at the beginning of the period, whilst the rate of value decreased during the same time by about 25 per cent. There is no doubt that this increase has set free a large amount of raw cotton formerly worked up in the country, and therefore, so far, the increased export represents less industrial employment, a feature which is emphasised by the doubling of the imports of twist, although this is partly met by the greater quantity of Indian made piece-goods exported of late years. It is, therefore, extremely doubtful, whether there has been any real increase in the production of cotton in the Presidency in recent years, and the apologist does no real good to the cause he advocates, by

inserting an entirely problematical table, purporting to show the profits arising from the growth of cotton in Tinnivelly. The figures are most questionable, and the district they refer to most exceptionally favored for the growth of cotton. We may therefore bring this section of our remarks to a close with the conclusion, that the evidence regarding the exports of produce from Madras during recent years does not show any general satisfactory signs of real progress in agriculture, and with the expression of our opinion, that the official apologist has treated the subject most inadequately.

So far, our examination of the data available regarding the economic position of rural Madras has shown that, during the last 20 years, although population has increased very largely and shows signs of extreme prolificacy, there has been little or no extension of cultivation generally; that this is specially true of the most important class of land—the dry land—and that the demands of Government on the produce of this class of land have increased; that there has been a considerable, but strictly localised, area of irrigated land on which also the demands of Government appear to have increased (altogether irrespective of local taxation, which ever has a tendency to increase); and that there is no evidence to show that the production of food is now much ahead of the demand, although it has increased during the period. The situation must, therefore, be summed up as one of agricultural stagnation, when viewed as a whole. And though it must not be forgotten that, during the period dealt with, the 'throw back' of the great famine operated to this end, if the agricultural industry of the country is to be expected to cope with the continually increasing demands upon it, there should have been some more consolatory and decided signs of vigorous progress during the last twenty years than we have, so far, been able to discover. Our retrospect, therefore, has not proved satisfactory, and when we come to a consideration of the next aspect of the data available regarding the Government estate, the result is decidedly unsatisfactory. The enormous number of petty holders amongst whom the land in India is cut up, is well known, and this of itself, with certain exceptions, is a most serious drawback to the economical and efficient management of the land. In Madras, in 1870, the 19,600,000 acres of Government land were divided into over 2,500,000 holdings; in 1890, 21 million acres were cut up into 2,800,000; that is to say the average size of the holdings had decreased from 8·3 to 7·5 acres. This result has been brought about partly by progressive subdivision under the influence of the Hindu law of succession and partition, and partly by the inherent defects of the system on which the land is administered. Information regarding the size of the holdings at the beginning

of the period under notice is not available in detail, but fairly complete data are forthcoming for the year 1871-72, which may be compared with those for 1890, pending the issue of later figures for the census year. Besides being so extremely small, a very large proportion of the ryotwari holdings are shared amongst a number of ryots. These are held on joint pattas, and the number of such holdings shows a regular, and very large increase. The following table gives the chief particulars for the years referred to :—

Year.	Average size of holdings.				Proportion of Pattas.			
	Area.			Asses- ment.	Single.		Joint.	
	Dry.	Wet.	Total.		No.	Asses- ment. paid.	No.	Asses- ment. paid.
	acres.	acres.	acres.	Rs.	per cent.	per cent.	per cent.	per cent.
1871-72	6.8	1.54	8.34	15.4	81.1	79.3	18.9	20.7
1889-90	6.03	1.56	7.49	14.1	72.25	67.4	27.75	32.6

The number of ryots is not exactly the same thing as the number of holdings; but it is generally admitted that the difference in numbers cannot be great, and therefore, as far as the ryotwari land is concerned, the above is a fair representation of the facts. It must be remembered, however, that the average area of land on which the ordinary ryot depends, directly or indirectly, is rather greater than the figures given would indicate, owing to the fact that he is often—and amongst the richer ryots generally—interested in more or less of the land held on favorable tenures in Government villages. What this area is, it is not possible from the published statistics to say. It is something less than 5,000,000 acres, but how much less, there is no means of saying. Allowing that nearly the whole of this area was divided solely amongst the ryots of Government villages, it would add not much more than an acre and a half to each holding, and the greater part of these additions are in fact, under the larger holdings. The figures show that the average holding has decreased by nearly 10 per cent. in area during the last twenty years, whilst the average revenue demanded from each ryot has decreased by about 8 per cent only. This indicates, what has been mentioned before,

that the demands of Government on the ryot are increasing, and when it is remembered that, since the introduction of the new settlement rates, the granting of remissions of revenue for any reason has become far more rare, the result can be easily understood. The increase in the number and proportion of joint pattas is another noticeable feature of the period, and may be ascribed to the increasing desire of the people, under the stress of a keener struggle for life, to have all their rights in land registered and formally recognised. This latter increase has taken place chiefly in the larger holdings; for whilst there has been a general increase of nearly 20 per cent. in the total number of holdings during the twenty years, and of nearly 9 per cent. in the assessment paid in the case of the single pattas, an increase under the former head of over 6 per cent. has been accompanied by an average decrease of 7.5 per cent. in the revenue paid on each patta, whilst in the case of the joint pattas the number has increased by 75 and the assessment paid by 72 per cent.

The information available does not allow of the comparative analysis being carried any further in the case of the joint pattas; nor is any information available to show the average areas of the holdings paying different amounts of revenue, but, regarding the single pattas, the numbers and assessments paid on the holdings of different assessment can be compared, as is done in the following table, and this for all practical purposes, as a reference to the official *apologist* shows, is a sufficiently accurate representation of the facts as far as it goes.

Size of holding, i.e. amount of Revenue paid	1871-72.			1889-90.			Proportion of average assessment of holding in class in 1889-90 to that in 1871-72.
	Proportion in class of		Average assessment of holding in class.	Proportion in class of		Average assessment of holding in class.	
	No.	Assessment paid.		No.	Assessment paid.		
Under	Per cent.	Per cent.	Rs.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Rs.	Per cent.
Rs. 10	64.77	15.68	3 65	68.93	19.20	3.56	97.9
30	23.34	26.22	16.91	21.32	27.22	16.73	98.9
50	6.09	15.01	37.11	5.11	14.45	37.05	99.8
100	3.90	17.52	67.64	3.13	15.96	66.83	98.8
250	1.55	14.70	142.43	1.22	13.28	142.64	100.2
500	.26	5.71	332.80	2.21	5.22	321.20	96.5
1,000	.07	3.10	678.52	0.6	2.90	640.69	94.4
Over							
Rs. 1,000	.02	2.06	1556.87	0.2	1.77	1581.42	101.6
Total	100.00	100.00	Rs. 15.06	100.00	100.00	Rs. 13.11	87.0

The entire absence of any information as to the areas coming into the different classes of holdings, is a very serious drawback to the value of the returns from which the above table is abstracted. Considering that the information could be attained with as much ease as that regarding the amount of revenue paid by pattadars of each class, it is discreditable to the administration that it is not available. To calculate the areas held backwards, from a general average of the rates of assessment, would be most misleading, as it is a well-known fact, that the bigger ryots almost universally hold the better land, so that the average assessment per acre of the smaller holdings is a good deal less than the general average. This, however, is what the official apologist for the Madras Government has found it convenient to do, in urging that "the revenue paid is a better index of the status of a ryot than area of holding," although he must have been aware that Mr. Benson, in his detailed account of the Kumael district showed, that "the better land is in the hands of the pattadars of the higher classes. The pauper ryots have to work on the poorest land. . . . Naturally the good land seldom falls out of occupation, and it is only on the poorer sorts that the adventuring pauper can obtain a hold." And there is no reason to suppose that this is not generally true of the whole of South India.

The data we quote are the only ones available; but even they, incomplete as they are, reveal in naked significance, a very great and serious deterioration in the size of the holdings within the brief period alluded to, as well as the enormous preponderance of petty ryots, the men of straw, whom it is the pride of the Madras land administration to bolster up. About two-thirds of the three millions (nearly) of holdings into which the ryotwari land is cut up, are held by men whose chief, if not sole, reliance is practically a parcel, or worse still, several parcels, of land half the net annual produce of which is worth less than four rupees. The official apologist, seeing this, puts forward the view that these petty holdings should be looked upon as allotments "in the hands of agricultural laborers who must eke out a living by working for others." In the absence of data as to the area held by such men, and by their richer neighbours who require to hire labor, and as to the numbers of landless laborers available, it is not possible to show how far such a view is correct; yet it is on record regarding Kumael, where the population is sparse, that this "resource is not open to any considerable number of the pauper ryots in the poorer tracts." Is this also not true of the Presidency generally? But, however this may be, to imagine that such a peasantry can ever be useful and progressive members of society, would be absurd. To

see anything else in them than a cause of grave anxiety would be to shut one's eyes to plain facts. The figures we have given show that, not only does the number of such peasants preponderate enormously in Madras, amongst the holders of Government land, but also that their number and preponderance is increasing, and suggest that the area on which each is dependent is growing steadily smaller, or of poorer average quality.

Behind and above the mass of pauper ryots comes the next largest class, and that class represents roughly, but rather too favorably, the general average of all sorts and conditions of pattadars on the Government estate. The Government apologist devotes a great deal of attention to the condition of the average ryot, and his results, though far from being a correct representation of the facts, must still be closely examined, owing to the importance that may be attached in some quarters to his calculations. And here we come upon a fact that entirely vitiates the official representation of the ryot's income. Owing, we hope and trust for the credit of the Madras Government, to an accident, the author in his text represents the average gross value of the outturn for average land at Rs. 16-10-8 per acre. In his appendices, he gives two rates: the one is Rs. 10-14-7 for similarly assessed land; the other is Rs. 8-0-11 for the average of the *dry* land which forms the bulk of the holdings; or again, on the basis of the latter scale of figures, if allowance be made for the greater gross produce of the wet land included in an average holding, it amounts to Rs. 11-11-0 per acre. Whichever of the latter rates be taken, the author has greatly exaggerated the value of the produce, and the income of the average ryot, which he puts at Rs. 9 per mensem, becomes reduced to Rs. 5 only, so that, if the former sum is required to enable a ryot's family to subsist according to the standard of living prevalent amongst the ryot population, the latter must be utterly inadequate to that end; the life of the average ryot must be one not far removed from hopeless pauperism, and the attempt made to put a roseate hue on his lot, breaks down ignominiously. Altogether, then, it may be said that about 90 per cent. of the ryots in Madras are either paupers or semi-paupers, and it says much for the stolid endurance of the race that it should continue, not only to exist, but also to increase and multiply, under such conditions.

There is one other point worth mentioning in connection with these data, and that is the fact that there are only about 30,000 holdings the separate owners of which are in a position to live by letting their land. The number of such holdings has decreased by nearly 16 per cent. in eighteen years; and more than a third of these larger holdings are to be found in

the two delta districts—Tanjore and Godavery—and another third in three other districts where there are considerably developed irrigation systems; so that, for the Presidency as a whole, they can scarcely be recognised as having much influence; and, as the holdings are probably chiefly confined to the wet lands, the owners are pretty certainly not actually engaged in the management of their cultivation, but sublet the land. These men hold a position which should enable them to take the lead in agricultural improvement, but, as a matter of fact, as a rule, they are content to let things drift, as they have drifted from time-out-of-mind. These men, and the zemindars, who hold more than a third of the total area of the province, are those on whom the responsibility for development really lies. The Government can do much to check and control the increase in the number of very small holdings, but it is to the well-to-do landholders that they must really look for agricultural development. So far the latter, as a class, have never shown a sense of their responsibilities; but in this they can scarcely be blamed, when we look at the evidence afforded by the data we have quoted, showing the stolid indifference of successive administrations to what is going on around them in the increase of pauper and semi-pauper holders of Government land. The Hindu Law of subdivision is a convenient hedge to hide behind, when this question comes up. But its effects are, to a great extent, discounted by the enormous increase in the number of 'joint' holdings, and the real cause lies chiefly in the Madras rules for the administration of the Government estate, which extend favor to the pauper, and discourage the capitalist from embarking in agricultural enterprise. Every encouragement is offered to the speculative pauper to take up and *work out* any land he can manage, by begging or borrowing, to plough and sow; and to ruin thousand of acres of struggling pasture annually, simply to enable him to figure as a ryot, and to show an increase in the area of *ryots' holdings*—no security being required that he has any capital, stock, or ability to cultivate the land properly through a series of years. The capitalist is discouraged and discountenanced, and if he wishes to take up and deal well with Government waste land, every obstacle is put in his way, to enable the man of straw to become a ryot. The truth of the matter is that the Government does not properly recognise the value of the enormous estate in its charge, and until this is altered, the gradual retrogression of the landed interests shown above, must continue, and the progress of the country in other respects must be unduly slow.

To sum up the situation as regards their interests, it is perhaps unnecessary to do more than quote the words of the

official apologist, whose unduly favorable view of the condition of the mass of the ryots, we have already criticised. He says, "when there is a failure of crops for two or three seasons in succession over large areas of country simultaneously, the resources of even the better classes of labourers and ryots become exhausted, and in the dry districts, almost half the population may succumb to the disaster." That this should be so, is, we have shown, due in a great measure to the encouragement held out to the pauper to take up land which he can never cultivate properly. He concludes that the "great majority of the population is very poor when judged by a European standard." It is actually, as well as relatively, poor. He also says that in the last fifty years, "there has certainly been improvement in the material condition of the population, the advance consisting mainly in the rise in the standard of living of the upper strata of society, and a reduction in the percentage which the lowest grades bear to the total population," which last statement we believe to be an assumption contradicted by facts patent to the simplest, and which we have shown to be entirely contrary to the evidence of the changes in the ryotwari holdings of the last twenty years. He adds that "the very lowest classes still live a hand-to-mouth existence," and, from the evidence we have given, it appears that the lowest classes includes the greater number of the ryots on Government lands. Finally, he states that "the economic condition of the country, *though improving*, is at best a low one, and is such as to tax the energies and statesmanship of Government to the utmost in devising suitable remedies for its amelioration." Remove the words we have italicised, and we can accept the final declaration. We have shown that the history of the last twenty years does not justify their use, but that it points to stagnation, if not to actual retrogression. In this connection, to show how far progress has been absent during the last 20 years, we may again quote from Dr. Cornish's note in his 1871 Census Report, in which he remarks:—"The minute subdivision of the soil, whether under the Ryotwari or the Zemindari systems, amongst a tenantry destitute of capital, or of the means of improving their holdings, is in itself a gigantic evil, such as will tax the powers of the wisest legislators to allay or remedy." Yet, since he wrote, the evil has grown rapidly, and still grows unchecked and unheeded, but rather encouraged. And yet, as he justly said, "if Indian agriculture is ever to be improved, it must be done through the example of men of intelligence, capital, and practical skill aided and encouraged directly by the Government." At present the capitalist is discouraged from embarking in agricultural pursuits, and naturally it is still true that farming in India, like most of the industrial employments, has made no practical

advance under British rule. It is true that more waste land has been brought under the plough, and that population and production have increased in proportion, but it seems very questionable whether an acre of land in the present day yields larger returns than were reaped centuries ago ! So far progress has been *extensive* only, but there is a general and far more united consensus of opinion now-a-days, than when Dr. Cornish wrote, that it "is in the direction of increased yield, area for area," or by *intensive* farming, "that so much might be done to better the prosperity of the people." The history of the last twenty years shows that, to all intents and purposes, his words of wisdom fell on deaf ears ; and, though there is no reason for accepting in all its gloom the picture as painted by Sir William Wedderburn, there is a great deal of truth in his delineation when he says, that "the most vital question in India is the condition of the Indian ryot. And unfortunately his condition, for the most part, is very bad. He and his family subsist with difficulty upon the poorest and most scanty fare. . . . Possessing no savings of money or food, and living thus on the verge of subsistence, the Indian peasantry are therefore helpless in times of scarcity." And again, after alluding to the great losses in Madras and Bombay during the last great famine, when he says "that this suffering is altogether unnecessary and preventible. These wholesale disasters are simply and solely due to the extreme and chronic poverty of the people. Famine would practically be prevented if the ryot were in a position to tide over even one bad season." His panacea for all these evils is the institution of agricultural banks, believing as he does, that the ryots difficulties are of a financial kind. "Help him in that matter and he will do the rest, and soon place himself and his dependents beyond the reach of famine." Another class of reformers put forward as their shibboleth "the necessity for spreading a knowledge of the principles of agriculture broadcast through the land," which has to a certain extent been caught up by the Government, and we are promised a new departure under the highest scientific advice in scientific agriculture ! But the advocates of the latter policy seem to forget that, to render possible agricultural progress towards the making of "two blades of grass to grow where one grew before," it is necessary first to attack the far more difficult and greater problems of rural economy, the remedying of which is essential to real progress.

Sir W. Wedderburn is, no doubt, correct in viewing the fact that "at present the ryot, as a class, has no capital," as a problem the solution of which would have great and far reaching results, but we are unable to see salvation in that alone. Our studies of the agricultural history of Madras during the last twenty years,

have shown that there are many other important problems relating to the land demanding attention; and of these the chief appear to be, how—

(1.) To check the inordinate increase in the number of pauper ryots, and to endeavour to turn the tide the other way, so that the pauper ryot may become a solvent laborer.

(2.) To encourage and enforce the consolidation and enclosure of all holdings, so that cultivation may become economical, and the individual may reap the fruits of his labors.

(3.) To teach the ryot to be self-dependent for the support of his cattle, and thus gradually lead up to the improvement of the tilling power by the rejection of the worthless.

(4.) To encourage the capitalist, instead of the speculative pauper, to embark in agricultural pursuits.

(5.) To check the export of the raw, as contrasted with the manufactured, or half-worked produce of the land.

Until these problems are solved, or are in a fair way of solution, whilst agricultural experiment and agricultural education will lay a solid foundation for future progress, it must always remain a practical impossibility that any real and general progress in intensive farming can arise, and all improvements prompted by 'scientific advisers,' or 'agricultural experts,' must be fitful, local, and disappointing. The great present requirement for agricultural progress is the removal of disabilities, and the checking of existing economic evils. To fail to recognise this, and to take a narrower view of the matter, is to court failure, or results inadequate to any efforts that may be

ART. VIII.—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF INDIAN ANTIQUARIANS.

No. III.

RAO SAHEB VISHVANA'TH NARAYANA MANDLIK, C.S.I.,
HON. M. R. A. S., F. R. G. S., F. S. S. (LOND.)

HIS BIRTH AND FAMILY.

VISHVANA'TH Nārāyan Mandlik was born on the 8th March, 1833, at the village of Murud, in the Dapoli Taluka of the Ratnagiri Collectorate, in the Presidency of Bombay. The Mandliks of Murud were Brahmans by caste, and, being in rather affluent circumstances, occupied a position of some consequence in their native village. Vishvanath's family constituted a respectable unit in the aristocracy of Mahārāstra, in that it was connected with the late reigning House of Satara, one of the wives of Bajee Rao II, the last of the Peshwas, being one of Vishvanath's female ancestors. Thus connected, on the one hand, with one of the renowned historic houses of the Deccan, and descended, on the other, from a well-to-do Mahratta family, he combined in himself all the manly qualities of the former with the many amiable virtues of the latter, and displayed, throughout his life, all those noble traits of character which are, according to Carlyle, of the essence of a "king of men."

HIS SCHOLASTIC CAREER.

When he was a boy of ten years old, he was sent to a school at Ratnagiri, where, under the tuition of Mr. Ram Balakrishna—a well-known educationist of those days—he learnt the rudiments of the English language. Four years afterwards, he was admitted as a student of the Elphinstone College, Bombay, where he distinguished himself by his proficiency in study, and thus won the favour of his professors, Messrs. Harkness, Patton and others. So diligent was he, that, during the last year of his academical career, he came out first in his College examination, having scored the highest number of marks in all the subjects, *viz.*, Political Economy, Logic, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Literature, History, Botany, Chemistry and the Vernacular languages of his Presidency. As the result of his signal success, the Clare Scholarship, which had been founded in 1835 in honor of the Earl of Clare, then Governor of Bombay, was bestowed upon him, and, in addition to this, he carried off two more prizes. In the same year he also won the Sundarji Jivāji prize, founded, in 1842, by Bābāji Sundarji, in memory of his father, in the shape

of books for the best Marathi adaptation of an English tale, to wit—"The Lottery," by Miss Edgeworth.

His contemporaries, among others, at this time, were Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and the late Mr. Nowrozjee Furdoonjee. When the Professorship of Mathematics in his College fell vacant, in October, 1851, owing to the absence of Professor Patton on leave, he was appointed to officiate for him, on account of his sterling merits and distinguished talents. In this capacity he acted for two months, lecturing on Mathematics and Natural Philosophy to the students of the Third Year's Class of the Bombay Elphinstone College. The Board of Education in the Bombay Presidency made special mention of his services in this capacity in their annual report to Lord Falkland, then Governor of Bombay, in the following terms: "Vishvanāth Nārāyan, whom we mentioned in our last report as the best man of the year, and who is again the most distinguished student of this year, had charge of the Third Year's students during Professor Patton's absence in October, and he proved himself to be a successful teacher." *

HIS CAREER IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

• In 1852 Vishvanāth left the Elphinstone College, and, on the recommendation of Professor Harkness, who took great interest in him, was appointed head clerk to General (afterwards Sir) Le Grand-Jacob. Political Agent of the Governor-General in the province of Scinde. At that time he was only in his nineteenth year. He subsequently filled the post of personal clerk to Mr. James Gibbs, and to Mr. (afterwards Sir) H. B. E. Frere, who was then Commissioner of the province, and who subsequently became Governor of Bombay. It was while he was acting as personal clerk to Mr. Frere, that he made his *debut* in the literary world, and wrote his maiden paper, entitled "Oomurkot and its Soda Princes," † which was communicated by Mr. H. B. E. Frere to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and read at a meeting thereof held on the 8th March, 1855. He was subsequently transferred to the Bombay Presidency, where he also held various Government appointments. He first acted as Deputy Educational Inspector of Marathi schools in the city of Bombay, and then, in the same capacity, as district of Thana. He was subsequently appointed Munsif of Sindh, which post he successfully filled for some time, till he was appointed to act as Curator of the Government

* Report of the Bombay Board of Education for 1851-52, page 19.

† Vide Jour. B. Br. R. A. S., Vol. V, No. XX. (July 1857) page 538. It is published therein under the heading of "*Notices, Historical and Antiquarian, of Places in Sind.*" Communicated by H. B. E. Frere Esq., Commissioner in Sind."

Central Book Dépôt. Lastly, he was appointed to Personal Assistant to Mr. (afterwards the Hon'ble) Jam Gibbs, then Commissioner of Income-Tax in the Presidency of Bombay. But by this time he had begun to feel the curse of public service, and the idea of betaking himself to fresh fields and pastures new appears to have suggested itself to him more especially as he found that promotion in the Service was not rapid enough. His attention appears to have been drawn to the legal profession, and he began to study law privately, in such intervals of leisure as he could snatch from business, and to prepare himself for the Bar. Ultimately he went in for the Bombay High Court Pleaders' Examination and succeeded in passing it in 1863.

HIS CAREER AT THE BAR.

He was enrolled as a Vakil of the Bombay High Court the 28th April, 1863, and began practising on the Appellate Side of the Court, which he continued to do till his death. He was called to the bar at a moment when the constituted tribunals of justice were passing through an important stage of their history, *viz.*, of reorganization and reform. The old Sudder Dewany Adalat, which had, from the establishment of British rule in India in the last century, safeguarded the rights and liberties of the Indian people, had been abolished in 1861, and in its place had arisen the present High Court of Judicature. The older class of pleaders who practised in the Sudder Dewany Adalat, were also vanishing day by day, and giving place to a new set of highly educated men, among whom was Vishvanâth Nârâyan. He appears to have taken the fullest advantage of this transition period in the affairs of the High Court, for he soon found himself in the enjoyment of a very extensive practice, which he retained till 1884 when he was obliged to curtail it a little on account of his appointment to a seat in the Imperial Legislative Council in India, necessitating his stay in Calcutta for three months of the year. On the death of Mr. Dhirâjlâl Mathurâdâs, in the latter half of 1876, he was appointed to officiate as Government Pleader, the permanent post having been conferred on Mr. Nânâbhâi Haridâs, who was then temporarily acting as one of the Puisne Judges of the High Court of Judicature in Bombay. He several times officiated in this capacity, till the month of May in 1884, when he was confirmed in the post on the appointment of Mr. Nânâbhâi Haridâs to be a permanent Puisne Judge of the Bombay High Court. He held the appointment till the day of his death, and discharged his duties to the entire satisfaction of the Government, whose high opinion he won on account of his eminent services. As a legal practi-

tioner, he showed considerable ability and legal acumen, and the presiding Judges of the various Courts before whom he had occasion to appear, complimented him on many occasions on his unusually clear and subtle intellect.

■ HIS CONNECTION WITH THE MUNICIPALITY OF BOMBAY.

In 1865 the Government of Bombay appointed Vishvanāth Nārāyan a Justice of the Peace for the town of Bombay. The then Bench of Justices was the prototype of the present Municipal Corporation, and, like the latter, administered the civic affairs of the town of Bombay. Vishvanāth, after his appointment, did not degenerate into a mere sleeping partner in the firm, but, on the contrary, took a very active part in the meetings of the Bench of Justices, and displayed an intelligent interest in everything that concerned the well-being of the town. He was one of the leading spirits of the agitation which was set on foot by Mr. J. A. Forbes and others in 1870-71, for the purpose of carrying out certain reforms in the Municipality of Bombay; and, such was the activity and zeal displayed by him on the occasion, that their efforts were crowned with success, and ultimately led to the formation of the present Municipal Corporation. When, after the passing of the Municipal Act of 1872, the Corporation of Bombay was constituted on a new basis, he became a member of the newly organized body, as also of the new Town Council, and he continued to be a very active and independent member of both bodies till the day of his death; though there were short breaks in his connection with the latter. In his capacity of Municipal Commissioner, he rendered yeoman's service to the Municipality of his native town, in recognition of which he was elected Chairman of the Corporation in 1879, and re-elected in 1880. During his incumbency of this post, a number of stormy debates took place over the questions connected with the Malabar Hill Reservoir, and the contribution of the Bombay Corporation towards the expenses of working the odious C. D. Act within the municipal limits of Bombay, in consequence of which party feeling ran high among the members of that body. As Chairman, Rao Saheb Vishvanāth Nārāyan managed matters with such tact and judgment, that the objects of the Municipality were carried out without any aggravation of the differences between its members. It was during his tenure of office that the Tulsi Water Works were opened, and that Lord Ripon first set foot on Indian soil, and it fell to his lot, as the Chairman of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, to present the address to that nobleman on his arrival, on behalf of that body. The friendship thus commenced between Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik and the Marquis of Ripon lasted throughout the latter's stay in this country, and ulti-

mately resulted in his conferring on him the honor of a seat, in the Imperial Legislative Council. He subsequently took an active part in the hot discussions which took place over several Municipal questions, especially those connected with the assessment of Municipal taxes, the construction of a crematorium in Bombay and the introduction of drainage. In connection with the drainage question, he tried to awaken the interest of the public in the subject by delivering, towards the end of 1883, two lectures at the Framji Cowasji Institute. On his vacating the post of Chairman, all the members of the Municipality, whether European or Native, vied with each other in complimenting him on his abilities, tact, fearless independence and far-reaching foresight.

HIS CAREER IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

In July 1874, Sir Philip Wodehouse, then Governor of Bombay, appointed Rao Saheb Vishvanāth to be a member of the Legislative Council of that Presidency, and when the term of his office expired in 1876 he was re-appointed for a further period of two years. As long as Sir Philip was at the helm of affairs, matters went on smoothly, but after his retirement, and the assumption of the Governorship by Sir Richard Temple, frequent passages of arms occurred between the new Governor and the Rao Saheb, and, on the expiration of his term in 1878, he was not re-appointed. When, in 1877, during Sir R. Temple's regime, the Land Revenue Code Bill was introduced by Mr. Rogers, stormy debates took place over it, and Rao Saheb Vishvanāth's unflinching opposition elicited the admiration even of his opponents. On the 28th April, 1880, Sir James Fergusson succeeded Sir Richard Temple, and as soon as he had assumed the reins of Government, he re-appointed the Rao Saheb to fill the seat in the Bombay Legislative Council which had fallen vacant in 1880, through the death of the late Mr. Morarji Gokuldas. During his second tenure of office, he displayed his independence of character by his opposition to the Games Preservation and Mowra Bills, and the vetoing of the latter Act by the Government of Lord Ripon showed how far his views were correct. After the expiry of his term of office, in 1882, he was again appointed and retained the post till the 15th February, 1884, when he was elevated to a seat in the Imperial Legislative Council by the Government of Lord Ripon, being thus the first native of Bombay who had the good fortune to be appointed to a seat in that Assembly.

The citizens of Bombay entertained him before his departure for Calcutta, at a grand party given in his honor at the "Petit Hall"—the residence of Sir Dinshaw Manickjee

Petit, the well-known millionaire. After his arrival in Calcutta, he was entertained by the British Indian Association of that city, at an evening party given in his honor at the Nât-Mandir of the late Raja Sir Râdhâ Kânta Deb Bahadur, of Sovabazar. When Lord Dufferin succeeded Lord Ripon in the Viceroyalty of India, the Rao Saheb was re-appointed member of the Viceregal Council for another period of two years, and he held the appointment till about the close of the year 1887, when he was obliged to resign on account of ill-health. His speeches were characterised by a lucid array of facts, thoughtfulness, and simplicity of diction, and the arguments embodied in them generally carried conviction to the minds of his hearers. Those on the Bengal Tenancy and the Income-tax Bill were elaborate and admirable, and in the latter, he severely criticised the financial position of the country, and warmly advocated the reimposition of the import duties. It was through his strenuous opposition that some of the obnoxious sections of the Income-tax Act were amended; and in the stormy debates which followed the introduction of these amendments, the experience he had gained while serving in the Income-tax Department, as Personal Assistant to the late Mr. James Gibbs, stood him in good stead. His next best speeches were those on the Revenue Code Bill, the Mowra Bill, and the Games Preservation and Local Self-Government Bills, the last named being made at Poona when he had a passage of arms with Sir James Fergusson.

HIS CONNECTION WITH THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY.

The Rao Saheb's connection with the University of Bombay commenced in 1861, when he was appointed examiner in Mârâthi at the Matriculation Examination of that body. Subsequently he acted for some years as examiner in the Mârâthi and Sindhi languages at the F. A. examination. He was elected a fellow of the University in 1862. Of all the Native fellows, he was the oldest, while, so far as his place on the general list was concerned, he was the second, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bayley being the first. In 1868 he was appointed examiner at the LL.B. examination, and he continued to be elected in that capacity every year till 1884, his last election being the fourteenth. In 1873 he was elected Syndic in Law, and he was re-elected to the office annually till 1888. He was also a member of three of the Faculties of the University, *viz.*, those of Arts, Law, and Engineering. He was also a Member of the Board of Accounts for some time.

In recognition of his distinguished services, the Bombay University elected him Dean in Arts, in February, 1889—an office which had never before been conferred in that Presidency

on a Native. A gold medal, bearing his name, was founded in the Bombay University in 1888, to be annually awarded to the graduate of the University who should write the best essay on some subject connected with Sanskrit literature, and the Committee, which was formed in December 1887, under the chairmanship of Sir D. M. Petit, to concert measures to perpetuate the Rao Saheb's many valuable and enduring services to the country in educational, political and literary matters, by a suitable testimonial, handed over to the Senate the sum of Rs. 6,050 out of the fund raised for that purpose by public subscription.

Sir Raymond West, on the occasion of the convocation of the University in 1888, referred, in the course of his address, to this munificent endowment in the following terms : "But yesterday another additional bounty was placed in my hands, which gave me no little pleasure, and which will give you, too, no little pleasure to hear. A fund has been raised to commemorate the services rendered to this University especially, and in other departments of public life, by our distinguished fellow-citizen, Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik. A sum of Rs. 6,000 was handed to me yesterday, with a view to the foundation, on terms which we shall have to settle hereafter, of a Sanskrit scholarship to bear the name of that eminent individual. I am sure that, whatever views different persons may take of the line which the Rao Saheb has adopted, either in politics or social movements, or in any other way, every one will admit that in this University, he has been a faithful and a devoted sustainer and supporter of learning. His services have been constant and unremitting, and nothing can give us greater pleasure than to find that he is so highly appreciated, and that his name is to remain for ever in the golden book of this institution. He will be enshrined among the best and most deserving men of our institution, uniting within himself the attributes of a Sulpicius, a Varro, and a Mecænas, and the fame of them all."

The Rao Saheb was also one of the trustees of the property and endowments of the Elphinstone College, Bombay, his co-adjutors in the Board of Trust of the Elphinstone funds being Sir Mangaldâs Nathoobhoy, Kt., C.S.I., and Sorâbji Shâpurji Bengâli, Esq.

HIS CONNECTION WITH LEARNED AND OTHER PUBLIC BODIES.

There is not a single learned Society or Political Association in this country with which he was not connected ; and he was also a Fellow of several learned bodies in London, being, at the time of his death, an Honorary Member of the Royal

Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and a Fellow of the Royal Geographical and Statistical Societies. He was elected a member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1861, and, at the monthly meeting of that body, held on the 9th March, 1865, he was elected a member of its Committee of Management. At the Anniversary Meeting of the Society held on the 17th January, 1874, he was elected one of the Vice-Presidents, in which capacity he continued to be re-elected till the year of his death, and he also acted as Honorary Secretary for some time. He was elected a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the 5th May, 1880, but he did not contribute any paper to the Society's *Journal* or *Proceedings*. He was also one of the original members of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, and was subsequently elected a member of its Council, and lastly one of its Vice-Presidents in 1886. He was also President of the Student's Literary and Scientific Society of Bombay, of which he had, previously to 1874, acted as the Secretary; Chairman of the Committee of the Bombay Native General Library; Vice-President of the Marathi Dnyân Prasârak Mandal; Vice-President of the newly formed Bombay Presidency Association; member of the Bombay Branches of the East India and National Indian Associations, and an Honorary Member of the British Indian Association of Calcutta.

His connection with these bodies was not of a nominal kind; he took an active and zealous interest in their affairs, and in promoting the objects for which they were founded. He was also one of the principle supporters of the now defunct Bombay Association, which was established in 1852, and, during the period of its existence, did some valuable work, and contributed largely to the amelioration of the condition of the people of the Bombay Presidency. He was also one of the trustees of the Deccan Education Society, and of the Framji Cowasji Institute, and was the founder and proprietor of *Native Opinion*, an Anglo-Marathi bi-weekly newspaper, and even, at one time, acted as its editor.

HIS ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL RESEARCHES.

Of all the learned bodies with which he was connected, the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society appears to be the only one to whose *Journal* he contributed papers, these being on archæological, historical and anthropological subjects. His first paper entitled "Oomurkot and its Soda Princes" was read before the Society on the 8th March, 1855. It contains a historical account of the Soda, or Sodha, Dynasty—a branch of the great Pramara race, which may be summarised

* *Vide Journal Bo. Br. R. A. S., vol. V., page 533 et seq.*

as follows: Oomurkot, so named after its founder Oomur, one of the Soomras, was built probably more than 500 years ago. The Soomras held the place for about 150 years, and were succeeded in its sovereignty by a warrior tribe, called the Sodhas, who constituted a branch of the great Parmar race of the Kshatriyas, which, under various names, had, from remote times, held sway in different parts of Central India and the adjoining countries. Bahudra, or Bahudrao, a scion of the Pramara dynasty, flourished at Balmeer about 450 years ago. He was succeeded by his son Chhahudrao, who transferred his capital from Balmeer to Seew in Marwar. Chhahudrao had two sons, named Sodha and Sankhlò, and one daughter, named Sichya. The eldest son, Sodhah, undertook an expedition against the neighbouring state of Ruttakot (so called after a Moghul, Rutto, its founder) and conquered it. There is a tradition current there to the effect, that, when the Moghul Rutto was slain by his conqueror, Sodha, the former's head*, on being severed from the trunk, bounded down 25 steps from the threshold of his palace, and, there stopping, exclaimed; —“Your descendants shall reign for only 25 generations,” a prediction which the people of Oomurkot believe to have been fulfilled, in that they make out a list of 25 princes of the Sodha dynasty from the first scion, Parmar Bahudrao. Sodha, after taking possession of Ruttakot, transferred his seat of government thither from Marwar. From Ruttakot, he subsequently removed the seat of Government to Oomurkot, which was held at the time by the Soomras, and which he succeeded in wresting from the latter about 350 years ago. Sodha was succeeded in the sovereignty by his descendants, who, after his death, were no longer styled Pramara's, but Sodhas, or Sodas. The following is a list of Sodha princes at Oomurkot, as gleaned from the books of a local bard. The first part mentions the names of 3 Parmar princes, *viz.*, the grandfather and father of Sodha and the chief himself: and the second, Sodha and his descendants.

I.—PARMARS

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|----------------------|----------------|
| 1. Bahudra (or Rao). | 3. Sodha Rao.* |
| 2. Chhahudrao. | |

II.—SODAS AT OOMURKOT.

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|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Sodha Rao (the same as above 3*). | 7. Doojunsul Rao. |
| 2. Chachuckderao. | 8. Khirorao. |
| 3. Je Brumhurao. | 9. Avutarnde Rao. |
| 4. Jeshudhrao. | 10. Thero Rao. |
| 5. Someshwur Rao. | 11. Humeer Rana. |
| 6. Dhara Yureeshe Rao. | 12. Veeso Rana. |
| | 13. Tejee Rana. |

* Compare with this tradition the various stories collected in Captain R. C. Temple's paper on the “*Folklore of the Headless Horseman in Northern India*” in the *Calcutta Review* No. CLIII. (July 1883), page 158 ff.

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|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 14. Champo Rana. | 20. Sugram Rana. |
| 15. Gango Rana. | 21. Shrivraj Rana. |
| 16. Soortan Rana. | 22. Subulsing Rana. |
| 17. Ashkurn Rana. | 23. Mehranj Rana (living at the time |
| 18. Kesursing Rana. | the paper was written. |
| 19. Khimraj Rana. | |

The Soda princes were formerly styled Raos, but the title was changed in the time of Soda Humeer, who had the title of Rana (retained by the family to the present day) bestowed on him by the Mogul Emperor Akbar, who was born near Oomurkot during his father's flight towards Persia through Scinde and Afghanistan. In A. D. 1746, Noor Mahomed Kalhora, a scion of the Kalhora Dynasty of Scinde, conquered the Sodas and established his supremacy there. During the time of the Kalhoras, the Sodas had charge of the revenue collections, the Kalhoras contenting themselves with a mere controlling power. In A. D. 1782, Rana Vijayasing of Jodpoor overthrew the then reigning Kalhora prince, and took possession of Oomurkot, which thus remained subject to Jodpoor till A. D. 1813, when the Talpoors attacked and conquered it, during the time of Meer Kurum Alee Mahomed Alee in Scinde, and Raja Mansing at Jodpoor. From the Talpoors, Oomurkot, with the rest of Scinde, has come into the possession of the British.

His second paper, read before the Society, is entitled "Preliminary Observations on a Document giving an Account of the Establishment of a New Village, named Murúda, in Southern Konkana*." Muruda, where the Ráo Sáheb was born, is a small village on the Western coast of India, in the Ratnagiri district of the Bombay Presidency. It is situated 90 miles to the south of Bombay in 17°42' N. Lat. and 70°8' E. Long. The document treated of in this paper, is written in the Maráthi language. The original of the copy submitted to the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, is in the possession of a Bráhmána family surnamed Vaisampáyana, who are the Dharmádhi-káris, or the chief moral and religious censors of the place. The language is somewhat different from the modern Maráthi, being written in the Modí, or cursive character, used in official papers and in ordinary business. It approaches in style the oldest *Bakharas*, or Maráthá chronicles, a large number of which deserve to be perpetuated, as furnishing important materials for the future historian of Maharashtra. Though no date is fixed, yet, judging from the characters and the paper, it would appear to be about 200 years old. The name of the author is also unfortunately wanting. It purports to give an account of the founding of the village of

* Vide Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. S. vol. VIII. page 1 ff.

Muruda by a person from Upper India, named Gangādhara-bhatta, and reputed as a Kanojā Brāhmaṇa. The paper is interesting, as it gives details of the various social and religious festivals to be observed in the village throughout the year. Many of these still obtain there ; of the rest, some have become obsolete while others have changed. The principal observances, however, are still regulated according to the order laid down in this paper. It also gives an account of the various institutions and early traditions of Muruda, and concludes with a transcript and translation of the original document.

His third paper, entitled "Serpent Worship, in Western India. The Nāgāpanchamī Holiday as it is now observed ; Serpent Worship, the Nāgās and Sarpas."* was read before the Society on the 13th May, 1869. In this paper the Rao Saheb first describes the Nāgāpanchamī festival as celebrated by the Mārāthi people, and, in the next place, makes some observations founded on this and other festivals and ceremonies, on what is popularly called Snake or Serpent Worship, and the *Sarpās* and *Nāgās* of India. Nāgāpanchamī is the fifth day of the first, or bright, half of the lunar month, Srāvana, which generally corresponds with August and September of the Christian year. This day is considered sacred to the *Nāgās*, or serpents. Early in the morning, each family brings an earthen representation of a serpent, or paints a family of five, seven, or nine serpents with sandal wood or turmeric paste. Flowers, sandal wood paste, turmeric, parched rice and beans, or parched gram and jowari, are offered to the serpents thus painted. Lamps are lighted and waved ; incense is offered ; and food and fruits are placed before them. On this day, only boiled food of a coarse kind is partaken of by the people. After morning meals, a lamp is generally kept lighted throughout the day alongside the painting or image, and milk and eatables are also placed close by. In the afternoon, people go to some place, generally an ant-hill, where serpents are said, by local tradition, to reside. Here, generally, snake-charmers may be seen with live serpents, to which offerings are made by the multitude ; or, in the city of Bombay, the former go about from house to house, exhibiting their reptilian pets to the people, who amuse themselves by feeding them. In the evening, the ceremonies of the morning are repeated, and the worshippers keep awake all through the night, playing. This watching is called keeping the serpents awake, or rather, it is the worshippers keeping up for fear of being bitten by the serpents. The worship is generally performed by the female members of the family, and, at the conclusion, all the ladies and children gather together, and the eldest, or the most intelligent of the former, repeats a

* *Op. cit.* Vol. IX. page 169 *et seq.*

kāhānt, or story (the Mārāthī version whereof is quoted in the text, together with its translation) of the popular origin of the worship. The story runs to the effect that a Gāvādā Brāhmana of Manikpura, or Manipura, being ignorant of the fact that on the Nāgapanchamī day there should be no agricultural operations, or burning, or roasting, went to plough his field on that day. There happened to be in the field a hole of a Nāgīnā, or female serpent, full of young, which were killed by the strokes of the ploughshare. The Nāgīnā, finding, on her return, that her young had been killed by the Gāvādā, bit him and all the members of his family who were there, and, in order that his whole family might become extinct, also went to bite his daughter who lived in a different village. On arriving there, the serpent found that the Gāvādā's daughter had performed the Nāgapanchamī festival, with all its rites and observances, and had placed all manner of eatables and other good things before the painted Nāgās (serpents). Having enjoyed the good things that had been set out before her painted representatives, and being pleased, she informed the girl of her having bitten the Gāvādā and all his family to death, and of the object of her visit, adding that she had refrained from biting her because she (the girl) had worshipped her, whereupon the girl begged some remedy from the female serpent whereby the dead might be restored to life. The serpent gave her some nectar, and told her to sprinkle it over the bodies of the dead, whereupon they would come to life again. The girl went to her father's house, and, carrying out the Nāgīnā's instructions, restored him and her other relatives to life. After which she told her father of the circumstances under which they had been bitten, and bade him observe, thenceforth, the Nāgapanchamī festival on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Srāvana. From that day, the Nāgapanchamī became one of the established festivals of the people.

The worship is generally conducted according to the directions laid down in a work called *Vratarājā*, compiled by one Vishvanātha Bhatta, of Sangamēsvara who, in his turn, has quoted them from Hemādri's Prabhāsa-Khanda.

The festival is observed in the Konkana district to the south of Bombay island, but it is not confined to any particular part of Western India, being observed by all classes and sects of the Hindus. The ceremonial differs slightly in different places, and in some districts a fast is observed on the 4th day, *i. e.*, the day preceding the Nāgapanchamī. The festival, it would appear, obtains greater sanctity above the Ghauts than below, except, perhaps, in Gujarātha and in the province of Kānadā or Canara.

In the Sattara and Kolhāpura districts, the private schools

are generally closed on this day, and the pupils, in their holiday attire, are taken in a grand procession to some river or watering place, out of the town or village. The children wash their slates or wooden boards, and draw thereon a Nāga or serpent, or sometimes a picture of Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, who is represented on this occasion by a cluster of 5, 7 or 9 serpents, rudely drawn. The drawing is then worshipped, and the children, returning in procession to the school and giving some present to their master, go home to enjoy the holiday. In the afternoon, the low-class women, donning their best clothes, congregate in parties, and, forming circles with their children in the centre, dance and sing. In some provinces the dancing takes place near an ant-hill, or the hollow of an old tree believed to contain serpents. In some parts of the Dekkan, the people, just before nightfall, go to some ant-hill, or hollow, to worship the Nāga, and afterwards return home and worship the images or paintings in the manner above described. Battisa-Sirālen, a town in the Sattara Collectorate, is famous as a place of serpent worship, and here snakes called *Nāgakulā* are caught and worshipped in like manner on the Nāgapanchamī, and are set free the next day. There are also temples dedicated to the Serpent-god in various parts of the Dekkan, the most notable of them being at Bhomaparānden, in the Nizam's dominions.

In Southern India the Canarese districts are peculiarly sacred to serpent-worship, and there the Nāgapanchamī festival is celebrated, as in the Dekkan, on the 5th of the bright half of Śrāvana. But in the Telanga and Tāmila districts, the ceremony is performed on the fourth of the bright half of the month of Kārtika, Vaisākha or Māgha, and hence the people of those parts call this day "Nāgalu-Chavati," or the Nāga-chaturthī. The mode of worship is the same as in the Dekkan, and the hollows where it is performed are called Vārūla in Marāthī; in Canarese Hutta; in Telugu Putta and in Tamil Puttu. In Canara stone images of the Nāga are kept under *peepul* trees, and sometimes metal images are made, and, after being worshipped, are presented to the Brāhmanas, this ceremony being performed by the higher class females. An incarnation of Sessa, one of the nine great Nāgās, is worshipped, under the name of Subrahmanya, at various places in Canara, especially at the town of Subrahmanya, 55 miles S.-E. of Mangalore. On the 6th day of the bright half of the month of Mārgasāirsha (November and December), its annual festival, called the Subrahmanya, or Subrāya Shashthī, is celebrated. A person supposed to be possessed with the spirit of Subrahmanya and endowed with the power of telling the past, the present, and the future, dances at the temple, and one of the

priests, putting a leather bag in one of his hands, takes out three handfuls of earth, called *Mulamrittikā*, from one of the supposed serpents' holes, and distributes them to the assembled worshippers as a mark of the deity's favours. There is a class of Brāhmanas called *Haigé*, in Canara, who have among them persons who call themselves *Nāgapâtṛis*, or the proper habitats of the *Nāga* deity. They are supposed to become possessed of the spirit of the *Nāgadeva*, and, in that state, are considered to be capable of foretelling future events.

In Gujarātha also, Hindus of all classes observe the *Nāga-panchamī* festival in the same mode as in the other provinces, with only these differences, *vis.*, that the images of serpents are drawn with black ink, on either the walls or the doors of houses, and that cowdung is first offered here before incense, flowers, &c., and at the *finale*, green grass and butter are offered with a prayer to the serpents, beseeching them to accept the offerings and to betake themselves to forests and jungles. Cups full of milk are placed in different corners of the house as offerings to living serpents, and a sight of one on this day is considered a good omen.

The *serpent*, as either a *Sarpa*, or a *Nāga*, thus enters intimately into the economy of a Hindu's daily life. He is treated as a *Dvija*, or twice-born, and sometimes gets the honours of a funeral. Those who are childless perform a sacrifice, called *Nārāyana-Nāgabali*, at some *tīrtha*, or sacred place, the whole ceremony being a serpent-sacrifice to propitiate the deities. This rite is performed in honor of the *sarpadevatās*, not the snakes we see, but to some spiritual beings of a higher order in whose existence the Hindus are taught to believe, and this sacrifice seems to be sanctioned by Vedic ritual, for there are allusions to serpent-worship and the *Sarpās* and *Nāgās* in the Vedas.

In the 8th Ashtaka of the 8th Adhyāya, hymn 38 of the Rig-Veda, there occurs a prayer in which the earth is addressed as the *Sārpa-rājñī*, or the queen of the serpents, or the queen of all that moves. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* also alludes to *Sarpa-mantra*. The *Taittiriya*, or the Black Yajur-Veda, contains more of prayers to serpents and serpent-worship than the Rig-Veda. In the *Brāhmaṇās* of this portion of the Yajur-Veda, the same *Sarpās* are again invoked, and sweet sacrifices are offered for their acceptance.

After the Vedas, come the *Sūtras* or Aphorisms, and the *Gṛihya-Sūtra*, of Asvalāyana, enjoins sacrifices and offerings to *Sarpa-devas*, or serpent gods. *Sarpabali*, or serpent sacrifice, is distinctly laid down, and the ritual described in detail. Asvalāyana mentions the *Nāgās* also, and the *Sarpās* are mentioned in other places in the same work, and it seems that Asvalāyana treats the two as similar, if not identical, spiritual essences.

After the Vedas, comes Manu, who mentions both the *Nāgās* and the *Sarpās*. The Mahabhārata makes no material distinction between the two classes. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa contains the famous story of *Maddalāsā*, a Nāga princess of incomparable beauty, who was married to king Kulvalās'va. The author of the *Sūrya-siddhānta* places the Nāga-Khanda, or the country of the Nāgās, in Bhārata Varsha, as is also done by Bhāskarāchārya in his *Golādhyāya*. In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Vāsuki and eleven other Nāgās are described as forming the string of the sun's chariot, one serpent being held to be sacred to each month.

It would appear that the Vedic rites have not been altogether done away with, but new ceremonies and forms of worship were introduced in post-Purāṇic periods. From a consideration of the authorities examined above and the rites and ceremonies now obtaining amongst the Hindus, it seems that some spiritual beings were at one time, and are still, invoked and worshipped under the name of Sarpa-devatās: amongst others, the Earth under the name of Sārpa-rājñī, or the serpent-queen. The Sarpās, or serpents themselves, appear in connection with the sun and his annual motion through the different mansions of the ecliptic, according to the Hindu system of astronomy, as well as the Purāṇās. The present worship of serpents as idols appears to be a mixture of the Paurāṇika ceremonies, and the practices of the Lingāyatās and the followers of other non-Vedic creeds. It is intimately connected with the worship of the Linga, and has acted upon, and been acted on by, that mode of worship to a great extent.

His fourth paper, which was read before the Society on the 14th July, 1870, is on "The Shrine of the River Krishnā at the Village of Mahābālesvara,"* and, besides offering remarks on that shrine, sacred to the river *Krishnā*, he describes the modes of worship observed by pilgrims to it and the position of the different hereditary servants connected with the temple—the paper thus being an indirect contribution to the discussion of serpent and *Linga* worship, and the actual living relationship of the wild hill tribes therewith.

The village of *Mahābālesvara*, lying in lat. 17°55' N. and long. 73° 41' E., and being 75 miles S. E. of Bombay and about 40 miles distant from the western sea-coast, is situated on the *Sahyādri* range of mountains, popularly known as the *Ghats*. This village is considered sacred by the Hindus, chiefly from its being situated at the source of the river *Krishnā*, although there is a temple dedicated to the god *Mahādeva* there, which is known as the temple of *Mahābālesvara*. The principal object of interest is the shrine of the river *Krishnā*.

* *Vide* Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. S. vol. IX. page 250 ff.

A stone temple, built about 125 years ago over the source of the river, is annually resorted to from all parts of the neighbouring country, and every 12th year, when the planet Jupiter enters the sign of *Virgo*, pilgrims from all parts of the country assemble there to bathe in the sacred waters of the Ganges, which river is believed to make her appearance at the shrine at the beginning of that year and stay there for a twelvemonth, on a visit, it is said, to her younger sister, the *Krishnâ*.

This temple, of which an elaborate architectural description and a plan are given in the text, has been built by a Sattara Brâhmana family named Anagala. Brâhmanical as it is held to be, the first hereditary officer connected with its management is a *Koli*, or rather, a family of *Kolis*. They are called *Gangâ-Putra*, or sons of the *Gangâ*, or sacred river, and appropriate all the offerings which are made by pilgrims after bathing. What the pilgrims offer before bathing is alone retained by the Brâhmana priests. At the temple of *Mahâbâlesvara* also, the *Kolis* hold a hereditary position; and the *Guravas*, who worship the *Linga* there, appear more closely allied to the hill tribes than to the inhabitants of the plains, but have, however, no connection with the shrine of the *Krishnâ*, where the *Kolis* alone are the principal officers in charge. On looking into the traditions connected with the two temples, and comparing their history with that of the famous shrine of *Mahâbâlesvara* at *Gokarna*, in North Kânarâ, it would appear that, of the two shrines, situated at the village of *Mahâbâlesvara*, that of the *Krishnâ* is the more ancient, while that of *Mahâbâlesvara* is of comparatively modern origin. In the temple of *Mahâbâlesvara*, there is a small rock containing several holes, more or less full of water. These are described as the seven sacred rivers—*Krishnâ*, *Venna*, *Koyanâ*, *Gâyatrî*, *Sâvitri*, *Bhâgirathî* and *Sarasvatî* in embryo; but there is nothing to connect these holes with the temple of the *Krishnâ*, where, again, one or two streams appear to be made to flow through five channels. Nor is there anything to show how the waters flowing through the cow's head into the cisterns below, are connected with the five rivers which take their rise at this village.

The principal river of the group is the *Krishnâ*, which is the only river that appears to have its source near the shrine. The river *Krishnâ* has been known from ancient times, and has a *Purânîc* history of its own, entitled the *Krishnâ Mahâtmya*, which is described as a portion of the *Skanda*, one of the eighteen principal *Purânas*. Its sanctity cannot be very ancient, for its name does not occur in the *Amarako'sa*—a Sanskrit dictionary, composed about, or shortly after, the beginning of the Christian era; nor is its name found in any other Sanskrit

dictionary of note on this side of India. It is mentioned in the *Vishnu Purāna* and other *Purānas*, and its present importance probably dates from the time of the Rājās of Sāttara, who have endowed this, as well as the neighbouring shrine of Mahābalesvara. Tradition says that a dynasty named *Mores* reigned in that part of the country, and places are pointed out where their queens used to bathe, where they put on their town-clothes and put off their rustic dresses, whenever they came to the shrine. But even these do not carry the history of the place further back than 350 years; neither could any records be discovered pointing to a period more remote, nor have any traditional accounts of dynasties older than the *Mores* been met with.

The temple of Mahābalesvara is of a more modern date, established after the model of the undoubtedly very ancient shrine of *Mahābalesvara*, at *Gokarna*, in North Kānarā. *Gokarna* is a town on the sea-coast, in the Kānarā district, about 25 miles to the south of *Kadavāda* (now called Karwar). This spot has been celebrated from the time of the Mahābhārata for its sanctity, and is also more particularly described in the *Skanda Purāna*. Its glories are also celebrated in the vernaculars, and thousands of pilgrims annually resort to the shrine, which is one of the oldest *Linga* temples in Southern India. The *Linga* worshipped here is known by the name of *Mahābalesvara*, and its temple, a massive structure of stone, having little pretensions to architectural beauty, is situated very near the seashore. The origin of this place of worship is ascribed to Rāvana, the king of the Rākshasās who ruled in Ceylon.

• The serpent is connected with both these temples, because it is always inseparable from all *Linga* shrines. In the latter, it is represented as being coiled round the *Linga*, while in the temple of the *Krishnā*, a living one is supposed to guard its sources. The priests at both the shrines are primarily the wild, or at least, non-Vedic tribes. Some of these wear the *Linga* and do not partake of food prepared by a Brāhmana; and *Brāhmanas* are prohibited from becoming officiating priests at Siva's temples, and cannot partake of any offerings made there.

The Rāo Sāheb's fifth paper, read before the Bombay Asiatic Society on the 12th January, 1871, embodies some "Notes on the Shrine of Mahābalesvara."* It may be summarised as follows: Mahābalesvara is the shrine, after which the chief sanitarium in Western India is named, and here the *linga* symbol is worshipped. There is no actual representation of the *linga* in the temple; but a rock from which water oozes in some places, is regarded as a *linga*, and encircled by the usual accompaniments, which have been artificially supplied. The

* *Vide Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. S. vol. X. page 1 ff.*

temple is a common building, without any architectural pretensions. There is a *nandi* (or the sacred bull) seated at a distance and opposite to the *linga*.

Like most other Hindu shrines, Mahābalesvara has a *Purāṇika* history of its own, a copy whereof is appended to the text. It consists of two *Adhyāyās*, or chapters, containing in all 163 *slokas*, or verses. This tract gives a description of the village and the sacred places there as now pointed out by the priests, and is evidently a modern composition.

The poem states that on the top of the *Sahyādri* mountain are five *Gangās*, or rivers, and these take their rise in the locks of hair on the head of the God Mahābalesvara. They are (1) *Krishnā*, (2) *Venī*, or *Venna*, (3) *Kakudmatī*, or *Koyanā*, (4) *Gāyatrī*, and (5) *Savitṛī*. The first is accounted equal in sanctity to Vishnu, the second to Siva, and the third to Brahmā; the two last being the wives of the god Brahmā. There are eight *tīrthas*, or places for man's salvation; 1, *Brahmā*, 2, *Rudra*, 3, *Vishnu*, 4, *Chakra*, 5, *Hansa*, 6, *Aranya*, 7, *Malapālā*, and 8, *Pitrimuktida*. There are three *lingas* of Siva; 1 *Mahābala*, 2 *Atibala*, and 3 *Kotī'svara*. A portion of this village, covered with jungle, is called *Brahmāranya*. It is said that, when Brahmā formerly performed sacrifices in this forest, the two rivers *Gāyatrī* and *Sāvitṛī* were produced. When Jupiter enters the sign of *Virgo*, once in twelve years, there is said to be greater sanctity in bathing at this spot than at any other season. This place is also called *Brahmā-Kshetra*, and the places fit for devotion at this spot are termed *vedās'ramas*. In the *Krishnāmāhātmya*, also described as a portion of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*, as also in the *Kārtikamāhātmya* from the *Padmapurāṇa*, the story of Mahābalesvara is mentioned. On comparison of the language and style of the tract with those of the genuine old *Purāṇas*, the *Mahābales'varamāhātmya* appears to be a modern compilation.

The importance of the shrine of *Mahābalesvara* dates from the time of the Marāṭhā kings of Satārā. Sivājī and his successors endowed it, and it is now one of the recognised Hindu places of pilgrimage in Western India. It has no pretensions to the antiquity of Gokarna Mahābalesvara in *Kānādā*. This Mahābalesvara is, therefore, a modern establishment, on the model of the older shrine in the South. It is nowhere mentioned in the enumeration of the *Jyotirlingas*, that is, the 12 luminous symbols, the names whereof are pronounced by all *Saiva* (*Smārta*) and *Bhāgavata* Hindus every morning, either in Sanskrit or in Prākṛit prayers; neither is it mentioned in the *Kedāra Khanda*, a portion of the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, or in the *Linga Purāṇa*. Hence this shrine is considered to have been established in modern times, and its *Purāṇika* history,

as it is current at the present day, in the shape of *Mahābalesvara mātāmya*, may, for the present, be relegated to the class of poems whose dates of composition are of very doubtful antiquity.

His sixth paper, read before the Society on the 19th March, 1873, is on "Sâlivâhana and the Sâlivâhana Saptasati."† Sâlivâhana, sometimes called S'âtavâhana, or Sâtavâhana, is the name of the Hindu king after whom the present Saka era, current in Mahārâshtra, is named. He is popularly believed to have been descended from a *Kumbhâra*, or bricklayer. A popular legend named *Sâlivâhana-charitra*, written in Marâthî, gives the traditionary account of his birth from a virgin aged under four years, and his exploits, and the establishment of his era, which prevails in territories to the south of the Narmadâ. In the popular enumeration of the founders of *sakas*, or eras, Sâlivâhana stands the third. The year of S'âlivâhana begins on the first of the bright half of the Hindu month of Chaitra. The years are grouped into cycles of sixty each, and each is named from some supposed quality inherent in it. The capital of S'âlivâhana was Pratishthâna, the modern Paithana, on the Godâvarî. Hemachandra, a great Jaina writer, who flourished in the 12th century of the Samvat era, includes S'âlivâhana among the four learned kings named in his dictionary, namely 1, Vikramāditya; 2, S'âlivâhana; 3, Munja and 4, Bhoja. Hemachandra also styles S'âlivâhana, or S'âtavâhana, *Hâla*, which may be a corrupt form of Sâla. Some Prâkrita authors have styled him Valâhana.

There are various Jaina accounts which claim him as a convert to their faith, and these are now the principal sources of information about the life and times of S'âlivâhana. There is a life of S'âlivâhana in Marâthî, written evidently on the basis of local tradition.

Another Jaina author, named Jina Prabhusûri, who composed many works about the middle of the 14th century of the Samvat era, has, in his work named *Kalpa Pradîpa*, described, among others, the city of Pratishthâna, or Paithana, and mentioned, in connection with it, king S'âlivâhana, of whom he has given a very interesting account. This narrative, of which an abstract is given in the text, is also to be found in the Marâthî legendary work, *S'âlivâhana-charitra*. The author also recounts the remains of other traditions respecting the life of Sâtavâhana. This account is the same as that given in the *Chaturvîns'atiprabandha* of Râjas'ekhara. Jina Prabhusûri has written another chapter on the city of Pratishthâna.

From the *Prabandhachintâmani* and *Chaturvîns'atiprabandha*, it appears that S'âlivâhana composed four hundred thousand

†. Vide Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. S. vol. X. page 127 et seq.

gāthās, or *Prakrit* verses, and denominated them the *Kosha*, or Treasury, of *gāthās*; and this seems probable, for Bānabhatta, who lived about 1,200 years ago, evidently alludes to it in the beginning of his *Harshacharitra*. There is extant a portion of this work containing seven hundred verses, entitled *S'ālivāhana Saptas'ati*, and written in the Mahārāshtri-Prākṛit language, from which the Marāthī is evidently derived.

This work is very old, in fact older than the works of the oldest Marāthī poets now extant, *viz.*, Mukundarāja, who flourished about the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th centuries, and his successor, Dnyānes'vara, who wrote his celebrated commentary on the *Bhagavatgītā* in S'āke 1272, or A. D. 1350. This is evident from a comparison between the Marāthī of Dnyānes'vara and the present Marāthī and Mahārāshtri-Prākṛita. There are seven hundred and odd *gāthās*, or verses, in the above work, divided into seven chapters, called *S'atakas*, or hundreds. This work is evidently by S'ālivāhana, who was living on the banks of the Godāvari, as that river is often named in the work, and some description, in reference to it, occurs here and there. Of mountains, the Vindhya is herein noticed. Verse 64 of the fifth hundred is in praise of Vikramāditya, and the 67th of the same hundred is in praise of S'ālivāhana; both of these must be by some one of the six poets other than S'ālivāhana. Although it is called *S'ālivāhana-saptas'ati*, it was not composed by S'ālivāhana alone, for it appears, from the commentator's notes, that the following poets also contributed to the work :—

- | | |
|--------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Bodissa. | 5. Makarandasena. |
| 2. Chulluha. | 6. S'rīrāja, and lastly comes |
| 3. Amarrāja. | 7. S'ālivāhana. |
| 4. Kumārila. | |

This poem is a collection of *Prākṛit* songs, abounding in ironical expressions and love-sentiments.

Although the Jains claim S'ālivāhana as one of their own number, he does not seem to be so. In the *Mangala*, or introductory verse, *Paśupati*, or Siva, is distinctly referred to, and a prayer offered in his honor, which would not have been the case, had he been a Jaina.

Two other kings named S'atavāhana are mentioned in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Bhattasomes'vara, and the *Brihat-kathā*; but these two S'atavāhanas are different from the S'atavāhana, or S'ālivāhana, the founder of the era, and the author of the *Saptas'ati*.

Some writers appear to confound this S'atavāhana with Vikramāditya S'akāri. But the universal and continued practice of Mahārāshtra and uniform traditions are opposed to such a supposition, and go to prove that S'ālivāhana was quite dis-

tinct from Vikramāditya S'akāri, who reigned at Ujjayinī 135 years before his advent.

Mr. Mandlik's seventh paper, read before the Bombay Society on the 13th February, 1875, is entitled "Sangames'vara Māhātmya and Linga Worship."* It may be summarised as follows: Sangames'vara is the principle town of the Tālukā of that name in the district of Southern Konkana, in the Bombay Presidency, being situated at the junction of the rivers S'āstri and Sonavi, in latitude 17° 9' N., and longitude 73° 36' E. It is one of the principal places noted in such portions of the *Sahyādri Khanda*, a part of the *Skanda Purāna*, as are now accessible. The *Sangames'vara Māhātmya*, a copy of which, made in S'ake 1713, and therefore 83 years old, was presented to the Society, is stated to have been composed by a poet named S'esha, in the service of one of the Chālukya kings named Karna. It consists of ninety *slokas*, or verses—the last five of which have been extracted from the *Sahyādri Khanda*. The language is simple, like that of other Purānas. The poem begins by citing the genealogy of the founder of Sangames'vara, which is as follows:—

- | | | |
|------|--|--------|
| (1). | S'eshaputra, who began to reign in the S'aka year 10 | |
| (2). | S'aktikumāraka, who reigned 25 years. | • |
| (3). | Sinhaka Mudrika | „ 12 „ |
| (4). | Indu-Kiriti | „ 18 „ |
| (5). | Brahmā to Chāluki | „ 38 „ |

The last name in this poem is that of Karna, who became king in S'. 100. He came from Karavīra, or Kolhāpura, along with his brothers, Nāga and Singhana. Kolhāpura itself was not their original seat; but their previous residence and capital are not given in the poem under notice. He then built a number of temples, in addition to those which had been established by Rāma at this place; and he built a fortress for his residence, while his brothers built their own palaces and constructed their quarters of the city. To the principal temple which he built, and named after himself—Karnes'vara—he assigned nine villages, and to the temples of Somes'vara, Kedāra and Somes'a, he assigned two other villages.

The poem, like other similar works, describes the virtues and religious efficacy of the various holy spots in Sangames'vara, and concludes by mentioning that king Karna, who founded the temple of Karnes'vara at this place, was the same as the king who built the temple of Mahalakshmi at Kolhāpura. It also states that all the temples existing before the time of Karna, were of the time of Rāghava, or Rāma, and that the ancient name of the place was Rāmakshetra. The extract from the *Sahyādri Khanda*, at the end of the *Sangames'vara*

* Vide Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. S. vol. XI: page 99 ff.

Māhātmya, states that "even Bhārgava Rāma, by his devotion" founded the *lingas* at Sangames'vara in the vicinity of S'iva. The preceding are the principal *slokas* describing S'angames'vara composed by S'esha, and forming part of a work named *Karnasudhānidhi*.

There is evident confusion here between Bhārgava Rāma and Rāghava Rāma in a previous part of the poem. But this seems to confirm the Purānik origin of the narrative, written from a simple religious point of view, regardless of time. If, according to the gradation of the Purānik *avatārs*, one ascends from Rāma to Bhārgava Rāma, the antiquity of the spot becomes all the greater.

At Sangames'vara there is a temple of Sangames'vara pointed out, which is stated to be older than that of Karnes'vara, founded by the Chālukya king, Karna. This older shrine is referred to Paras'urāma, the reputed reclamer of the Konkana country, along the western coast of India. There are remains of old temples at and about the place, which point to a remote period. The only inscription to be found is inside the temple of Karnes'vara, on a wall, an impression whereof was submitted to the Society.

An inscription on the temple of Mahālakshmi, at Kolhāpura, states, that, "when thirty years of the S'ālivāhana era had passed, the Chālukya king named Karna flourished. He, with the help of his younger brothers, Nāga and Singhana, conquered the earth. By him, the great temple of the goddess was constructed. And by him also a similar temple, dedicated to the great *Linga*, and consecrated after his own name, was built at the town of S'rī Sangames'vara, in the Konkana." The record goes on to state that the above three *slokas* have been inscribed on the temple of Karnes'vara in the city of Sangames'vara; but they have not been found on the walls of the present Karnes'vara temple, and most probably have been obliterated by the action of the weather.

An inscription deciphered in p. 479 and 480 of the *Statistical Report on Kolhāpura*,* distinctly refers to Sangames'vara and king Karna, of the Chālukya dynasty. The names of the Chālukya kings given in this paper are not mentioned by Mr. Brown in his *Carnatic Chronology*. Kolhāpura is mentioned as a tributary state of the Chālukyas by Mr. Wathen, in his paper on the Chālukyas, in Jour. R. A. S., No. vii., pp. 1—41.

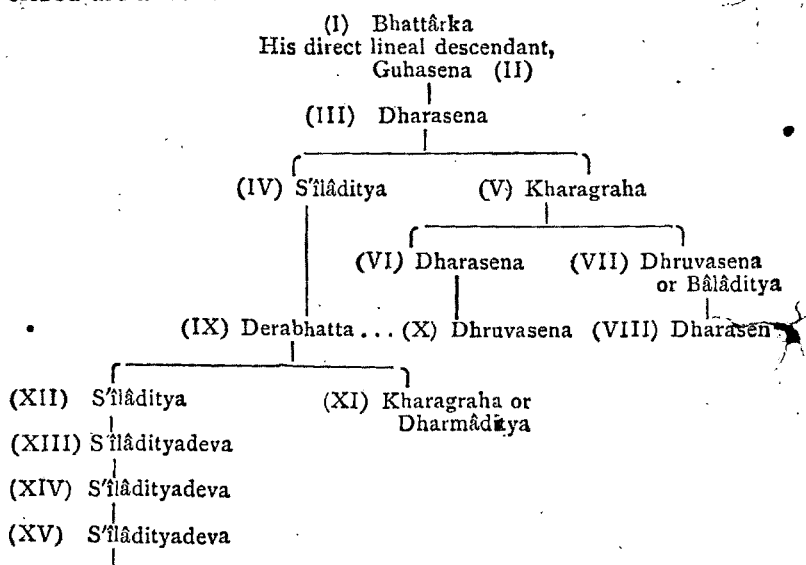
All the oldest temples at Sangames'vara are *Linga*-temples; and the style of the Karnes'vara temple may be judged from the

* Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. VIII., new series: *Statistical Report on the Principality of Kolhāpura*. Compiled by Major D. C. Graham, of the 28th Regt., Bombay N. I., Political Superintendent at Kolhāpura: 1854

four facsimiles of scroll-work, arabesques and other architectural ornaments appended to the text.

Chálukya traditions near Sangames'vara trace an offshoot of the race down to about the 5th century of the Christian era; and families bearing the surname of Chálke, or Chalake, are known even now in different parts of the Maráthá country. *Linga* worship appears to have clearly become a national institution amongst all classes in Western India prior to the 7th century of the Christian era, if not in the 2nd century of that of S'áliváhana.

His eighth paper is on "Three Walabhî Copper-plates, with Remarks."* Two of these copper-plate grants were received from Captain Phillips, Assistant Political Agent, in charge of the Gondala State, in Kathywar. Both refer to the same king. They are designated in the paper as No. 1 and 2. Both are grants by the 15th king S'ilāditya, and are later in date than any other Walabhî plate hitherto published. The kings described are as follows:—



The 15th (XV), S'ilāditya, is the grantor of both No. 1 and No. 2. Of these, No. 1 is dated the 12th of the dark half of the month of Māgha of the Samvat year 403, and records the grant to one Dāmodara Bhūti's son, Wāsudeva Bhūti, Chaturvedi, an emigrant from Wardhamāna district, and living in Liptikhanda, of the Gargyas gotra, of the village of Antarpillikā, near Dinna-putra, in Saurāshtra. The plate No. 2 is also a grant to the

* Vide Journal Bo. Br. R.A.S., vol. XL, page 331 ff.

above individual, of the village of Khandajja, near Uasingha in Saurâshtra, and is dated the 13th of Vaisâkha Suddha of the Samvat year 403. These grants were found at Dhânka, a place of some note in Kattywar, which is on the site of the ancient city of Mugna Pattan in that province.

The third copper-plate (No. 3) came from Thakore Raul Srî Megharâjji, Chief of Walâ, who sent it to the Hon'ble J. Gibbs, who, in his turn, made it over to the Râo Sâheb for decipherment. Walâ is described in papers about two centuries old as Waléh, or Walahé, a corruption of Walahi of the Jain Prâkrita authors, and the Walabhi of Sanskrit writers.

No. 3 consists of two copper-plates* forming together one grant. The grant enumerates the following kings :—

S'rî Bhattârka
A lineal descendant of his,
Guhasena
|
Dharasena
|
S'îlâditya or Dharmâditya.

The last named Sîlâditya made the grant on the 6th of the dark half of the month of Jyestha, of the 286 year of the era current in Walabhî plates, of a village named Pandhara-kupikâ, with three fields, two wâpis, a flower-garden, and four wells, for the support of the Bhikshus, the service of the sick, medicines and provisions, flowers and oil for lamps for the god Buddha of a Vihâra in Walabhî, and for the repairs, &c., of the Vihâra itself. The era of these plates is most probably that of the Guptas.

The Râo Sâheb's ninth paper contains some "Notes on Inscriptions in Kachh."† These notes are summarised from a letter by the Hon. Râo Sâheb V. N. Mandlik to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department, dated 2nd April, 1878, on the subject of these inscriptions from Kachh, copies whereof had been submitted to the Committee of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for remark. The inscriptions number a hundred, or thereabouts, being mostly engraved on mural tablets in temples and other edifices in the province of Kachh. They are comparatively modern, dating from the beginning of the 18th century down to the second or third decade of the present century. These notes are accompanied with a translated summary of all the inscriptions noticed.

When, in 1867-68, a proposal was made to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society to make collections of,

* These two plates have been re-edited by Professor F. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV. (1885), page 327 ff. They are now in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

† *Vide* Journal Bo. Br. R.A.S., vol. XIV, page 71 ff.

and publish, all ancient documents which were likely to throw light on the history of the Marâthâs, and to supply the missing links in the chain of its narrative, the Râo Sâheb made some valuable remarks* on the desirability of carrying out the scheme. He observed that there were important documents bearing on Marâthâ history in the archives of the reigning houses of Sâttârâ, now preserved in the Poona Duffer, and he urged the necessity of classifying them and publishing such of them as were of historical importance. He further remarked that there were still many old Marâthâ families, living in the Deccan, who had kept regular records of the events in their respective families, and had preserved those brief abstracts and chronicles of their times. These family chronicles, he went on to say, are calculated to throw side-lights on the dark periods of the history of the Deccan during the Marâthâ *regime*, and he mentioned, by way of instances, that such records were in the possession of the Deshpandi family of Sivapore, and of the families of the Daphale Chief of Jat and Karaggi, the Hon'ble the Pant Pratinidhi of Sâttârâ, and the Nimbalkhar of Phattan.

HIS OTHER LITERARY LABOURS.

As a man of letters also, the Râo Saheb's career is remarkable. His earliest literary performances were two essays in Marâthi on "The Transition State of the Hindus," and "Habits of Study." He then translated Elphinstone's History of India into Marâthi and Gujerâthi, in 1861; and when, during the early period of the existence of the Bombay University, the vernacular languages formed part of the curriculum of studies prescribed for its higher examinations, these Marâthi and Gujerâthi versions were often selected as text-books. He next published a treatise in Gujerâthi on the Law of Evidence. In 1865 he published in London a pamphlet written in English, entitled "Adoption *vs.* Annexation," on the great Mysore Adoption Question, which was much admired for the elegance of its style and the moderation of the views expounded in it. In 1867 he published a small treatise on Hindu Law in Marâthi—the only work of its kind now extant—a second edition of which was published in 1883, in two volumes. In 1870 he gave to the world two pamphlets in English, one on the Bombay Revenue Jurisdiction Bill introduced by Mr. (now Sir Theodore) Hope into the Legislative Council of India, and the other a historical sketch of the Vatandar Khotes of the Ratnagiri District. They were ably and temperately written and were very favourably received. The latter pamphlet was the outcome of the zeal and enthusiasm displayed by the author in the great Khote Case, which had been pending in the Bombay

* *Vide* Journal Bo. Br. R.A.S., vol. IX, pp. vi, xxxv, xlix.

High Court for nearly 20 years ; besides these, he read numerous papers, which were not published, before the Students Literary and Scientific Society of Bombay.

The Literary Society of Bombay, which was founded in 1804 by Sir James Mackintosh, and which is now merged in the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, first published its Transactions in 1819. In November, 1815, all the papers read before the Society which were available, were sent to England for publication under the supervision of Sir James Mackintosh, Sir John Malcolm and Mr. W. T. Money, and they came out in 1819, in the shape of the three volumes of the *Bombay Literary Transactions*. These were republished, with notes, by the Rão Sâheb, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Bombay Society, in 1877, at his own expense.

HIS EDITIONS OF THE SANSKRIT CLASSICS.

In 1880, he published the texts, with translations, of the Vyavahâra Mayukha and Yājñavalkya Smṛiti, prefaced with an original and learned introduction, and essays on various topics of Hindoo Law. This publication at once established his reputation as one of the leading exponents of Hindu Law in the country. It has been favourably received all over India, and, is frequently referred to and quoted by the Bench and the Bar, not only of the Bombay High Court, but of the High Courts of the other Presidencies. In this work the Rão Saheb has exposed some of the fallacies of European writers on Hindu Law, and expounded the real principles of the juridical science of the ancient Hindus. In 1884 he gave to the world his magnificent edition of the Institutes of Manu, in two large volumes, with an appendix containing commentaries by seven commentators, six of which had never before been published, viz., Medhâtithi, Sarvajna Nârâyana, Kulluka, Rāghvānanda, Nandana, Rāmachandra and Govindarāja. He was instituting searches for more of these commentators when death overtook him. The important old commentaries of Govindarāja and Nârâyana were discovered, in 1879, by Professor Bühler, who purchased MSS. of them for the Government of Bombay. The detailed commentary of Medhâtithi, which is probably the most ancient of all, and the short gloss of Rāghvānanda, though long known to Sanskrit scholars, have not been made much use of, all the editions and translations of the Code of Manu hitherto published being entirely based on the commentaries of so modern an author as Kullūkabhattacha. This work has been very favorably noticed not only by Orientalists, but also by the Press of India and Europe. With reference to it, a very competent authority—the late lamented Dr. R. Mitra—observes* : “This new edition includes

* Vide *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for April 1887, page 113.

seven different commentaries, six of which are rare, and have now been printed for the first time. The editor is well known for his literary labours, his high scholarship, and his profound knowledge of Hindu Law. Of the text, he has had access to a large number of MSS. from almost every part of India where Sanskrit is largely cultivated, and has made excellent use of them to secure a complete critical apparatus for the study of the work."

For some years before his death, the Rão Sâheb was busy preparing an edition of the Padma Purâna, in Sanskrit, from a collation of the special collection of the MSS. of that work made by him—a stupendous work, the like of which, it is said, has never been published before, and which, had he been spared to see it published, would have thrown a flood of light on many obscure points in the polity and social economy of the ancient Hindus.

His profound erudition and ripe scholarship in the sacred language of India, secured for him recognition from all the leading Sanskritists of the world, and, some years ago, Professor Max Müller asked him to prepare for publication, in his series of the Sacred Books of the East, translations of some of the Smritis; but, the terms not suiting his views, he declined the proposal.

RECOGNITION OF HIS SERVICES BY THE GOVERNMENT.

The Rão Saheb identified himself with all the important public movements of the day. He was appointed by Sir P. Wodehouse, Governor of Bombay, a member of the first Factory Commission in 1876, and wrote a minute protesting against any legislative interference in the matter. In 1877, Lord Lytton, the then Viceroy of India, conferred on him the honor of a membership of the Text Books Committee which was to sit at Simla, but he declined to avail himself of it for want of time. When the Education and Public Service Commissions were appointed, he was invited to give his evidence before the Commissioners, which he did by submitting written replies to the questions put by them, and these replies have been printed in the Reports submitted by them. The Government of Bombay, by special Resolution, allowed him to retain the title of Rão Saheb after his retirement from the Bombay Educational Department. Towards the end of 1874, the Government of Sir Philip Wodehouse offered him the Shrievalty of Bombay, but he refused to accept it, as a condition was imposed to the effect, that, should he accept it, he would have to vacate his seat in the Provincial Legislative Council. In recognition of his numerous and valuable services, he was made a Companion of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India on the 1st of January 1877, on the occasion of the Imperial Assemblage

at Delhi, held during the *regime* of Lord Lytton, which he attended. He was also presented with a silver medal of honor at the same time. His last appearance in public was on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the new Elphinstone College, where, as the oldest Elphinstonian living, he requested Lord Reay to declare the building open.

HIS PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

He was very industrious, often working from 4 o'clock in the morning until he retired to bed at night, and retained to the last those studious habits which, in early life, had constituted the secret of his academical success. Thoroughness was the key-note of his character, and whatever he did, he did methodically and punctually. He was a man of sound common sense, broad and sympathetic views, and unimpeachable integrity. He was a good reader too, and appears to have been a bit of a bibliophile, for he lavished a good deal of money on the purchase of books—a habit which resulted in the formation of the magnificent library which now adorns his family residence, The Hermitage. This library was the solace of his life, and he looked upon his books as the best part of his wealth. He was a Hindoo of the most orthodox type, and rendered himself conspicuous by his staunch opposition to many attempts at social reform in the Hindu community. Hindu of the Hindus as he was, he performed the *tula* ceremony in 1878, weighing himself and his wife against the sum of Rupees ten thousand in silver, and distributing the same amongst poor and learned Brâhmans. Although ever ready to advocate reform where he considered it to be urgently required in the interests of the welfare of the Hindu community, he always deprecated carrying it out by leaps and bounds. It was his cherished opinion that such advances should come from within and ought not to be forced upon an unwilling community, and it was his conviction that they would be brought about of themselves in course of time, when the people were sufficiently emancipated from the trammels of superstition and prejudice by the influence of education.

He was nevertheless one of the most zealous advocates of female education in the Bombay Presidency, and his enthusiasm in the cause of this much needed reform was such that, during the earlier years of the existence of the girls' schools founded by the Student's Literary and Scientific Society, he voluntarily, and without taking any remuneration for his services, used to perform his share of the arduous task of teaching the girls. Though he was not, strictly speaking, a brilliant orator, he was, what might be called, an eloquent speaker.

HIS ILLNESS AND DEATH.

Hard work and excessive mental labour brought on an attack

of that fell malady—Bright's disease—which he appears to have contracted about a year previous to his death. In October, 1888, alarming symptoms of a serious attack began to appear, and he had a fit of apoplexy in that month, while at Poona. He rallied rapidly, but the seeds of the disease had been ineradicably sown in his constitution, which was undermined past hope of recovery. His heart had become weak and dilated, and he grew weaker and weaker every day; but in spite of this, he continued to work as usual. On the 27th March 1889, he was seized with a fit of apoplexy, while sitting in the Court-house in the chamber of one of his brother pleaders, whence he was brought home in an unconscious state. In that condition he continued for two days, but under the skilful treatment of the physicians who attended him, he rallied within a fortnight sufficiently to raise hopes of his ultimate recovery in the minds of his friends and relatives. The change, however, proved only temporary. Symptoms of dyspnoea began to recur frequently, till, at noon of Wednesday the 8th May, 1892, the disease reached its climax, and towards evening fever set in, which went on increasing till it carried him off at four o'clock in the morning of Thursday, the 9th May, 1892. On the same day, his mortal remains were consigned to the flames in the Hindu burning ground at Sonapore, near Bombay.

He has left no issue; but, prior to the death of his wife in 1879, he had adopted the son of one of his sisters-in-law, who performed the last sad duties due to the deceased.

As a tribute of respect to his memory, the Offices of the Bombay Municipal Corporation and the Native General Library were closed; and meetings were held in various parts of the Bombay Presidency for the purpose of giving expression to the universal feeling of sorrow which his death had created in the public mind, and of expressing sympathy with his son.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HIS WRITINGS.

The Ráo Sáheb's writings may be classified under five heads: (1) History; (2) General Archæology; (3) Anthropology; (4) Epigraphy and (5) Separate volumes on Miscellaneous Subjects. The last may again be sub-divided under the heading of (*a*) Works in Maráthí and Gujaráthí; (*b*) Editions of Sanskrit Classics; (*c*) Miscellaneous works in English.

I.—HISTORY.

(*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*)

- 1.—Qomurkot and its Soda Princes. Vol. V, p. 538.
- 2.—Śālivāhana and the Śālivāhana Saptāsati. Vol. X, p. 127.
- 3.—Remarks on the Desirability of Collecting and Publishing Ancient Documents elucidatory of Maráthā History. Vol. IX, pp. vi; xxxv; xlix.

II.—GENERAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

(*Journal, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.*)

- 1.—Preliminary Observations on a Document giving an Account of the Establishment of a New Village named Muruda, in Southern Konkana. Vol. VIII, p. 1.
- 2.—The Shrine of the River Krishnâ at the Village of Mahâbalesvara. (Illustrated with one plate). Vol. IX, p. 250.
- 3.—Notes on the Shrine of Mahâbalesvara. Vol. X, p. 1.

III.—ANTHROPOLOGY.

(*Journal, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*)

- 1.—Serpent Worship in Western India. The Nâgapanchamî Holiday as it is now observed; Serpent Worship, the Nâgâs and Sarpâs. (Illustrated with six plates.) Vol. IX, p. 169.
- 2.—Sangamêsvara Mâhâtmya and Linga Worship.* (Illustrated with five plates and two wood-cuts.) Vol. XI, p. 99.

IV.—EPIGRAPHY.

(*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*)

- 1.—Three Walabhî Copper-plates, with Remarks. Vol. XI, p. 331.
- 2.—Notes on Inscriptions in Kaçhh. Vol. XIV, p. 71.

V.—SEPARATE VOLUMES ON MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS.

(a).—WORKS IN MARATHI AND GUJARATHI.

- 1.—The History of India; the Hindu and Mahomedan Periods. By the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone. Translated into Marâthî by Râo Sâheb Vishvanâth Nârâyana Mandlik. Two volumes. Bombay: 1861.
- 2.—The History of India; the Hindu and Mahomedan Periods. By the Hon'ble M. Elphinstone. Translated into Gujarâthî, from his Marâthî version, by Râo Sâheb V. N. Mandlik. Bombay: 1861.
- 3.—The Law of Evidence. A treatise in Gujarâthî. By the Râo Sâheb V. N. Mandlik.
- 4.—The Personal Law of the Hindus. A Treatise in Marâthî. By Râo Sâheb V. N. Mandlik. One volume, Bombay: 1867.
- 5.—Gîtalîpi. In Marâthî. By Râo Sâheb V. N. Mandlik, C.S.I. Bombay: 1878.
- 6.—The Personal Law of the Hindus. A Treatise in Marâthî. By Râo Sâheb V. N. Mandlik. Second Edition (of the preceding work) Two Volumes. Bombay: 1883.

(b).—EDITIONS OF SANSKRIT CLASSICS.

- 1.—The Vyavahâra Mayûkka. In Original, with an English Translation. With References to the Mitâksharâ, the Vîramitrodaya, the Vyavahâra—Mâdhava, Kamalâkara and Jîmûtavâhana's Dâyaabhâga. Also the Yâjñavalkya Smṛiti. Complete in Original. With an English Translation and Notes. With an Introduction on the Sources of, and Appendices containing Notes on Various Topics of Hindu Law. Two volumes. 8vo. pp. 278 (Sanskrit Text), and lxxviii, and 532. Bombay: 1880.
- 2.—Mânava—Dharma Sâstra (Institutes of Manu). With the Commentaries of Medhâtithi, Sarvajnanârâyana, Kulluka,

* This paper is also partly of an antiquarian character.

Rāghavānanda, Nandana, and Rāmachandra. With an Appendix and a Supplement (pp. 171), containing Govindarāja's Commentary. Two volumes. Demy 4to. pp. 1586. Bombay : 1884.

(c).—MISCELLANEOUS WORKS IN ENGLISH.

- 1.—Adoption vs. Annexation. A pamphlet on the Great Mysore Adoption Question. By Rāo Sāheb V. N. Mandlik. London : 1865.
- 2.—The Bombay Revenue Jurisdiction Bill. A Pamphlet on, by Rāo Sāheb V. N. Mandlik. Bombay : 1874.
- 3.—History of the Vatandar Khotes of the Ratnagiri District in the Bombay Presidency. A pamphlet on the Great Khoti Question. By the Rāo Sāheb V. N. Mandlik. Bombay : 1874.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

Addenda and Corrigenda to "Biographical Sketches of Indian Antiquarians," No. II.

Pandit Bhagwānlāl Indrajī, Ph. D., Hon. M. R. A. S., published in the *Calcutta Review*, No. CLXXXIX. (July 1892), page 126.

Addenda.

After the words "Indian Antiquary," line 38, page 132, read :—

"He also studied Prākṛit with a Jaina Gorji, who for some time was in the service of Dr. Bhāu Dājī."

After line 24, page 134, read :—

"Another service which Pandit Bhagwānlāl rendered to the science of palæography, is the discovery of the real value of some signs of the most ancient Southern and Northern alphabets. It was he who for the first time recognised the *la*, on the inscriptions of Rudradāman and of Pulumâyī. His transcript of the first rock edict in the Śāhbāzgarhī version, *Ind. Antiquary*, Vol. X. p. 107, for the first time deciphered the signs for *thi* and *mru* correctly, the *tha* having been discovered simultaneously by Dr. Hørnle."

After the words, "near the Chukreswar Temple," line 42, page 135, read :—

"This fragment of Asōka's eighth rock-edict, discovered at Sopârâ, has demonstrated, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that that renowned scion of the Mauryan dynasty held sway over the western as well as the eastern coasts of India, and accounts for the fact of the existence of a later Maurya dynasty in the Konkan. Equally important is his discovery of an era of the Maurya kings in the Udayagiri inscription of Khāravêla."

After the words, "various towns of Europe," line 2, page 142, read :—

"In 1886, the Chiefs of Kāthiāwād originally selected him as their delegate to the Seventh International Oriental Congress held at Vienna, but he was unfortunately compelled to decline availing himself of this honor on account of a very serious illness."

After line 2, page 139, read :—

"The Pandit's paper on the Hathigumpha inscriptions, read before the Leyden Oriental Congress and published in the *Actes du Sixième Congrès Internationale des Orientalistes*, Vol. III. part 2, p. 132, also gives for the first time an account of the ancient Chêta dynasty which ruled Kalinga in the 2nd century B. C., and also shows that king Khāravêla was the contemporary of one of the early Sātakarnis of the Andhra dynasty.

After the words, "founded by Indra III," line 36, page 138, read :—

"The dynasty of the Râshtrakûtas of the Dekhan has also received fresh accessions in the shape of the names of new kings of that line, from the Pandit's discovery of the Elûra inscriptions deciphered in *Archæological Survey of Western India Report*, No. 10, p. 92.

After the words, "circa 1191 A. D., line 17, page 138, read :—

"Besides his two papers in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XII, p. 329, and Vol. XIII, p. 1, his contributions to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII. Part II, have thrown floods of light on the history of the Silâhâra Dynasty of the Dekhan.

The history of the Gurjara and the Chalukya kings of Gujarât has gained an altogether new aspect from the publication of his articles in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII, p. 80, and in the *Verhandlungen des Siebenten Int. Or. Congrès, Ariische Section*, p. 211."

After the words, "the Gurjjara dynasty," line 15, page 139, read :—

"Mahârâjâ Rudradâsa's grant is contained in a fragmentary copper-plate, measuring 7" by 4½", which was received in 1884 from Mr. J. M. Campbell. It records a grant by a Mahârâjâ named Rudradâsa, who probably belonged to the family of the rulers of Asmaka (modern Khândêś). This family was, most probably, a branch of the Vâkâtakas and was subordinate to them. The inscription may be referred to about the beginning of the 6th century, A. D. and the date on the grant appears to be 118 of an unknown era."

After line 25, page 146, read :—

- 5.—Antiquarian Remains at Sopârâ and Padana. Being an account of the Buddhist Stûpa and Asoka Edict recently discovered at Sopârâ. By Pançit Bhagwânâlâl Indrajî: 8vo, sewed, pp. iv. and 56, with twenty-one Plates and Frontispiece.

Corrigenda.

r line 21, page 146, for "3.—Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples. . . . down to Dr. Burgess." read :—

scriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India, with Descriptions, &c. By Pandit Bhagwânâlâl Indrajî and J. Burgess, L. L. D. Sewed, pp. 114. With 52 plates. Bombay : 1881."

line 50, page 145, for "Notes on the Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta," read :—

"Notes on the Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajantâ, their Paintings and Sculptures, &c. By J. Burgess, LL.D. Demy. 4 to. pp. 112. With 31 plates."

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A. B.L.

ART. IX.—THE DEHRA DUN.

II.

The *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXI, 1858: Art. IX. The Dehra Doon as a seat of European Colonisation in India.

Historical and Statistical Memoir of Dehra Doon. By G. R. C. Williams, B.A., Bengal Civil Service, Roorkee, Thomason College Press, 1874.

Gazetteer of the North-Western Provinces, Vols. X and XI.

Reports on Projects for the proposed Dehra Dún Railway, 1885-87.

Final Report of the Eighth Revision of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Dehra Dún District. Allahabad Government Press, 1886.

Reports of the Forest Department.

FORESTS.

A VERY old source of revenue in the Dún was the tri-
duties collected on every article of commerce going to, or coming from, the hills or plains. Mr. Williams says that, owing to the injudicious location of the collecting stations, the same goods had often to pay twice or three times over, and, the consequent obstruction to commerce being great, and the income derived not being large, only Rs. 9,000 to 10,000, Government abolished these duties in 1816-17. Mr. Moore, Collector of the Saharanpur District, with which the Dún was then joined, who made the second settlement, a quinquennial one, soon afterwards represented that there were 106 estates in the Dún lying waste, yielding absolutely no revenue to Government from which private individuals were making immense profits by appropriating the jungle produce. At least 50,000 pieces of timber were, he reckoned, being annually cut down and exported, without any acknowledgment of the right of Government to the forests. He therefore recommended the imposition of a cess on such exports. One calculation gave the number of carts laden with timber annually leaving the Dún at 5,000; of bullocks carrying two *karis* (joists) each, 50,000. Mr. Moore's views were approved of, and after three years of direct management the duties were farmed for three years for Rs. 5,000 a year. During the next four years the farm yielded Rs. 8,500 a year. But Major Young, who had succeeded Mr. Shore was of opinion that his predecessor had been too easy with the farmers, and thought the revenue from these customs was susceptible of a very great increase, and he recommended the introduction of the *rawdna* (permit) system, except at the Ganges and Jumna *gháts*. But at the next letting of the

farms by auction, Rs. 16,020 were bid, and accepted for three years from 1830 to 1831, while the next auction resulted in a lease for three years, at Rs. 25,345 a year.

According to Mr. Brereton, the Officiating Deputy Conservator of forests of the Dehra Dún Division at the time when Mr. Williams wrote, the right of collecting the duties of the timber exports was farmed to the Mohant of Hardwár, for the years from 1839 to 1844, for Rs. 33,500 a year, and "everyone continued to hack and hew away at the trees as he pleased, only paying certain dues to the farmer in the event of the wood being exported. The latter made his own arrangements to secure the collections at the different passes. Reckless waste was inevitable, and the fine *sal* forests began to disappear rapidly. The absence of conservancy was absolute. The district still abounded in fine trees, 100 or 200 years old and upwards. All these fell before the axe, and probably the rest would have gone with them, had the roads been a little better. The consequences of this bad system were most perceptible in the Western Dún. In 1844, Mr. Vansittart, having ascertained that the farmer was receiving about Rs. 80,000 a year, discontinued the lease and kept the collections in his own hands. This arrangement lasted till the year 1855, when the Forest Department was established. In the interval the revenue from this source varied from Rs. 80,000 to Rs. 1,00,000, an income dearly purchased, for the destruction was something incalculable. The system of conservancy is still very imperfect." Under the Forest Department, though conservancy, in the full sense of the word, did not begin until 1864, the income from the Dún forests had fallen, by 1863-64, to Rs. 22,201. In 1869-70 the revenue (derived chiefly from minor produce) was Rs. 40,229; but during that year a large amount of produce is said to have undoubtedly left the Government forests on which the Department realised no revenue, as had been amply proved during the course of criminal prosecutions. In the year 1884-85 the gross receipts of the Dehra Dún forest division amounted to Rs. 81,797, of which Rs. 49,494 were from timber, and the rest for firewood, charcoal, bamboos, grazing dues and grass and minor products. The net income was Rs. 25,430.

It will be remembered by those who read the article on the Dehra Dún which appeared in the *Calcutta Review* for last quarter that Mr. Lindsay in 1856 claimed from Government Rs. 7,000 on account of timber, &c., cut down and carried away from the grants of which he had been owner or a shareholder by strangers with the permission of the proprietors. In explanation of this Mr. Williams said:—

"The reader may recollect that formerly everyone was at liberty to cut timber as he pleased, paying the price of it in the shape of all to

to the contractors, who had the farm of the adjacent passes, at the time of exportation to the plains. In 1838-39, the grantees, then only temporary squatters, holding their grants subject to any previous contract expressed or implied between Government and other parties, having no proprietary title to anything beyond the land cleared for cultivation, were, on attempting to enforce rights over the forests adverse to those of Government, enjoined to refrain from interference with that in which they merely had 'an inchoate and imperfect' as opposed to an 'absolute property.' 'The grantee has only a conditional and incomplete property in the waste portion of his grant until three-fourths shall have been cleared, . . . and this incomplete property cannot nullify any rights of others which may exist in the subject matter.'"

The Sudder Board of Revenue a year afterwards seemed to change their view, and the deeds granted in 1840, while expressly reserving certain rights (*e. g.*, to mineral products), tacitly left the absolute disposal of the spontaneous produce, which was beginning to rise immensely in value, to the grantees.

"Such," says Mr. Williams, "was the view taken by Colonel Young, in his letter of the 12th March 1840, forwarding the form of engagement for the Hopetown grants. Such, too, was the view subsequently taken by more than one eminent counsel." "Disputes almost immediately broke out with greater violence than ever, because the timber merchants and others continued the trespasses upon the grants, and the authorities allowed duties to be levied upon timber exported by the grantees themselves. At last, Mr. Macgregor, the Manager and Attorney of Maxwell, Macgregor and Co., memorialised the Lieutenant-Governor in the year 1846. The reply was a letter, the unsatisfactory nature of which cannot be denied by any one who examines the correspondence with candour. It simply begged the whole question in favour of Government, conceding, as a great boon, what has been termed, with graceful ambiguity, 'a prospective memorial right to what stood on the grants;' the grantees might prevent anyone from trespassing upon their estates to cut wood, but if they cut it themselves, and transmitted it to the plains, they had 'to pay the regular tax upon it according to the tariff,' in other words, they had literally to purchase their property, since, transit dues having been abolished by Act XIV. of 1836, the dues levied were either a price or nothing; they were also debarred from appropriating timber previously cut down by others and still lying within their boundaries."

Mr. Lindsay and the Hopetown grantees memorialised the Court of Directors, who replied in 1855, repudiating the theory that dues levied by the farmers were of the nature of a price paid and not a "tax or toll," but announcing that the Governor-General had been pleased to gratuitously "direct the immediate discontinuance of this cess," except as regarded the timber from the Government forest lands.

As the object of Government in making grants of "waste land," encumbered by jungle (as the phrase then was, and by which was meant, in many cases, valuable *sāl* forest), was to get the land cleared and put under cultivation, so that it might support a greater population, and to make it revenue-paying, and as the grantees were spending *lakhs* of rupees in

the endeavour to fulfil the conditions imposed upon them, it does seem to have been rather hard to attempt to make them pay for the timber and other forest produce they were obliged to cut and remove; but by that time Government were waking-up to a recognition of the value of the forests, and in 1855 the Forest Department was formed, and it was looked to to furnish the required amount of revenue in the future. Since those dates there does not seem to have been any question whether the timber on private estates and on land grants belonged to the owners and grantees; but no wood is exported without a permit from the Forest Department. "This," says the writer of the last Settlement report, "is an arrangement which all proprietors gladly agreed to, as it protects them from theft. If the Forest Department were desired to keep a faithful record of the permits granted, showing name of village from which the wood was exported, the kind of wood, *i.e.*, beams, planks, barks, and fuel, &c., the name of wood, *i.e.*, *sál, sain, chir, kokat*, &c., at the end of twenty years, a very fair estimate could be made of the value of the different private forests." I hardly think that such permits can be granted without counter-foils being kept, so that compilation of returns would be all that was required. The Settlement Officer does not make this suggestion from mere curiosity, and his meaning is, that such statistics of the exports from private forests would be a guide in assessing the revenue to be levied from land under forest, on the occasion of future revisions of the settlement, for since 1884 the land under forest has been made to pay revenue, though at rates which are moderate compared with those levied from land under ordinary crops. Private *sál* forests in the Dún, now that all the large timber has been cut and they are treated as coppice, yield a large return from building poles of various sizes, every fifteen to twenty years, besides a considerable annual return of minor produce. It is therefore quite fair that, though the right of property in the produce of the forests is conceded to the proprietors of the land, the land should be made to pay revenue.

Though the Forest Department was constituted in 1855, and strict conservation of the Dún forests was instituted in 1864, the earliest departmental report on them which I have been able to find is that written in 1870 or 1871 by Dr. George King, C.I.E., F.R.S., then Assistant Conservator of Forests, afterwards for many years Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanical Garden, and the Government Cinchona Plantation in Sikkim, and now Director of the Botanical Survey of Northern India. This report is not statistical, but descriptive, and suggestive of how, in the writer's opinion, the forests ought to be treated in the future. Dr. King contrasted the nature and circumstances of the Dún

forests with those of Garhwál on the other side of the Ganges, and showed how much more difficult conservancy and collection of revenue was in the former group than in the latter, the chief cause being the interspersion of private forests and cultivated villages. He showed how the Government forests were systematically plundered and the produce exported as the produce of private forests under *rawdnas* (permits) granted by their owners or those to whom they sold the timber or leased them, and, as a remedy, he recommended that Government should lease all the private forests in the Eastern Dún, whether belonging to *zamindars* or grantees, leaving to each village grazing-ground in the forest near it, and right to cut timber for *bond fide* village use, but not permitting any export. The whole of the forests in the Eastern Dún and Eastern Siwaliks would then form a simple block, and the cheap and effectual system of revenue collections current in Garhwál might then be adopted. Dr. King was quite convinced that this plan would be by far the most profitable one for Government, and in the end would prove most satisfactory to the *zamindars*, who would get certain, in place of uncertain, returns from their forests. And he thought leases of these forests could, with a little tact, be got without difficulty and on easy terms, for after all it was the native lessees who chiefly had made money by the Dún forest, and not the *zamindars*, or grantees. In fact, the principal moneyed men in the district had become rich by wood contracts. The health of the Dún would not be affected by this measure, for the extent of land under forest would not be increased, and the Forest Department could easily drain the swampy places from which the Eastern Dún had got its reputation for unhealthiness. In fact, everything would remain as it then was. And, were this plan adopted for the Eastern Dún and Siwaliks, the forests of the Western Dún and Siwaliks could be given out to lessees. If this suggestion should not be approved of, Dr. King said, some law would have to be made to compel *zamindars* and grantees to give notice to the Forest Officer whenever they were going to cut, and to give from time to time full particulars of their operations, so that the Forest Officer might be able to inspect the produce before removal, and to detain all articles going out of the district without a permit.

Dr. King noted that, in cutting timber in their own forests, private proprietors made no exception in favor of *sál*; on the contrary, being the most valuable kind of wood, it was the chief article of their export. The only attempt at conservancy they made was sometimes to reserve trees under 9 to 12 inches in girth—a provision utterly insufficient to ensure a supply for the future. "The native proprietor, as usual," he said,

"looks only to a present good, and in many cases in the Dún, he has cut literally everything that would stand up to the axe. The extinction of *sál* in private forests in the Dún is, therefore, merely a question of time, and Government will one day be the only owner of *sál* forests in the division." I am glad to know that, thanks chiefly to the example of the Forest Department, some proprietors of private forests have, for some time, been strictly conserving them, and that they are working them on scientific principles.* Moreover, coppicing *sál* forests has now become systematised, and crops are regularly taken off forests, belonging even to natives, without, in most cases at least, any signs of exhaustion being shown.

Dr. King devoted a section of his report to exposing the modes in which stealing and loss of forest revenue occurred. Government suffered loss, he said, in three ways, *first* and chiefly by stealing, by (a) zamindars and their lessees, and (b) the forest officials themselves: *second* by embezzlement on the part of the forest officials of the revenue collected by them on minor forest produce; and, *third*, by produce being passed out in excess of the permits, or by permits being used twice. To show that these losses were not merely theoretical, he mentioned a few among many instances which he had discovered since taking charge of the division in February, 1870. Under the head of direct thefts, in 1869, a few landowners of the Eastern Dún, together with some wood contractors, took permits from the Forest Office to cut in the Government forests 1700 cores of *sain karis* (joists, or rafters.) But they cut about 1300 scores, and exported the difference (2,600 scores) on false *gandás* (permits,) as the produce of private forests. This was done with the connivance of the native officials, who shared in the plunder. By these means Government was robbed of timber to the value of Rs. 26,000. Some of the chief offenders were then under trial, but owing to the length of time that had elapsed since the theft took place, it was difficult to prove equally, though there was not the slightest moral doubt in the case. And in another locality Dr. King had counted the stumps of many hundred *sál* trees which had been cut and converted into charcoal, while the revenue from charcoal collected at the three or four nearest posts for the entire season was only a few rupees. The moral to be drawn from these occurrences, I think, that the Forest Department was then grievously dermanned; and so, I believe, it is still.

In the concluding part of Dr. King's interesting report, he said that, from what had been said as to the difficulties of

the adjoining Government forests also benefit by the risk of fire diminished.

managing the Dún forests, it might be concluded that they were greater than any possible advantages, and that the better way would be to close and cultivate those that were culturable, and to sell the remainder. In this view Dr. King could not agree :—

"It is quite true, he said, that the Dún forests do not now, and never can, yield first class timber, such as is wanted for large beams, and that Government never can hope to draw from them supplies of the long scantlings required for roofing public buildings; but, apart from the Government demand for long and heavy timber, there is comparatively little from other quarters, while for the small scantlings, such the Dún forests yield, and which are universally used in native houses, there is steady and increasing demand. To ensure for the people a lasting supply of building timber is, I conceive, as much an object of the Forest Department as to meet the wants of the Public Works Department, and such a supply is undoubtedly a surer source of revenue. The Dún at present yields a large proportion of the building timber used by the people of the North-Western Provinces and Lower Punjab; and my knowledge of the Garhwál and Kumaon forests leads me to think that these divisions would not long be able to supply all that would be wanted from them were the Dún cleared. In short, I do not think that the Dún could be spared as a source of timber supply.

In considering the question of TIMBER *versus* GRAIN it should not be forgotten that grain can be grown almost anywhere, whereas *sál* timber cannot; that the Dún now contains large natural forests of *sál*, and that should these once be cleared, it would be most difficult and costly, not to say impossible, in the day of need which would I believe shortly arise for Government by artificial means to reproduce similar forests in the Dún or to plant such elsewhere."

It had been urged, Dr. King said, that were the Dún cleared, grain enough might be grown in it for the wants of the district itself and of the stations of Landour and Mussoorie. The probability of that he altogether denied, even if compulsion on cultivators were resorted to, because most of the soil was ~~very poor~~ and irrigation difficult to provide. The Western Dún belonged almost entirely to private persons, and had been largely cleared of its timber (in compliance with the conditions on which the land was granted to them by Government.) There had been for years, and were now, immense uncultivated tracts of grass which could easily be ploughed and broken up, and yet they remained uncultivated. The soil of much of the Eastern Dún was considerably poorer than that of the Western. Were, however, the proposal to clear the Eastern Dún sanctioned, crowds of men would doubtless come forward and offer to settle. This they would do for the sake of the timber on the land, which were the practice obtaining in the Garhwál and Kuma Bhábar (the zone immediately at the foot of the Himalaya) be followed, would be given with the land as a bait to settle. This timber once cut, and the proceeds realised, Dr. King felt sure that, the timber having been the real attractant, the settlers would gradually betake themselves to other regi-

If it were said that Government might cut the timber before making over the land to settlers; Dr. King would reply that in that case there would be great difficulty in getting settlers. These views of Dr. King's seems hardly consistent with his statement that the Dún forests did not then, and never could, yield first class timber, but in speaking of timber being the real attraction to settlers, he must be taken to speak of only poles and small scantlings for which there is ample demand.

"If the matter be considered in the light of revenue," Dr. King said, "the undesirability of clearing will become still more apparent. No one at all acquainted with the Dún will maintain for a moment that forest is not infinitely more profitable to the proprietor than cultivated land. I have consulted many *zamindárs* and found them unanimous upon this point. The usual land rent received from newly taken up soil is from 2 to 6 annas a *bigha*. Now, a *bigha* fairly covered with *sál* of the ordinary size found in the Dún, would support, at a low estimate, about forty trees of various ages. Even at the present prices of timber (and rates are daily rising) an average *sál* tree say 2 or 2½ feet in girth, would fetch standing in the forest, at the lowest estimate, say one rupee. Were only one tree cut on a *bigha* per annum, a steady revenue of a rupee a *bigha* could be kept up for thirty years, and at the end of that period, the forest would be quite as valuable as at the commencement, and, from increased prices, probably much more so. But from timber alone much more than a rupee a *bigha* could be realised, not to mention the receipts from grazing dues, sale of grass, bamboos, &c."

In his report on the administration of the Forest Department in the several provinces under the Government of India for 1890-71, of which Dr. King's report was one of the appendices, Lieutenant-Colonel G. F. Pearson, the Officiating Inspector-General of Forests remarked on the peculiar position of the Dehra Dún in regard to its forests, and the difficulties which had arisen owing to the grants of forest land made by Government which marched with the Government forests, and with which they were so intermingled. He said, with regard to the frauds which had been practised through the corruption of the native subordinates of the Government Forest Department, that—

"Great exertions have been made by Government, during the past year, to put down these fraudulent practises. A specially qualified Civilian was employed to act as prosecutor, and to aid the Forest Divisional Officer in establishing the guilt of the suspected parties. The Head Munshi of the Dehra Forest Office, currently believed to have been at the head of a faternity of Government servants, who formed a sort of Joint Stock Company to trade in Government timber, was brought to trial, as well as the Munshi in charge of the Hardwar Depôt and several other minor officials. In all these cases convictions were obtained before the Magistrate, and though the defendants had the benefit of the best legal advice, severe sentences of imprisonment, with heavy fines, were pronounced against the offenders. The cases, however, were carried for appeal to the Session's Judge at Saharanpur, and it is a matter of serious regret that this officer (who has since resigned) either reversed all the sentences, or so reduced the punishments inflicted

as to completely nullify their deterrent effect. The Government forests are now all being demarcated, and where it is possible, fenced in " (I have nowhere seen such fencing) " so as to render theft more difficult; but the failure of justice on the old offenders is greatly to be deplored both on account of its moral effect on the Native subordinates, and for the serious loss of valuable time devoted by the Government officers to the prosecutions, greatly, of course, to the detriment of other work."

We are left to conjecture whether the Sessions Judge's resignation was due to remorse for his conduct, or pressure on the part of Government, but Colonel Pearson seems to imply that it was connected in some way with these forest cases.

In November, 1878, Mr. D. Brandis, Inspector-General of Forests, made an inspection of all the forests of the Forest School Circle, and from his report I will extract a few particulars regarding the forests of the Dehra Dún Division. The Circle included then, as it still does, the Dehra-Dún Division, comprising all the forests of the Siwalik range north of the watershed (which is the boundary between the Dún and the Saharanpur district) and those in the Dún to the foot of the Himalaya, divided into four ranges; the Saharanpur Division, divided into an eastern and a western range; and the Jaunsár Division, comprising three ranges in the Himalaya, north of the Dún. The aggregate area of the forests in the Dehra-Dún Division was 171,982 acres. In his working plan for these forests, printed in 1887-88, Mr. Fernandez gives the total area at 177,058, acres. Mr. Brandis said that the chief work in the next few years would be the fire protection of certain forests. After examining the thinnings which had been made in the Bullawala block in the Eastern Dun during the years 1876-78, he came to the conclusion that far more *sal* trees had been cut out than was good for the development of the forest. The average number of poles left standing was only 30 per acre, whereas a full crop would probably consist of 100. The trees thus isolated would increase only in girth, and the forest would thus be much less valuable than if it had been allowed to grow up in compact masses. 1,920 acres had been so spoiled. Mr. Fernandez afterwards found that the 30 trees per acre had covered themselves with low branches as a necessary consequence of their isolation, and had obviously lost a considerable amount of vertical increment. He found, moreover, that the stools of the felled trees had been cut without any regard to the rules of coppicing, and had sent up shoots which, though promising ultimately to close over the ground, were not growing so well as if the stools had been properly cut. The cultural result of these fellings had been not only to injure the vegetation of the standards left, but to throw back the whole forest at least 20 years. It appears from the above

instance that for many years after the Forest Department was constituted and took charge of the Dún forests, they were groping in the dark to find out the proper treatment of *sál* forests. Dr. Brandis recognised that excessive thinning meant a waste of rainfall and moisture, which would otherwise have been taken up by the roots of the trees, and have helped to form wood, but which in the thinned forest had been evaporated from the soil direct. He said that, if regard were had to the periodical supply of timber in the future, the expediency of these heavy fellings appeared doubtful. But the chief drawback was the extreme risk of fire to which it exposed the forest, by encouraging the growth of grass in the newly cleared space. I may add that subsequent experience has shown that grass left uncut attracts frost which kills or keeps back the reproduction of *sál*, whether from seed or by coppice shoots. Dr. Brandis, however, considered that these thinnings, having been conducted on a definite plan, and on a sufficiently large scale to give a definite result by comparison with the adjoining compartments which had not been touched, would be highly instructive. But, apparently believing that there had been a mistake, he recommended the system of improvement fellings, by which *sál* trees with spreading crowns or of irregular shape, should be cut out and sold, compartment by compartment. This would give room for young thickets and saplings of *sál*, and give greater regularity to the forest. But he said it was by no means desired to convert these forests into pure *sál* forests, which would be risky. Forests composed of one species were exposed to risks from which mixed forests were exempt. Slow growing trees or shrubs should be encouraged, and particularly the undernamed species:—

a.—All species of *ficus* for cattle-fodder.

b.—Dháman (*grewia vestita*.)

c.—*Cordia vestita*.

d.—Sándan (*Ougeinia dalbergioides*.)

e.—Haldu (*Adina cordifolia*.)

f.—Bákli (*Anogeissus latifolia*.)

g.—Daura (*Lagerstroemia parviflora*.)

h.—Sain (*Terminalia tomentosa*.)

and any others which it might appear desirable to encourage for special reasons. No trees whatever should be cut which stood at the edge of banks, or on the outskirts of the forest, or at the edges of watercourses. Even such restricted thinnings should be made cautiously and under competent supervision, the danger being that the cutting of every tree would let in light and increase the growth of grass and the risk from fire:—

Dr. Brandis' report is full of practical suggestions and use-

ful hints, to notice which might here be out of place, even were space available. But I must quote something of the conclusions at which he arrives with regard to the general treatment of the Dún forests and their prospects for the future:—

"It has frequently been asserted," he said, "that the Dún forest never will yield large timber. Even supposing this were the case, a large portion of the crop at present on the ground would find a market but there is no reason to doubt that the poles of 60 to 90 feet high and of 2 to 3 feet in girth, of which we find large masses on the better soil of almost all the Dún forests, will attain a girth of 6 feet with a good length of pole; and both the stumps remaining in the forest, and the beams in the houses in Dehra, conclusively show that considerable quantities of large timber were formerly produced in the Dún.

In proof of this Mr. Brandis referred to the large receipts from timber dues in former days, which I have before referred to, and which he said were not realised from small timber. But he thought it questionable whether it would ever be found expedient to adopt for the Dehra Dún forests so long a rotation as was undoubtedly indicated for the forests of the Pátlí Dún and some other forests of Garhwál and Kumaun:—

"Considering," he said, "the vicinity of the Dún to the plains, and the demand for poles, rafters, (*Karis*), and other small timber, it will probably be most profitable to cut these forests as soon as the tree have attained a girth of 5 or 6 feet, and thus to work them on a short rotation, provided that trees of that size yield a full crop of seed. This however, is a question which our successors must consider, and which can hardly be decided without the experience of a generation regarding the growth of *Sál* when protected from fire in these forests."

The "Working Plan for the Reserved Forests of the Dehra Dún Division," by Mr. E. E. Fernandez, officiating Deputy Director of the Forest School, Dehra, is a monumental work. Its preparation was taken in hand in November 1882, and continued at intervals, but some data were not collected till 1885. The survey was made subservient to the instruction of the students of the Forest School. The Report, with appendices, occupies in print 38 pages of foolscap, and Part I, a general description of the forests, containing facts relating to the administration of them, a statement of the conditions of production, and an account of the economical conditions, is very good reading. Had I read this report before I wrote the previous article of this series, I should have been tempted to annex large portions of it. Part II contains a detailed and systematic description of the various forests comprised in the Division, seventeen in number (not all detached from each other), divided into forty-nine blocks, and Part III is the working scheme. In an introduction, Mr Fernandez explains that the intricate and complicated enumerations which he therein describes were undertaken with the view of fixing the yield

of each forest in quantity of produce, and applying an area check, but that, as the work progressed, it became more and more evident that the stock was too irregular and in too ruined a condition to bear being treated on any other system than that of mere improvement fellings. Had that been known before, nine tenths of the field work would have been saved, and the reparation of the Working Plan been rendered a simple matter.

Mr. Fernandez devotes considerable space to the climate of the Dún, concluding with remarks on its effect on the health of man, as on this, he says, necessarily depends the distribution of the forest establishment and work throughout the course of the year:—

"On the whole," he says, "the climate of the Dun is salubrious, and is one of the best in India. As a rule, the interior and immediate vicinity of *Sál* forests, the presence of which bespeaks good drainage, are perfectly healthy throughout the year; so are all places from 2,800 feet above the sea upwards. Below this elevation two main factors determine whether a given place is healthy or not, viz. (i) swampiness, and (ii) rank growth of grass." "The presence of a well-grown forest dissipates the excess moisture through the millions of stomata of the leaves, and keeps the soil cool—both circumstances unfavourable to the production of malarial spores. Continuous cultivation, by opening out the interior soil and exposing it to the action of the sun and the crops, has the same effect, although during the first two or three years of the cultivation, until the cumulative effect of this joint action has reached the desired point, the climate may become very deadly. Take, for instance, Mr. Lister's Májri Grant. Four years ago it was chiefly grass land bearing a little low scrub, and, lying as it does on the low land between the Song and the Jákhan, where these rivers approach one another, it was one of the most unhealthy even in the Eastern Dún. During the first year of cultivation several men died, during the second year the number of casualties diminished very considerably, and, now, at the end of only five years, the place is, by no means, among the least unhealthy (healthy?) in the Eastern Dún, and even Europeans consider it healthy enough to live there during the worst season of the year."

The Májári Grant was taken up in 1881 by Mr. Lister (now Lord Masham) of Lister and Co., Manningham Mills, Bradford, for the cultivation of mulberry and production of silk, and a filature was moved thither from the Punjab and worked for several years. But pebrine and other diseases of the silkworm have penetrated even into the Dún, and this enterprise has been abandoned in disgust, after a large sum has been expended on it. It is to be hoped that the land now under mulberry will not be allowed to lapse into jungle, but be put under ordinary cultivation. It is irrigable from a canal from the Song River, constructed by the proprietor. On a brief review of the rocks and soils in the Dún, Mr. Fernandez says that, considering the Dún as a whole, it may be said that, although the soil itself is not unfavorable for the prosperous vegetation of *sál*, the subsoil, without affecting

injuriously either its reproduction or its proportion in the forest, will never allow that tree to attain more than merely moderate dimensions (a height of 90 feet with an average girth of about feet 6 inches) and a very slow rate of growth. Elsewhere, Mr. Fernandez says that in the Dehra Dún *sál* (*Shorea robusta*) is situated at the extreme north-westerly limit of its habitat. A few miles beyond the Jumna the climate along the foot of the Himalaya becomes too dry, and in the hot weather also too warm for *sál* and it is therefore evident that this tree can never, in these forests, attain the same dimensions as it does further east. Mr. Fernandez ought also here to have mentioned frost as a factor in checking the growth of *sál*. The young plants and shoots are often killed for years in succession. Indeed, just afterwards when drawing a conclusion from the measurements taken during seven years to ascertain the annual rate of increase in girth, he allows 25 years for the complete establishment of the average *sál* seedling and says—"The mean age at which *sál* will attain a girth of 6 feet is 160 years. This is a very slow rate of growth for that species." But he hopes the crop now coming on will have a quicker rate of growth.

The scheme of working the Dún forests, so far as *sál* is concerned, which Mr. Fernandez recommended, and which has been adopted, has for its objects, of course, their permanent conservation, and their present improvement. Subservient to these objects, it provides also for an immediate and steady future income. The operations during the term of fifteen years over which Mr. Fernandez's plan will extend, include the removal of (1) all trees above 2 feet in diameter, (and therefore over 160 years old not many of which size have been left, I believe, by the license-plunderers of old); (2) of all smaller trees down to 6 inches in diameter, which have ceased to grow, or are unhealthy, unsound or about to become unsound, or are standing in an overcrowded condition in contact with better grown or more promising specimens; (3) saving fodder yielding species, all other trees and shrubs which are doing harm to *sál*. As a preliminary to fellings, all climbers which have got hold of the trees must first be cut and allowed to decay, which will take from one to two years, and the marking, felling and removal of the *coupe* will take two years more. Then comes coppicing of the residue, namely, cutting back, flush with the ground, all the badly-grown, damaged, or otherwise unpromising saplings and poles (up to 6 inches in diameter) of *sál* and *sain*, in order to produce a sound, healthy and vigorous regrowth, and simultaneously the thinning of overcrowded groups and patches, undesired species being weeded out, and more careful and wholesale destruction of climbers. All these operations are subject to the rule that they are not opposed to sylvicultural considerations and that frost is

not let in. And no cutting-back is to be done in frosty localities where the forest is open, as the new shoots are bound to get frost-bitten. The operation of cutting-back, or coppicing, requires such care, that it is not allowed to be done by purchasers. The owners of private *sál* forest in the Dún have not, as a rule, been judicious in their treatment of them, and I believe some forests have been ruined by indiscriminate and unskilful felling and coppicing. On hilly ground frost is not much to be feared, but on low, flat ground it kills or keeps back all growth of *sál*, whether seedlings or from stools, if shelter be not provided or left. The system of "Improvement Fellings" in the Dún *sál* forests is described in a paper by Mr. A. Smythies, Deputy Conservator, formerly in charge of the Division, and now Deputy Director of the Forest School, which appeared in *The Indian Forester* for July 1888, and of which a vernacular version was separately published. One rule laid down is that no tree under six inches in diameter is to be sold to be cut by purchasers. As regards *sál* and *sain*, that diameter, or girth of a foot and a half, is considered the maximum size above which these trees cease to send up useful coppice-shoots. They will coppice above that size, but then a great number of weak shoots, surrounding a large stool, are got. What is wanted is one or two shoots on a small stool, because, in these forests, owing to the quantity of seedlings in the "advance-growth," there is no interest in obtaining any growth which will not eventually resemble a seedling. And as the cutting-back must be done by skilled labour under the direction of the Department, smaller saplings than of six inches diameter cannot be sold until they have been cut and taken out, or their growth might be lost from the unskilful cutting of purchasers.

Another way of treating *sál* forest, and one which has been recommended to private owners, is that called "Stored Coppice," and this is said to yield the longest outturn of building poles, firewood, thatching and fodder grass, the kinds of produce most valuable for use on their estates and for sale. Under this system a certain definite area of forest is cut over every year for coppice, but a certain number of the most promising stems is spared to attain larger dimensions, to shed seed in the ground, and to protect the underwood against injurious climatic influences, especially frost. On this account a perfectly uniform distribution of the "Stores," over the coppiced area, is absolutely essential. Forty feet apart is the rule. Another necessary precaution against frost is, to cut the coppice in sufficiently narrow strips, not wider than 100 feet, so that there may be standing forest on either side to protect the young regrowth until it is tall and close enough

to be out of danger. Hence the strips must not adjoin each other in the order of their respective dates of being cut. The strips require the protection of bordering standing forest for 6 to 8 years. No long grass must be left standing on the ground when the season of frost arrives, as it promotes and aggravates frosts. The temperature immediately over grass land will fall to freezing when a thermometer placed over land bare of grass will mark several degrees higher. Thus frost occurs not only with greater intensity but also more frequently on grass-covered than on bare land. A working plan, based on the store-coppice system, should be based on a rotation of 15 or 16 years, in which time *sal* coppice will attain a height of at least 40 feet, with an average diameter, for the individual predominant stems, of six inches. The store trees will then be about one foot in diameter, and will protect more ground from frost than at first, and some of them may be taken out, if timber of that size is wanted, other poles being left uncut to take their place. Those which are kept standing for two rotations and are therefore 45 to 48 years old, will, of course, be still more valuable. As already said, I am glad to know that several private forests on the Western Dún are now being strictly conserved and exploited on these enlightened principles.

In a Note on the reorganisation of the Provincial and Subordinate Forest Services, dated 3rd June 1892, the Inspector-General of Forests, Mr. Ribbentrop, in support of his proposals for increased executive establishments, said that most of the Indian forests had suffered for centuries from direct mismanagement or neglect. From time immemorial the produce required by the people or by the State had been extracted where most convenient, without regard to the future well-being of the forests. Growing poles were lopped for fodder, or cut for other purposes, at the height most convenient to the workmen; fires were never checked, and grazing was permitted on areas where natural reproduction took place. The results of all this were—more or less ruined forests. Protective measures, which had been gradually introduced during the last thirty years, had had the most beneficial results both in the reproduction of our forests and the improvement of the growing stock; but we could not by such means alone improve the forests to the degree which was desirable. This could be done only by the extraction of all trees damaged beyond recovery, by the removal of inferior species, and of old decaying standards which appropriate more space, light, and food than they were worth, either as growing stock or as parent trees. In fact, improvement fellings were required over a great majority of our Indian forests, and the sooner they were executed, the better. All this is particularly applicable to the forests of the Dehra Dún.

I have, above, alluded to the fact that, since 1884 the private forests in the Dún have been assessed by Government or revenue. I will now show on what grounds Mr. H. G. Ross, the officer who then made the eighth revision of the Settlement, and who had been for many years Superintendent (Collector) of the Dún, proceeded in making the assessment. In his rent-rate report, written during the preliminary inquiry, and quoted by Mr. Baker, C.S., who succeeded Mr. Ross and wrote the Settlement Report 1886, Mr. Ross said, of the Dún in general :—

"The general condition of the people is good : there was a great rise in the value of land and all property shortly after the present," (late) "Settlement. As up to that time there had been no great demand for wood or forest produce, waste lands, whether grass or forest, were lightly assessed. Soon after the Settlement, probably in a great measure owing to more efficient conservancy, the prices of timber and wood of all sorts rose enormously. *Zamindárs* who had been moaning their lot at being saddled with large areas of forest land, found suddenly that they had therein a mine of wealth. The right of cutting in private forests was sold in several instances for Rs. 15,000, 20,000, or 30,000. I have authentic records of sales of wood by private parties to the value of six *lakh*s of rupees during the term of the present Settlement." "The Dún is what is commonly called a backward district, but so far as the comfort and well-being of all classes is concerned, it is a matter for regret rather than otherwise that more districts are not in the same state of backwardness. The *samindárs* have prospered owing to the ample margin of jungle and forest left them, which has turned out most profitable.

In another part of the Settlement Report of 1886, Mr. F. Baker said it was of little use to criticise the revenue policy of the past, as the state of things brought about by it could not be altered. But a few remarks seemed called for in regard to the waste land grants, and grants sold in simple in the Dún. For many years after the possession of the Dún was acquired, he said, the value of the forest did not seem to have been realised or appreciated. Perhaps no mistake was more common in the early days of British rule, than to suppose that the extension of cultivation, wherever culturable land could be found, and the clearing of forest and jungle to extend cultivation, must necessarily benefit the country and the Government, and should be encouraged and pushed on as much as possible. But it was now recognised that every country requires to have a certain proportion of its area under forests, and that in a tropical country like India, where the heat is so intense, and the very existence and well-being of the people depend on a regular and sufficient rainfall, this proportion should be even larger than in European countries. For the Dún itself the area was still ample, and from its situation between two mountain ranges, there was little danger of its rainfall becoming deficient. But the fact that forests in them-

selves constituted a property of great value, and might be made to yield an annual revenue equally with cultivation, seemed to have been overlooked, in the anxiety to obtain an increase in the cultivated area. There could be no doubt, taking a purely financial view of the matter, that the State parted with its rights in the waste-land grants, and particularly in the fee-simple grants, for a very inadequate return, and that, had these been retained as Government forests, far larger sums would have been paid into the treasury on their account. 25,537 acres were sold under the fee-simple rules for Rs. 86,919, the average price being a little over Rs. 3-11-0 per acre. Much of this land had valuable *sal* forest, worth Rs. 50 or 60 an acre, or even more, standing on it. In several cases the forest was sold, within a few years, for five or ten times the purchase money. And the total area of the waste-land grants given away on clearing leases was 30,256 acres, on which the Government revenue now paid was even then (now) only Rs. 7,264, or an average of 3 annas and 10 pies per acre. But, in the case of the inferior soils, the writer of the Settlement Report said that forest was perhaps in the long run more profitable than cultivation, and therefore, the expediency of making cultivation compulsory was open to question. The main object in making the grants was to induce Europeans to settle in the Dún, and to attract English capital for agricultural purposes. But the expectation that this object would be attained had not been realised, though the value of the land had risen by leaps and bounds.

In his rent-rate report Mr. Ross had advocated the completion of the scheme for draining the Eastern Dún, with the view of reclaiming and bringing under cultivation the waste lands, as had been done in the Western Dún; but he subsequently modified his views, and Government had finally decided to abandon the further prosecution of the schemes. Mr. Baker thought the decision a wise one. He had pointed out that the area of Government forests and of revenue-paying villages in the Dún was about equal; and that while the gross forest revenue for 1884-85 was Rs. 84,798, the land revenue under the expiring Settlement was only Rs. 31,693, and for the next twenty years would be only Rs. 51,488. Forest revenue was capable of expansion yearly, and the value of forest produce was likely to rise far more than the value of cultivated produce in the Dún. Not only were prices rising already, but a railway into the Dún, which would make all forest produce more valuable by facilitating export, would lower the price of cultivated produce by facilitating import; and sooner or later a railway must be made.

With the change of views as to the value of forests, indicat-

ed in the above extracts; it is not surprising that, on the occasion of the last revision of the Settlement, private forests were for the first time assessed for revenue purposes; and Mr. Ross's proposed rates for *sál* forests were sanctioned by Government on the understanding that no forest would be assessed first class. The plan was the same for the whole Dún.

Mr. Ross found that *sál* trees were sold at four different stages:—at about five, ten, fifteen and twenty years old, and that very few—he might say, no—private owners kept the trees standing beyond the last mentioned age now-a-days. The third, or *tor* and *balli*, stage was that at which nearly every one in the Dún sold *sál* trees: it was found to be the most paying. At fifteen years of age, a *sál* tree yields one *tor*, or post of heart-wood ten or twelve feet long, the outer part being axed off; and the upper part yields a *balli*, or pole, such is used as a rafter for thatched roofs. From statistics obtained from the Forest Department, Mr. Ross found that *sál* tree, either from seed (after the leading shoot had fought its way against the repressing effects of frost, I presume) or as a sucker from the stem of a tree cut down, reached the *tor* and *balli* stage in fifteen years on ordinary land (Mr. Fernandez puts this at sixteen years of growth) Mr. Ross therefore took the *tor* and *balli* stage as his standard, considering that, as the Settlement would last for twenty years, it was giving the *zamindár* liberal terms to credit him only with the value of one cutting at that stage, once during the period of the Settlement. The Records in the Forest office had shown him that an acre of good *sál* forest, at the *tor* and *balli* stage, was worth Rs. 120; but he did not think that any of the *sál* forests in a revenue-paying village could be assessed as first-class, so he made great reductions, and fixed four classes, valuing the sale of timber per acre in each class respectively at Rs. 80, 60, 40, and 20, which gave an annual average rent of Rs. 4, 3, 2, and, 1 for the four classes; and he was satisfied, after careful inspection of the private forests, that those rates would be very lenient.

Mr. Baker, towards the close of his report on the Settlement, called attention to a possible source of forest revenue which had never yet been turned to any account by the Indian Government, though he believed it might be made in a few years to yield very considerably in the Dún, namely, the rights of shooting or killing game, and of fishing:—

"The whole valley of the Dún," he said, "forms one of the most splendid natural preserves in the world. Wild animals and what is termed 'Game' in an English sense, literally swarmed till within the last decade or so. But all persons are allowed to shoot in Government forests, free of any restriction, so long as they are entitled to carry fire arms. There is no limit as to the number of days any

person may shoot or the number of animals he may kill, though lately rules have been issued laying down a close season for winged game, and prohibiting the shooting of does at all times. Forests protected against fire are also closed against shooting for six or seven months in the year. This is done in the interests of the forests themselves, and in no way from any desire to afford protection to animals. As a matter of fact, but for the protection so afforded game would almost have been exterminated in the Dún before now."

Mr. Baker argued that wild animals, game, &c., are as much forest produce as trees or bamboos, and in all countries of the world the owner of forests was held to be virtually the owner of the animals living in them, and entitled to the right of killing them. In England and Scotland this right sells for very large sums. The land revenue of the Eastern Dún would, under the new Settlement, be only about £800, the rent of a fairly good, small-sized grouse moor. And yet the shooting and fishing of the Eastern Dún, properly preserved and controlled, would be infinitely more varied and finer than anything that Scotland can offer:—

"Elephants, tigers, bears, leopards, *Sambar*, spotted deer, barking deer, hog deer, four-horned deer, pea-fowl, black and grey partridges, birds innumerable—all these are found in the Dún forests, and could be made to afford sport in comparison with which English or Scottish shooting is tame and uninteresting. Many of the animals have a considerable intrinsic market value. Elephants are now reserved for the use of the State, and their capture or killing is forbidden by law. A tiger skin is worth at least 30 or 40 rupees, a leopard skin 15 or 20. The flesh, skin and horns of a *Sambar* stag will sell for 15 or 16 rupees, of a *Chital* stag for 5 or 6 rupees, and of the smaller kinds of deer in proportion. Pea-fowl, partridges, hares, &c., all sell readily as articles of food in the same way as game in England. Now, while not a bundle of grass, or of dry sticks, worth less than an anna, is allowed to leave the forest without payment, and not a single tree can be felled without permission, any number of these valuable animals may be slaughtered and removed from the forests without either permission being asked, or any charge made. A few sportsmen may kill thousands of rupees worth of game in a season in Government forests, just as much part of the forest produce as the trees, bamboos, grass, &c., but have to pay nothing, and not even to ask permission."

The principle of making revenue out of the right to shoot in State forests is not a new one, Mr. Baker said. In France the right of killing game in State forests is sold yearly by auction, and so strictly is the game preserved that not even a forest officer is allowed to shoot in the forest of which he is in charge. Allowing indiscriminate shooting, as at present, operates in regard to animals and game in much the same way as indiscriminate felling on the forests:—

"So long as animals were plentiful, slaughter was excessive, especially after the arrival of the ex-Amir of Cabul in the Dún, for whom elephants are kept up at Government expense. Having nothing to do, and not being permitted to leave the Dún, he naturally devoted almost the whole of his time to shooting, so long as anything could

be found to shoot. Some local sportsmen do the same. A good *Chital* stag is now seldom seen. *Sambhars* are still more rare. Pea-fowl are getting quite scarce, and the black partridge also. At the present rate of destruction there will in a few years be no game left except in the closed forests." "It is only in Indian Government forests that all are allowed to slay without limit, and that the principle acted on is to let nothing escape if possible. I have heard of 20 *Sambhar* stags being shot by a single sportsman in a week, and 70 or 80 *Chital* stags in a fortnight, not many years ago. Pea-fowl were shot by the cartload where hardly one can now be seen. It is only lately that the slaughter of does has been prohibited."

Mr. Baker said that these animals did no harm to crops, for there were none to injure. They got their living almost entirely in the Government forests, and there was no object in having them exterminated. The right of shooting them, if sold by auction, would add considerably to forest revenue, and conditions might be imposed to prevent the present reckless and indiscriminate slaughter. The land revenue of the Eastern Dún must always be insignificant. But, maintained as forest it would help to supply one of the pressing wants of the country, and the forest revenue, added to the sums that might be derived from leasing the rights of shooting and fishing, would in a few years exceed the land revenue many times over. For these reasons Mr. Baker approved of the abandonment of the drainage scheme, and said that the extension of cultivation in the Eastern Dún was not to be desired. In saying that there were no crops in the Eastern Dún for wild animals to injure, Mr. Baker was using a figure of speech: a statement in his own report shows the areas of cultivated land in the Eastern and Western Dúns respectively, at the dates of the present and last previous Settlements, to have been as follows:—

	EASTERN DUN.		WESTERN DUN.	
Former Settlement	...	12,149 acres.	...	35,766 acres.
Present	"	18,618 "	"	52,133 "

An area of upwards of eighteen thousand acres (an increase of 50 per cent. in 20 years, the same rate as in the Western Dún) is by no means insignificant. And the same table shows that in the Eastern Dún there are 30,559 acres more which are culturable and assessable, as against only 42,000 acres culturable but not cultivated in the Western Dún. I am aware of several thousands of acres of land in the Eastern Dún being now brought under cultivation, bounded on two sides by Government closed forests; and several small grants have recently been sold by impecunious proprietors, or the Banks into whose hands they had fallen, and these will probably be more cultivated in future. Cultivators are now immigrating from the Punjab to the Dún, and land is in great demand. Any great increase of wild animals or game would tell severely against cultivation near the forests.

In making his assessment of the Eastern Dún, Mr. Ross had to consider this very question of damage by wild animals. He said—

"Some villages were much more exposed to the ravages of wild animals than others; I had to make allowances for this. I had, time without number, seen with my own eyes the damage done by wild beasts, and so knew what the poor people suffered. In certain village pigs and deer were a never-ceasing source of damage to crops. In others, wild elephants came down, sometimes destroying everything. On one occasion I remember, near Ranipokri, seeing some beautiful fields of wheat about the middle of March, the ear was fully formed and there was every prospect of a bumper-harvest. Five or six days after I returned the same way, and found the village a perfect waste: a herd of wild elephants had taken it into their heads to live in the wheat fields; what they did not eat they trampled down; out of the four or five acres, there was not a bushel of wheat to be reaped. I have seen the same thing over and over again in rice lands in the rains; just as the grain commences to ripen, down come the elephants and in the soft wet mud of the paddy fields trample under foot four times more than they eat."

I believe that monkeys are more destructive to crops than are deer, for they are wantonly mischievous. I do not know whether Mr. Baker would protect them by game-laws, and raise revenue by charging for the privilege of shooting them. Perhaps it is from an unconscious fellow-feeling that I have never fired a shot at a monkey, and have always been sorry to hear of their being shot; but, from what I have seen in the Dún, I am bound to say that in some places the cultivators ought to exercise the right of self-defence against them. If they cannot get licenses to carry guns, or afford to buy them, traps and poison might be brought into play. In the Western Dún several European proprietors have lately tried fencing-in their forests, or cultivated land, with wire netting, five feet high and with a five inch mesh, fastened to jungle wood poles, which, if selected of the proper species, *e.g.*, *jhingan* (*Odina Wodier*), and *dol dhák* (*Erythrina indica*), will take root and become permanent supports; and such a fence, though not, of course, monkey-proof, is deer-proof, and to some extent pig-proof also. At the present rate of exchange it costs only about five annas a running yard, erected. I do not know whether such a fence would turn a wild elephant, but I fancy these animals descend from the hills only by certain well-known tracks, and if the wire-netting did not turn them back, gaps could be left for them. As Government preserves the elephants and will not allow them to be killed, I presume the cultivators receive compensation for the damage they do. But damage done by deer is not so easily proved, and I think it is a question whether Government ought not to undertake to confine them within the forests. (In an earlier part of this article Colonel Pearson has been quoted as saying that the forests were to be fenced.)

Certainly they ought to be, if a revenue is to be derived from letting the shootings. Mr. Baker cites the analogy of property in game in Scotland ; but cultivators there can, I think, claim compensation for damage done by game, and small ground-game can there be shot by any one possessing a gun license. I must not be supposed to have any sympathy with pot-hunters and those who shoot for profit, and I quite approve of Mr. Baker's suggestion, that people who want to shoot in the Government forests should pay for the privilege. I merely wish to show that any undue preservation and consequent increase in the amount of game in the Government forests is likely to be detrimental to private agricultural interests. It is quite right to conserve strictly all existing forests ; but the proprietors of grants, and the lessees of Government land, whether Native or European, have the right to cultivate their land to the utmost, and Government has no right to place any obstacle in their way.

C. W. HOPE.

ART. X.—EDUCATION IN BENGAL.

[*Vide Resolution on the Report of the Director of Public Instruction.*]

A RESOLUTION on an Educational Report is not, as a rule, the style of literature one would select to beguile the tedium of a sick bed. If a man had some hours to wait at a road-side station on the Eastern Bengal Railway, he might turn to such a paper, provided he had nothing else to read, and had already made himself conversant with the time bills hung in the station, and had read of, and taken warning by, the due punishment meted out to those who had transgressed the bye laws.

Up to date educational reports have not been popular reading. They seem to the untutored eye to consist of a mass of figures attached to clumsy, and, to the uninitiated, meaningless terms, such as Middle Vernacular, Model English, Upper Primary and the like. They are, therefore, read by those who are concerned with them, and put away for a year, until the time comes round again to take them out for the purpose of instituting comparisons for a fresh set of returns.

Seeing, then, that even Harry Furniss could not make the ordinary education report entertaining, it may seem but an uninviting subject with which to head a paper in a review, but we will relieve the mind of the reader by saying that he shall find no statistics in this article: our object in writing it is to save from the oblivion which is the natural fate of such official papers, a Resolution which has enunciated a distinct policy, which acknowledges and faces difficulties, which dispels any sentimental glamour that has been shed around educational results, and which, finally, lays bare evils the existence of which has hitherto not been appreciated if even at all realised.

Within recent years public attention has been drawn very closely to the number of semi-instructed men who are annually turned out from the schools and colleges of Bengal. All these youths demand as a right, more or less, that the Government which had placed a ridiculously cheap education within their reach, should now provide for their future. The fact of having gone up for an examination and failed, is put forward as a title to employment, and as, of course, employment cannot be found for all, we have on our hands a number of *Græculi esurientes*, who have forgotten their ancestral craft, whether it be agriculture, trade or household service, but have not acquired any shame faced reluctance to assert their fitness for all and every form of occupation under Government that may fall vacant. We believe that if the Bishop of Calcutta were to

advertise for a Surrogate, or the Commander-in-Chief for a Quarter-Master General, there would not be wanting applications from passed and failed University men, who would see in either advertisement a *post*, however ignorant they might be as to the nature of the duties connected therewith.

The existence of this large and increasing semi-educated population is painfully felt both in Calcutta and in the Mofussil. To it we owe some of the choicest effusions of the native press, such as the recent charming suggestion of boycotting the Lieutenant-Governor, written seemingly without the slightest idea of what the word boycott means, but with a vague notion that it conveys some dire threat,—something like Mr. Weller's version of the reply to Mr. Pickwick's message, when he said "The gentle'men said, he wished himself something unpleasanted first." Mass meetings of so-called ryots afford a temporary relief to the needs of this class, and Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea has indicated a new form of occupation to the coming generation, in the advice he recently gave to an assembly of schoolboys—to be enthusiastic Congress-men.

The evil of this state of things is palpable to all. The creation of discontent in any body of men, even where it is unavoidable, is in itself bad. The pursuance of a policy which gratuitously increases the numbers of a dissatisfied class, is worse. The intentions of the Government, in acting as a pioneer to higher education at the outset, were most excellent. They erred on the side of generosity, but the state of things then justified this generosity. Education was unknown, and the people were unable to set about starting a system of higher education. So those who were then responsible for the government of the country, albeit that they were in no way bound to do so, placed within the reach of all education which, to quote Sir George Campbell's memorable words, would enable the gifted son of a ryot to raise himself to a seat on the Bench of the High Court.

The result of that generous policy we have now been feeling for some years past. The system then inaugurated has not produced any great results in lifting real merit out of obscurity, but it has given life to mediocrity, and has produced a swarm of men possessed of that little learning which, if not absolutely dangerous, has had a distinctly bad effect on the lower middle classes of the community: men, as we have said, have forsaken the paths of life to which they were born, and for which by heredity they were fitted, and have become a sort of non-descript community, describing themselves as the enlightened. They are of no use to the community in general, and they are no better off themselves than they would have been had they stuck to their ancestral calling.

With this system of higher education, was started a very extended system of primary education. The village *patshallah* was reduced to a scientific method, and elementary education was brought to the door of every peasant in Bengal. Now, whatever may be thought of the wisdom of fostering higher education, there can be but one opinion as to the duty of the State as regards elementary education. Everyone who knows anything of peasant life in Bengal, must realise the fact, that getting to windward of their neighbours in all business transactions, is the end and aim of all who have any dealings in either rent or money lending. Many a ryot can trace his ruin to accepting what purported to be a receipt for sums which had been honestly paid, but which really acknowledged a very much smaller amount. Similarly, Mahajuns' accounts, by fabulous calculation of interest, have mounted to sums impossible of liquidation. In either case the unfortunate debtor was reduced to a state of almost absolute serfdom, and that by a process which could only be described as grossly fraudulent.

Now the extension of elementary education tended to minimise this state of things. Giving every man the facility of reading the receipt given by his landlord, or the account rendered by his money-lender, placed him at once in a position of freedom from a possible state of serfdom, and the result has shown itself in the better status acquired by the peasantry within recent years. The work done by the old District School Boards is now bearing good fruit, and as far as the Mofussil is concerned, the good work is being carried on by the District Boards presided over by the Magistrate of each district. Where, however, control over schools became vested in Municipalities, the results were far different. Those who, in too many instances, form the component parts of Municipal Boards, are men who owe their importance to the smattering of instruction they received at zillah-schools, and the tendency in every municipality has been to lavish the money of rate-payers in subsidising schools for the higher education of those who, if they desired such a luxury, should have been compelled to pay for it. At the same time they utterly neglected primary education. They cared but little for the material advancement of a class which they despised as "uneducated." Their one object was to bring on their own sons, and those who were of their own class of life. The semi-instructed Babu is loud in generalities about freedom and popular privileges, but these, being interpreted, mean the advancement of the *bhadro lok*. They are as indifferent to the material prosperity of the bulk of their countrymen—of the peasant and the artizan,—as are the peasants and artizans indifferent to the acquisition of theoretical freedom, or of

sentimental privileges, such as the franchise and representative councils. So primary education was neglected in all Municipalities, from enlightened Calcutta down to the smallest collection of huts dignified by the name of a town, whilst grants-in-aid were lavishly given to all sorts of higher schools, at the expense of taxpayers the majority of whom derived no benefit whatever from these institutions.

A state of things so glaringly unfair was not likely to escape the notice of the present Lieutenant-Governor. During the last year, in almost every speech he made to Municipal Committees, Sir Charles Elliott pointed out in very plain terms, the injustice of a system which starved the poor and fed the well-to-do in the matter of education. The clear and definite enunciation of a policy which strikes at the root of this glaring evil, is one of the salient points of the Resolution we are now considering. It would, probably, come under the description of one of "the poisoned arrows" of which the *Mirror* asserts Sir Charles Elliott's quiver is full.

The Lieutenant Governor, at the outset of the Resolution, deals with the question of primary education. He congratulates the Province on the arrest of the decay in the growth of primary schools, but he points out that, whereas Municipalities spent Rs. 46,000 on secondary, or higher, education, they spent only 17,000 on primary education. In a Resolution which appears in the Gazette following that which we are now reviewing, Sir Charles Elliott draws attention to the lamentable neglect on the part of the Calcutta Municipality in this respect, and has accentuated his remarks, by warning the Commissioners that the immense grant made by Government for the support of education in Calcutta, will shortly be withdrawn.

This is a move in the right direction. If Calcutta that boasts of its enlightenment, that swarms with apostles of freedom and resounds with the eloquence of platform speakers, if that city cannot pay for the education of those unable to pay for primary education, then there is but little hope of its flourishing in towns regarded by "the enlightened" as sunk in Bæotian stupidity and ignorance.

It is so, however. Those who soar into empyrean heights when dealing with what they are pleased to call "palladia of Liberty," are far too high-souled to consider the need of the poor at their doors. They know that the Government will look after the real wants of the people, and cheerfully leave the task to the Government. They are far too much occupied with heaping abuse on that Government for imaginary violations of the freedom of the public, to condescend to aid it in the more practical details which are involved in seeking to improve the condi-

tion of those who are too weak to improve themselves. For the future we are glad to learn that the representatives of the rate-payers of Calcutta will have to see that a fair proportion of the money of those rate-payers is devoted to the educational needs of the poor. The lesson has been deferred for a long time ; but it is better late than never.

The Lieutenant-Governor notes with satisfaction the cordial relations which exist between District Boards and the Educational authorities. That only two of these Boards have been singled out as showing a tendency to hostility, or a want of business-like punctuality, shows pretty clearly that there is an almost entire absence of friction in the working of District Boards with the officer of the Department of Public Instruction. This result is exactly what one would have expected from the constitution of District Boards. They have, in the first place, an official head in the District Magistrate. Trained officials are brought up in traditions of work which ensure the avoidance of unnecessary friction, and the tone set by the president of any body of men has a great, though imperceptible, influence on the members which compose that body. When District Boards meet, they do so for the purpose of transacting business. One of the members at least has quite enough to occupy him without striving to kill time by encouraging desultory discussion. The proceedings at the meetings may lack the excitement that often brightens up a Municipal meeting. Personalities are not indulged in, and, though eloquence may be absent, work is done as speedily as possible. Hence it is that departments and persons having business with District Boards, find that, on the whole, they are treated as rational beings, and not as potential smiters of the dignity of the Board.

Sir Charles Elliott's remarks on University education are very much to the point. He notices the extraordinary variations in the results of the examinations from year to year, and from examination to examination. Thus the Entrance examination has a tendency to grow harder ; the F. A. examination to grow easier, and the Degree examination, again, to increase in difficulties. Masonic readers will find an analogy to this in the three degrees in the craft. Continuity in the examining body, where it can be so easily secured as it can in Calcutta, is the remedy pointed out for this, and it seems the only feasible one.

The Resolution, in its thorough outspokenness, removes the flattering unction which the Director would lay to his soul when he flatters himself and his readers that an increasing number of students take up science from a love for science in itself. The Lieutenant-Governor does not see it in the same light, but, with a good many other people, is of the opinion that

students in Bengal do not pursue science for the sake of science, but because it is the easiest course in which to take a degree. He very truly says that, if this were not the case and if young men took up science for the love of the study, it is probable they would pursue it after they leave the University: but it is notorious that this is very rarely the case. We fear that the day is a long way distant when the Bengali student will pursue science, or any other study, for the pure love of learning. His mind is as far removed from the contemplative mental attitude of the Rishis of old, as are his patent leather boots and ladies stockings from the more primitive garb of the students who produced Sanskrit literature.

The hope of *Sirkari naukari* is as yet the mainspring which moves the Bengali student in his pursuit of knowledge, and it is not a matter of surprise that it should be so. It is the result of the system which, excellent and necessary though it may have been in the past, is unsuitable and unnecessary to the needs of the present day. When the time comes, as it is coming, when higher education will be made self-supporting as it is in other countries, and not until then, we shall see men taking to learning for its own sake, and we shall see our colleges and schools turn out scholars who aspire to be something better than *umedwars*. The supply of Congress men and orators may diminish, but the country will manage to worry along somehow without them.

The Resolution before us lays down a policy which justifies the hope that this improvement is not in the very far future. In dealing with higher schools Sir Charles Elliott has noted with satisfaction the decrease in the expenditure of public money in the shape of grants-in-aids to such institutions, and distinctly states that he is not anxious to afford special assistance to such schools; and he has laid down, once and for all, differing from the Director, that where there are unaided schools flourishing side by side with a zillah, or Government, school, the latter should not be kept up at the public expense. The words of the Lieutenant-Governor in this connexion are significant and deserve reproduction.

"His Honour's view is that opportunities for obtaining high education must be provided for those who desire to use them. It is not strictly the duty of the Government to provide this class of education at the cost of the public, but in this respect, as in many others, the Government has felt bound to act as a pioneer in showing the way in which the object can be realised, and in stimulating the desire for the object. When it has performed that duty, it is time for Government to retire from its self-imposed task. In other words, when private high schools exist and flourish, when there is a sufficiency of educated

teachers and youths desirous of high education *and ready to pay for it*, the maintenance of a Government high school, supported by public money, is an injustice to private enterprise, and an unnecessary load on the shoulders of the State. The Lieutenant-Governor's view is, therefore, that, when such conditions exist, the Government should altogether withdraw the zillah school where a private school exists on a solid basis." The process is to be gradual, and for the future the services of teachers are not to be pensionable. This is the first time that this very important question has been tackled and faced.

Private enterprise in teaching should now be allowed to supply the demand. The immediate result will be necessarily a diminution of the numbers of those receiving instruction, but the ranks of disappointed and discontented *unmedwars* will be thinned in proportion. More money will be set at liberty to carry elementary education into districts where it is lamentably backward, and the loss in the numbers of those attending the higher schools, will be compensated by the gain in those who are acquiring the means of defending themselves against extortion and dishonesty.

Only those who seriously value education and have a fixed purpose in acquiring it will be ready to pay for it, and those are the kind of men the increase in whose numbers would be a benefit to the community.

Most of our readers will remember a proposal made some years ago for the introduction of moral text-books into Bengali schools. The idea of making boys moral by means of text-books raised a smile on the faces of those who were not of the inner circle of the Department of Public Institution. Sir Charles Elliott evidently is also amongst the number of those whose faith in the efficacy of any system of morals acquired from books is small. He sees in the intercourse of pupil with teacher—out of school hours—a better means of making the coming generation gentlemen and scholars and good subjects of the Queen, than a wilderness of moral text books could supply. There is no doubt about the soundness of this, if that intercourse were possible or likely to take place.

In most of the zillah schools the only master who associates with his pupils out of school hours is the gymnastic teacher. In many of our colleges the European professors encourage their pupils in manly pursuits, but the colleges, full though they may be, do not account for more than a certain proportion of the coming generation of educated men. We have noticed a greater desire for the exercise of their talents in Municipal Committees on the part of zillah schoolmasters, than for joining their pupils in athletic pursuits, or in forming their style as regards their conduct to their superiors and to ladies in their hours of leisure.

The number of schoolmasters who seek the suffrages of municipal rate-payers is large, and up to the present, the aspirations of many of them tend more towards politics than to the more useful pursuit of training the minds and bodies of their pupils out of school hours. The gymnasium and the cricket or foot-ball field are the true nuclei of anything like substantial improvement in the coming generation, and the strides made in recent years in developing the desire of athletics amongst schoolboys, is one of the most gratifying items in the report.

With the growth of physical development comes, as might be expected, an improvement in the behaviour of the students. Young men who go in for cricket and foot-ball learn lessons of discipline, as a rule. It is not amongst them that are found the unruly youths who treat ladies with disrespect and consider impertinence and rudeness to their elders marks of manly independence.

It must be remembered, however, in justice to the present class of schoolmasters, that the present generation of schoolmasters consists mostly of men who, as boys, were not physically trained, as the present generation of schoolboys are. We must look to the next generation to further develop physical training, and with it that healthy intercourse between master and pupil which conduces so much to giving to the latter something approaching "good form." It is satisfactory, however, to note the disappearance of cases like the Dacca School boy now, and the complaints which some years ago brought the school-going youth of certain places within measurable distance of knowing the meaning of Lynch law in a mild but corrective form.

Many of us who have lived the best part of our lives in the Mofussil, and who knew the generation of native gentlemen who have passed, or are passing, away, have often had occasion to observe with regret the decadence in manners and in simplicity of habits noticeable in the generation which is taking its place. In many instances this was to be traced to the departure of the son of the old zemindar to Calcutta for education. He came back with but little acquired in the way of knowledge, but with several new accomplishments in so-called European manners. His dress was changed, and, with the change in his dress, came a change in the habits which his forbears observed, and which, in fact they regarded as part of their religion.

A thin veneer of Western cultivation covered a very real deterioration in morals, and vices were acquired which had a sadly disastrous effect on the family property. Instances will occur to many of our readers where fine estates have been dissipated by young proprietors whose extravagant tastes

and habits were acquired during the period when they were supposed to be completing their education in Calcutta. That the number of such cases is not more than it is, speaks very highly for the hold which the simple habits of life, suited to the natives of this country, and engrained by religion and home example, have had on the students who flock to the University. Sir Charles Elliott has drawn public attention to an evil which can account, in a great measure, for the ruin of many of those who date it from their arrival in Calcutta.

It will astonish those whose ideas of University life are founded on experience of the universities at home, to find that where so much has been done in Calcutta for the training of the minds of the students, no attempt, or scarcely any, has been made to provide boarding houses in which some semblance of discipline might be maintained. As the Lieutenant-Governor says, it was almost inconceivable that such a system should have been allowed to grow up, and that no provision should have been made for the proper housing of so large a body of young men, the flower of the youth of Bengal, who are turned loose in Calcutta to find what lodging they may, with little experience of life, with little power of combination, and surrounded by temptations of all kinds. He goes on to say that not so much care is taken of their living in healthy and decent surroundings, as is taken by Government for the pilgrims to Jagannath under the Puri Lodging House Act.

We have seen how ready some people are to combine for the purpose of agitating questions relating to purely sentimental grievances, or of airing political aspirations. It is surely marvellous that a matter like this, which directly affects the children of educated men, should never have attracted the attention of men who call themselves public, spirited patriots. In the darkest ages of English civilization, our universities, with their colleges for the residence of students, were founded. The need of taking care of the discipline of young men was recognised by a generation of Englishmen which the modern Bengali Babu would despise as an ignorant and semi-barbarous generation. Yet, in Calcutta, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the fathers of the coming generation of educated men seem to regard with indifference the fact that the flower of the youth of Bengal is thrown upon Calcutta, to sink, or swim, as good luck, exceptional strength, or average mediocrity of character may direct. This shows very forcibly how utterly blind to reforms affecting the true interests of the community are those who are so keenly sensitive to matters the significance of which is absolutely sentimental and unreal.

It would not be so noticeable were the evil one which affected the peasant or the artizan. They, as we have seen, are

cheerfully left to the care of the much abused official. But here we see no effort made by would-be reformers to give to the young men of their own class that help "which would doubtless save many a young student from contracting seeds of disease arising from insanitary conditions, or evil habits to which they are now liable, and which may embitter and prosterminate their whole lives."

We commend the remarks of the Lieutenant-Governor, in this connection, to those who seek to foster political aspirations in the minds of school boys, who should be attending to their work. It would perhaps be better for those gentlemen to devote their energies to seeking to provide against the destruction both of body and soul of the educated youth of the country, than to spend their time and eloquence in inducing these youths to become ardent Congress-men. There would be some reality and nobleness of purpose in the one course of action which is sadly wanting in the other.

We trust, however, although there is but a small chance or the agitator turning his attention to anything of practical service to his fellow men, the Lieutenant-Governor's remarks will be taken up by many of those gentlemen—and they are numerous—who wish to devote part of their great wealth to the removal of social evils and the bettering of the condition of all classes of their fellow countrymen.

Sir Charles Elliott, failing any action on the part of the Municipality, or the University, trusts that something may be done by the Society for the Higher Training of Young Men, in the direction of guiding students to proper lodging houses, and preventing overcrowding of those that are suitable.

This overcrowding is, however, due to motives of economy, and the Society will have a difficulty to cope with in overcoming those motives—a difficulty which we fear it is impossible for any Society to overcome. What is required, is that suitable colleges should be founded, and endowed, if necessary, at which young men could live together and be brought up under proper discipline and under the guidance of proper tutors,—tutors who would look after the inner lives as well the studies of the young men committed to their charge; whose duties would not be over when the allotted task was prepared, but would then begin in real earnest; who would devote their time to developing the bodies of their pupils, by encouraging them in all manly exercises, and who would, at the same time, by example and precept, teach them that respect for their betters and elders is not a sign of the absence of a spirit of self-respect in its truest sense. We do not think that endowments would be necessary, for these institutions would be self supporting. It is for the wealthy and benevolent

men who are ready at all times to come forward in aid of schemes for the benefit of their fellow countrymen, to emulate "the pious founders" of our seats of learning combined with discipline, and rescue Bengal from the stigma of allowing its young men to drift helplessly amongst the whirlpools of temptation in which the sea of life in Calcutta abounds.

It is a matter for congratulation that the School of Art has taken a firmer position than it heretofore occupied. There is nothing, as far as we can see, to prevent the growth of an artist class in this country; at any rate there is every chance of the preservation of models of the many magnificent works of art which, by the process of time, are gradually falling into decay. The imitative faculty is strongly developed in the people of Bengal as it is, and we trust that it is but a matter of time for the artistic taste which marked the earlier ages of Indian history to revive once more. It will be but one more illustration of the cyclic revolutions, and not to be despaired of.

We have now touched upon the most salient points of this Resolution. It is marked all through by vigorous common sense, and we trust that the policy laid down in it, will soon bear good fruit.

The encouragement of primary education by a system of raising schools that are on an uncertain foundation to a position of stability and usefulness, and the elimination of absolutely worthless schools, will ensure a lasting benefit to the poor of this Province, of which the next generation will doubtless see the fruit. The withdrawal of State aid where it is no longer needed, and where it has become little short of a crying abuse, will bring into existence a number of independent schools, self supporting, and supplying educational wants of those who seek education with a fixed purpose, and are prepared to pay for the attainment of their object. It will, at the same time, do away with a class of men who are an absolute nuisance to the community, and will ensure that those who now compose that class, are relegated to their legitimate sphere of life.

If the remarks on lodging houses, or rather on their absence, produced the effect which they should do, the resolution will have, by that result alone, accomplished a reform the benefits of which will not only be seen in the students themselves, but will bear good fruit amongst the people in the Mofussil amongst whom the future lives of the students will be spent. It is quite possible that this Resolution will be regarded by a certain class of the community as another instance of "putting the hands back on the dial," which has been set down as part of the policy of Sir Charles Elliott, and the

gradual withdrawal of State aid from higher education will be stigmatised as "a poisoned arrow." Those, however, who wish to see *education*, as opposed to gratuitous, or nearly gratuitous *instruction*, take a firm root in the land, will welcome a policy that tends to confer upon it the dignity of independence.

T. C. D.

ART. XI.—HINDU CIVILISATION UNDER MOSLEM INFLUENCE.

I.

THE decay of Hindu civilisation dates from the establishment of the Mahomedan Empire. Every Hindu work that bears the stamp of originality was written by the close of the twelfth century. Thenceforth mathematics and medicine, in which the Hindus had probably made more progress than any other nation of antiquity, were gradually reduced to empiric arts, by which impecunious astrologers and needy quacks earned a bare living. The last great name in the annals of Hindu science was that of Bhascaracharya, who wrote his great work, the *Siddhanta Siromani*, about the middle of the twelfth century. The last great name in the annals of Sanscrit poetry was that of Sriharsha, the author of *Naishada*, who wrote before the commencement of the thirteenth century. The last great name in the history of Sanscrit prose was that of Somadeva of Kashmir, who had written his *Brihat Katha* by the middle of the twelfth century. The history of Sanscrit literature, from the thirteenth century, is a blank. The few courts of Hindu kings, such as that of Bijaynagar in Southern India, which escaped the grasp of the Mahomedans, still fostered Sanscrit learning; it was also kept up at such places as Benares and Nuddea. But during the five centuries and a half of Moslem supremacy Sanscrit literature can boast of only a few commentators, such as Sayanacharya, of Bijaynagar, and Raghunandan, of Nuddea.

The fact of the decline of Hindu civilisation being synchronous with the Mahomedan Conquest, has led to the assumption of an intimate connection of the one with the other. That the Mahomedan Conquest is, to a certain extent, responsible for Hindu degeneracy, admits of no question. Alberuni, who wrote half a century before the invasion of Shahabudin Ghorî, referring to Sabuktagin and his son Mahmud, who made frequent incursions into Hindusthan, between (A. D. 976 and A. D. 1026)* says:—

"God be merciful to both father and son! Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed those wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate hatred towards all Muslims. This is the reason, too, why Hindu Science has retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and has fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares, and other places."

* Alberuni's India, translated by E. C. Sachan. Vol. I, p. 22.

But the Mahomedan Conquest was by no means the sole cause of the decline of Hindu civilisation. It carried the germs of its decay within it. The structure of Hindu society had already attained rigidity before the Mahomedans established their empire. The caste system had been fully developed even long before the time of Alberuni (middle of the twelfth century). The mass of the people looked upon changes of Government with stolid indifference seven centuries ago, as they do now. They were but little affected by foreign invasions; the conquerors usually left them unmolested. Notwithstanding occasional acts of persecution by zealous bigots, toleration was the policy of the Mahomedans, from the invasion of the Arabs in the eighth century to the downfall of the Mogul Empire in the eighteenth. Casim, the first Mahomedan invader of India, referred to Arabia a question relating to toleration, the decision of which gives us an idea of the Mahomedan policy: "In the towns that were stormed the temples had been rased to the ground, religious worship had been forbidden, and the lands and the stipends of the Brahmîns had been appropriated to the use of the State. To reverse these acts, when once performed, seemed a more direct concession to idolatry than merely abstaining from interference, and Casim avowed himself uncertain what to do. The answer was, that, as the people of the towns in question had paid tribute, they were entitled to all the privileges of subjects; that they should be allowed to rebuild their temples and perform their rites; that the land and money of the Brahmans should be restored, and that three per cent. on the revenue, which had been allowed to them by the Hindu Government, should be continued by the Musulman."*

The artisans, traders, cultivators and labourers pursued their avocations comparatively undisturbed amidst political revolutions and changes of dynasty. They were not affected by the bustle of the political or the learned world, and took but little interest in either. While the higher castes could on an emergency, take to the occupations of the lower, the latter could never aspire to the avocations of the former: while a member of the military or of the priestly caste could pursue agriculture or trade, if necessary, a Sudra or Vaisna could never become a soldier, or a priest, or an author.

Fighting was the occupation of the Rajputs at the time of which we are treating. They fought, and often fought bravely, against the Mahomedan invaders; no disgrace rankled more in their breasts than the disgrace of a defeat in battle. Rather than surrender, they often perished sword in hand. They were patriotic; foreign domination was irksome to them; but they

* Elphinstone's "History of India," 1874, p. 310.

were patriotic more from their sense of honour as soldiers than from love of their country. There was scarcely any bond of sympathy between them and the teeming millions which composed the lower castes. The mass of the people considered the maintenance of the Government the business of the Rajputs with which they had no concern. As soon as the king and his army were defeated, there was an end of all opposition. India was well-populated at the time of the Mahomedan occupation: Had not the caste system placed insuperable obstacles in the way of the elevation of the lower classes, had these classes been permeated by a sense of nationality and of patriotism, it would have been impossible for the Mahomedans to establish their empire in India. The Rajputs resisted, and resisted with all their might, but they never got the co-operation of the mass of the people, nor did they expect it. There were stout hearts among the people then, as there are now. The villagers, seven centuries ago, must occasionally have resisted the infringement of their rights, and acts of oppression by the officers of Government, as they still do. But they were as unconcerned with the *personnel* of the Government as they still are. They must have occasionally fought the tax-gatherers, but they were not much concerned as to whether the tax-gatherers were employed by Hindus or Mahomedans. The want of a centralised government did less harm to the Hindus than this want of a national feeling. The absence of centralisation was, in one respect, a hindrance to Mahomedan progress. The whole country had to be conquered in detail. The defeat of Prithvi Raja, of Delhi, meant only the subjugation of his territory. There were many other States, the chiefs of which offered resistance, like Prithvi Raja. Thus the advance of the invader was contested at every step. But, owing to the want of a bond of sympathy between the military and the non-military classes, as soon as the former gave in, there was an end of all opposition.

The Mahomedan conquest, as we have already observed, was, no doubt, partly responsible for the decadence of Hindu literature and Hindu science. But the caste-system was equally, if not in a greater degree, responsible for this decadence. Hindu literature and Hindu science before the thirteenth century meant Sanscrit literature and Sanscrit science. In pre-Mahomedan times, literature and science were cultivated only by the Brahmins. The great poets, the great mathematicians, the great doctors, the great writers of fiction, were all Brahmins, just as the great warriors were all Kshatriyas. The mass of the people had as little to do with learning as they had to do with war. They were debarred from the study of the sacred books. Alberuni says: "Hindus differ amongst themselves

as to which of these castes is capable of attaining to liberation ; for, according to some, only the Brahmana and Kshatriya are capable of it, since the others cannot learn the Veda."* From this passage it appears that the Vaisyas, who had formerly enjoyed the right of studying the sacred books, had lost it by the middle of the 12th century, if not earlier. Together with the Sudras, they must then have greatly out-numbered the higher classes, as they do now. Amongst the names that adorned the Courts of Bhoja of Dhar, or of Vikramaditya of Ujjain, we do not find a single Sudra or Vaisya. The vernacular dialects, the dialects in which the mass of the people spoke, had not yet been developed. Sanscrit was still the language in which books were written. These books could have had but an extremely small circle of readers, and that, only amongst the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas. To the Vaisyas and the Sudras, who formed the great mass of the people, these books were as good as sealed. Their authors lived under the patronage of Hindu kings, not by the sale of their books. When the Mahomedans swept away the courts of these kings, Sanscrit learning fled, as Alberuni says, to such places as Benares and Kashmir. The downfall of the kings meant the ruin of the learned Brahmins whom they patronised ; and the ruin of the learned Brahmins meant the ruin of Hindu literature and Hindu science, just as the overthrow of the Kshatriya Rajputs meant the destruction of Hindu independence.

Till the time of the Mahomedan occupation, the Brahmins reigned supreme in the intellectual world of India. At one time, during the period when the Upanishads were composed, their right to intellectual supremacy had been disputed by the military caste. But they emerged from the struggle victorious, and in the earlier Puranic period, the brightest period of Hindu civilisation, they were certainly the sole possessors of the field of literature and science. They had no equals, certainly no superiors, amongst any other caste. They always led ; they had never been led. They came to believe, as Alberuni says,† "that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited, and stolid. They are by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know, and they take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner. According to their belief, there is no other country on earth but theirs, and no created things, besides them, have any knowledge or science whatever. Their haughtiness is such that, if you tell them of any science scholar in Khorasan and Persia, they will think you to be

* *Op. cit.* p. 104.

† *Op. cit.* vol. I. p. 22.

both an ignoramus and a liar. If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not as narrow-minded as the present generation is." Alberuni, an accomplished and sympathetic Mahomedan, found it very hard to work his way into the subject of Hindu science, though, as he says, he had a great liking for it, in which respect he was quite alone in his time, and, though he spared neither trouble nor money in collecting Sanscrit books from places where he supposed they were likely to be found, and in procuring for himself, even from remote places, Hindu scholars who understood them and were able to teach him.*

At the Mahomedan Conquest the Brahmans, for the first time, came into intimate and lasting contact with a people who claimed to be their superiors; who even looked down upon them with contempt. They had had communications with the Greeks and had even borrowed from them. But their relation to the Greeks had been the relation of equals to equals. But now, for the first time, the haughty Brahmans had to regard as masters, men whom they had hitherto looked upon as impure, foul-feeding, barbarians (*Mlechhas*). They were no longer courted, no longer venerated by high officials; their counsels were no longer sought after by kings. Hitherto, throughout the entire length and breadth of India, in the north as well as in the south, they had possessed the greatest influence. The favours bestowed by kings must have hitherto acted as a great stimulus for the acquisition of knowledge. But now strangers filled the thrones from which kings had smiled upon them—strangers who generally regarded them somewhat as Europeans generally regard them now. Even a sympathetic Mahomedan like Alberuni disdained to be on a level with them. He says: "At first I stood to them as an astronomer, in the relation of a pupil to his master, being a stranger among them and not acquainted with their peculiar national and traditional methods of science. On having made some progress. . . . I showed them what they were worth, and thought myself a great deal superior to them, disdaining to be put on a level with them."† Such of the Brahmans as could afford to do so, fled to Kashmir, Benares, and other places. "And there," says Alberuni, "the antagonism between them and all foreigners receives more and more nourishment, both from political and religious sources."‡ At such places as Benares and Nuddea, Sanscrit learning was kept up by a few Brahmans. But the great majority of them gradually became more and more immersed in ignorance. The line of demarcation between them and the lower classes gradually

Op. cit. vol. I. p. 24.

† *Op. cit.* vol. I. p. 23.

‡ *Op. cit.* p. 22.

became less and less sharp. To the Mahomedans, Brahmans, Vaisyas and Sudras were all kafirs. The Brahmans still received the customary homage from the lower classes. But they had no longer the strength of intellect which is begotten of self-confidence; they had no longer the originality which is the sure indication of intellectual progress. The Brahmans were the greatest sufferers by the Mahomedan invasion. The lower classes continued to pursue their occupations as they had pursued them for ages. Even the Kshatriyas found employment in the armies of Mahomedan kings. But the occupation of the Brahmans, if not quite gone, lost all its lustre and dignity. No kingly ears now listened to their songs or their achievements in the field of science; no kings now sought their advice. They were utterly neglected, nay humiliated. They must have considered themselves disgraced. No wonder that they retired into obscurity in moody silence, or devoted their energies to the composition of frivolous stories about gods and goddesses. The lower classes were now almost their only customers. The Sudras and the Vaisyas now fed and clothed them. They, therefore, not unnaturally, did what pleased their customers best. During the five and a half centuries of Mahomedan regime the best of them could produce only a few commentaries or compilations. They had all along pandered more or less to the superstitions of the mass of people, who were mostly non-Aryans. Hinduism was the result of a compromise between the non-idolatrous worship of the Aryans, as represented in the Rig-veda, and the idolatry and fetishism of the non-Aryans; and this compromise was, at least partly, the work of the Brahmans. Just as Hinduism is a curious mixture of pantheism and fetishism, of monotheism and idolatry, of elevated sentiments and degrading superstitions, so not a few of the works of the Hindus, even of the brightest period of their civilisation, are strange compounds of the sublime and the ridiculous. Varaha Mihira was a great astronomer of the 6th century. His Brihat Sanhita is certainly a great work. But anyone reading it would say, as Alberuni said,* "I can only compare their mathematics and astronomical literature, as far as I know it, to a mixture of pearl shells and sour dates, or of pearls and dung, or of costly crystals and common pebbles.

With the Mahomedan Conquest the Brahmans lost the patronage of enlightened Hindu kings, and became more dependant than ever for their living on the gifts of the lower castes with whom the superstitious part of Hinduism was most popular. The Brahmans had now to please the mob more than ever. The most enlightened amongst them were, no doubt, monotheists, pantheists, or atheists, as they still are. But they never expected, probably they never wanted, the mob

* *Op. Cit.* Vol. I, p. 25.

to be what they were. Three centuries previously to the Mahomedan occupation, Sankara Charya had expressly preached one creed (pantheism) for the philosophic few, and another (Saivism) for the ignorant many. Now the number and influence of the philosophic few were greatly reduced, while of the ignorant and credulous many remained, and increased and throve. The influence which produced the sublime in Hindu works vanished; the influence which produced the superstitious and the ridiculous in them, gradually increased. So the Brahmins, under the latter influence, produced such works as the Tantras, which give elaborate accounts of absurd and obscure practices. The science of astronomy ceased to have any higher interest than that which it had for astrologers for the purpose of ascertaining which dates are propitious for certain purposes and which dates are not; on which dates and at what hours the festivals of the people are to be held; on which dates certain kinds of food are to be eaten, and on which dates they are not to be eaten. All that was grand and noble in the Indo-Aryan literature and science gradually disappeared; all that was base and degrading, or at best indifferent, remained and flourished.

The Mahomedan Conquest was by no means an unmixed evil. It did some good. Hindu civilisation hitherto had been the civilisation chiefly of the two upper classes, the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas. To the lasting honour of the Brahmins be it said, they spread their civilising influence throughout India. It was they that lifted up the aborigines, taught them to lead a settled life, made them more humane, in one word, more civilised than they had been before. This the Brahmins did, not by brute force, but by sheer force of character and intellect. To conquer a country with the idea of civilising it, never entered their heads. They penetrated to the remotest south, to the north, and to the east, not as conquerors, but as peaceful settlers. Wherever they went, they carried the light of civilisation. Whether it be the Dravidians of the south, or the Koch and other tribes of the east, or the mountainous tribes of the north, their traditions, their religions, their dialects, their manners and customs, all bespeak Brahmanical influence. Yet the religion of the Brahmins was not a proselytising religion. The aborigines were admitted within the pale of Hinduism, but on the condition that they would form the lowest class in Hindu society. They were glad, nay eager, to occupy this position. The process of Hinduisation of the aborigines is still going on in such outlying parts as the jungles of the Central Provinces, and may still be witnessed. The wild Gonds, who live in the heart of the jungles, lead an unsettled and primitive life. They talk in their own dialect; they eat

whatever they can get hold of; they know not the use of the plough; their clothing is of the scantiest description. But, as soon as they come within the sphere of the influence of the Hindus, they lead a settled life; begin to entertain scruples about food; forget their dialect, and disown relationship with their more primitive brethren of the jungles. In short, they are Hinduised. They are proud to call themselves Hindus, although they occupy the lowest position among them; although the Brahman would not drink water out of their hands, would even consider himself polluted by their touch.

The low caste people were considered beings inferior to the Brahmans. They could never aspire to rise to the social status of the Brahmans. It was otherwise with the Mussulmans. The meanest peasant amongst them could rise to the rank of the greatest nobleman. Mahomedans preached the brotherhood of man. Mahomedanism did not place any insuperable barrier between man and man. The lowest Musalman had a right to read the Koran and to pray in the mosque. Not so with the Hindus. "Every action," says Alberuni,* "which is considered as the privilege of a Brahman, such as saying prayers, the recitation of the Veda, and offering sacrifices to the fire, is forbidden to him; to such a degree, that when a g. a Sudra or a Vaisya is proved to have recited the Veda, he is accused by the Brahmans before the ruler, and the latter will order his tongue to be cut off." Yet it is a curious fact, that, notwithstanding the prestige which Mahomedanism enjoyed, as the Imperial religion; notwithstanding the equality which all its votaries enjoyed; notwithstanding such gentle pressure as was exerted by the imposition, at times, of a poll tax on all non-Mahometans, and notwithstanding such violent pressure as was exerted—though fortunately at rare intervals—by enthusiastic bigots, the religion of Mahomed found but few converts even amongst the lower sections of Hindu society. The fact that, notwithstanding the immigration of Mohamedans from various parts of Asia for some seven centuries or more, they still do not form more than a fifth of the entire population of India, speaks volumes in favour of the stability of Hinduism. But, though Islam failed to make many converts, it exerted a great and wholesome influence on Hinduism. It was chiefly this influence that produced that succession of earnest reformers who shed such lustre on India from the commencement of the fourteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth. Ramapanda, Kabir, Nanak, and Chaitanya were certainly influenced by the tenets of Mahomedanism. They all preached the Unity of the Godhead; they all protested against caste; they all denounced idolatry. Kabir, Nanak, and Chaitanya founded

* *Op. Cit.* Vol. II, p. 136.

large sects which have survived to the present day. Ramana chose his disciples from among the lowest castes. He had even a leather dresser amongst them. The most distinguished of his disciples was Kabir, a weaver. "To Ali and to Rama we owe our life," say the scriptures of Kabir's sect,* "and should show like tenderness to all who live. What avails it to wash your mouth, to count your beads, to bathe in holy streams, to bow in temples, if, whilst you mutter your prayers or journey on pilgrimage, deceitfulness is in your heart? The Hindu fasts every eleventh day, the Musalman on Ramzan. Who formed the remaining months and days, that you should venerate but one? If the Creator dwell in tabernacles, whose dwelling is the universe? The city of the Hindu god is to the East (Benares, the city of the Musalman god is to the West (Mecca); but explore your own heart, for there is the God both of the Musalmans and of the Hindus. Behold but one in all things. He to whom the world belongs, He is the Father of the worshippers, and of Ali and Rama. He is my Guide; He is my Priest." Kabir, Chaitanya and Nanak, all admitted Mahomedans into their sects. There were Moslems who regarded Kabir as one of their own. Tradition says that on his death a dispute arose amongst his followers, composed partly of Mahomedans and partly of Hindus, as to the manner in which his body was to be disposed of. Chaitanya, though himself a Brahman, denounced caste as strongly as Kabir. Several of his disciples belonged to low castes. There were even Musalmans amongst his followers.

Nanak belonged to a trading caste, which ranks below the military caste. He must have been greatly influenced by the teachings of Kabir and by the contact of Islamism. The thesis of one of his first sermons is said to have been—"There are neither Hindus nor Musalmans." Like that of Kabir, his name is still venerated by many Mahomedans.

In Southern India the influence of Mahomedanism on Hinduism is distinctly recognisable at an earlier date than in Northern India. "Criticism," says Dr. Barth, "is generally on the look-out for the least traces on Hinduism of Christian influence, but perhaps it does not take sufficiently into account that which Islamism has exercised. . . . The Arabs of the Khalifat had arrived on these shores (of the Deccan) in the character of travellers or merchants, and had established commercial relations and intercourse with these parts, long before the Afghans, the Turks, or the Moghuls, their co-religionists, came as conquerors. Now it is precisely in these parts that, from the ninth to the twelfth century, those great religious movements took their rise which are connected with the names

* Quoted in Hunter's "Indian Empire," second edition, p. 218.

of Sankara, Ramanuja, Anandatertha, and Basana; out of which the majority of the historical sects come, and to which Hindusthan presents nothing analogous till a much later period. It has been remarked that these movements took place in the neighbourhood of old-established Christian communities. But alongside of these there began to appear, from that moment, the disciples of the Koran. To neither of these do we feel inclined to ascribe an influence of any significance on Hindoo theology, which appears to us sufficiently accounted for by reference to its own resources; but it is very possible that, indirectly, and merely, as it were, by their presence, they contributed in some degree towards the budding and bursting forth of those great religious reforms which, in the absence of doctrines altogether new, introduced into Hinduism a new organisation and a new spirit, and had all this common characteristic, that they developed very quickly under the guidance of an acknowledged head, and rested on a species of authority akin to that of a prophet, or an Iman. Now, to effect such a result as this, the Arabian merchants in the first centuries of the Hegira, with the Mahomedan world at their back, were perhaps better qualified than the poor and destitute churches of the Malabar and Coromandel coasts *

The impetus which the reformers gave, directly and indirectly, to the progress of the vernacular literatures, was very great. In the Deccan the tenth century witnessed the production of the great Paria work, the Kural of Teruvalluvar. The Ramayana was translated into Tamil early in the twelfth century; and the Tamil Sivaite hymnologies were the production of the three centuries from the thirteenth to the sixteenth. The Marathi literature was developed about the same time as the Tamil. The first writers of note were Nana-keva and Duyanoba, who wrote about the end of the thirteenth century. Like the Tamil authors, they both wrote didactic or religious poetry.

In Northern India the teachings of Kabir and Chaitanya were embodied by their followers in voluminous works, which enriched the vernacular literatures. They preached to the people in the languages of the people. Their adoption of the vernaculars as their literary languages was a protest against the exclusiveness of the orthodox Brahmans, a small number of whom still clung to the carcase of Sanscrit. Sanscrit had no longer any life in it; it was now dead. If it was ever a spoken language—and on this point eminent scholars are still divided—, † it ceased to be such about the time of the Maho-

Baith's "Religions of India." London 1882, p. 211.

† For a summary of the discussion on the subject, see Hunter's "Indian Empire," second edition, p. 334, *et seq.*

medan Conquest. The books written in it were not understood by the people: they were not meant for the people. Now the people had books written in their vernaculars, books which, if they could not read themselves, they could at least understand if read to them.

It was about the time of the Mahomedan Conquest that the Indian vernaculars, the Tamil, the Hindi, the Bengali, the Uriya, and the Marathi, began to be developed. This development was not the direct work of the Mahomedan occupation. Long before that time, even centuries before the Christian era, the mass of the Hindus spoke in Aryan dialects, which were called Prakrits. Varruchi, the earliest Prakrit grammarian, enumerates four classes of these in the first century B. C.—Moharastri, Sauraseni, Magadhi, and Paisachi. The vernaculars of India were gradually evolved from these dialects. They must have been in process of evolution long before the Mahomedan Conquest.

But the Mahomedan Conquest hastened the development of the vernacular literatures, as it also hastened the decay of the Sanscrit literature. Sanscrit was destined to die a natural death. It was artificially kept alive by a small band of intellectual Brahmins. With the ruin of the Hindu Courts at the time of the Mahomedan Conquest, these Brahmins dispersed, and gradually dwindled in numbers.

The vernacular literatures would have sprung up in the natural course, because they were the literatures of the mass of the people. But the Mahomedan Conquest helped their development in two ways. First by lowering the status of the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas, it indirectly tended to elevate that of the lower classes. Secondly, the close contact of Mahomedanism influenced the Hindu mind so that it revolted against the inequality of the caste-system, and the domination of an hereditary priesthood. That such reformers as Kabir Chaitanya, and Nanak were at least partly the products of Mahomedan influence, there can be no doubt; and however they might differ in details, they all denounced caste and they all preached the unity of the Godhead. The preachings of the reformers stimulated the progress of the vernacular literatures in a most marked manner. The works of the Kabirpanthis (the sect founded by Kabir) formed the greater portion of the early Hindi literature, and the contributions of the followers of Chaitanya swelled the mass of early Bengali literature.

PRAMATHA NATH BOSE.

ART. XII.—BOMBAY DOMESTIC ANNALS,

A. D. 1800—1810.

“FOR a century and a half Bombay has been of little importance to the Company. Till very lately did the establishment and all its interests appear with those in other parts of the Company’s territories, and a settlement on the coast of Africa could scarcely have been a subject of less consideration.”

This was written in 1825. In 1780 Sion and Sewree were our two frontier posts of dominion in Western India. The three great events which made Bombay what it is, are the Treaty of Bassein, the Annexation of the Dekhan, and the opening of the Suez Canal. The first destroyed the Mahratta confederacy, the second gave us the Bombay Presidency nearly as it exists, and the third made Bombay the gateway of India. When night closed in, on the 31st December, 1802, on the tents of Sir Barry Close at Soopara, as the last rays of the setting sun gilded the pinnacles of the Bassein Cathedral and a cold mist swept up the Creek, enveloping everything in its ample folds, I dare say he scarcely realised what he had done on that fatiguing day of betel-nut, pan-supari and rose water. The Treaty of Bassein was the thin end of the wedge which split asunder an immense fabric of misgovernment and imposture.

Here is a list of our proud possessions in 1799, taken from Government notice and emanating from Bombay Castle :—

“L. Cockran to be Judge and Magistrate of the Islands of Salsette, Caranja, Hog and Elephanta, with revenue jurisdiction over the Island of Bombay and its ancient dependencies of Colaba, Old Woman’s Cross and Butcher’s Island.”

To-day this reads like a caricature. Think of Cross Islet with its gibbet, and Butcher’s Island with its Lazaretto, furnishing a revenue to the Government of Bombay! Judge and Magistrate of Elephanta seems strange in these latter days. However, this notification shows the small kernel out of which grew the tree which now overshadows the Konkan plain, the Dekhan plateau and some of the rich province of Guzerat.

One has only to look at the English journals which devoted themselves to Asia in the early part of the century to see how small a space, compared with Bengal, or even with Madras, Bombay occupied. Take the year 1810 for example; the promotions in the Civil, Military and Naval Department for Bengal and Madras occupy 9 and 12 closely-printed columns respectively of an octavo Report. Bombay is satisfied with one! Madras was then *urbs prima*. The “obscure corner” it is

described as being in Mackintosh's Diary, was no figure of speech. It was an understood thing. A record of 1805 tells us that Bombay "could muster only three old musty chariots, Mr. Collet's equipages, and half a dozen Parsee buggies." You may fancy, then, Bombay, in the first decade, a place of 150,000 inhabitants, with a few English residents, some of whom are very rich, for Bombay was then strong in the resources of money. On October 7th, 1810, I find the following:—"At a meeting of the Bobbery Hunt on Sunday last" (you see, the better day, the better deed) "the subscription for the orphan children of that most respected and lamented officer, Major Carter, was introduced, when, with a liberality that reflects the highest honour on the members of that society, and which is, indeed, above all praise, upwards of Rs. 10,000 were contributed."

And in 1802, when a sailor boy had his leg taken off by a shark in the harbour, £280 was immediately raised for his behoof.

Such things could not happen here in 1892. Spasmodic outbursts of charity arrest attention, but it is well to remember, if we can trust the lists made up in the present year, that not one of our charitable or philanthropic institutions existed in those days; so, when a case of clamant misery came before the Nabobs, there was more chance of turning on the tap of special beneficence than in our so-called degenerate days, when the good deeds of a few individuals have expanded into the benevolence of many. Charity nowadays filters in many unseen channels, and does not need Bobbery Hunts or the jaws of a shark to quicken its pulsations. This leads us to speak of friendship—not the colourless thing we sometimes hear of, but such fast friendship as stands men in good stead and lasts for life; the friendship, for example, of Wellington and Malcolm, made up in India about this time, or of Mountstuart Elphinstone and the Stracheys, also of this date; and of an earlier period, of John Hunter and James Forbes of the "Oriental Memoirs." I dare say the reader recollects their introduction (1766), when, on Forbes (Ætat. 17) entering the dining room in Bombay, Hunter, leaving his midday meal, took the bashful youth by the hand and (wonderful expression) "did not let it go for forty years."

Forbes is very minute as to the details of this visit. It made a deep impression on him; and well it might, for to Hunter he owed his post at Broach, where he made most of his money. He tells of his host becoming Chairman of the East India Company and buying an estate in Hertfordshire, but gives no other clue to his name. We have often wondered who he was. The following note, however, for the modern reader, solves the mystery.

"December 6th, 1802. Died at Bath, John Hunter. He made a princely fortune in Bombay. Became Director of E. I. Co., purchased estate of Gubbins in Hertfordshire, devoted to agriculture, and received a gold medal from the Horticultural Society for his plantation of oaks. Age between 80 and 90. And Nathan said unto David "Thou art the man."

It is impossible to deny the public spirit of the men of Bombay at this period. A subscription, for example, was opened for the Patriotic Fund, which Jonathan Duncan headed with Rs. 25,000 and General Stewart with Rs. 35,000; and £35,000 sterling was at once sent home to assist in carrying on the war. As Napoleon was in Egypt, and the fear and dread of him on all men (Arthur Wellesley excepted), something here may be set down to the motive of self-preservation. It was public spirit, all the same. Two of the most costly monuments in Bombay belong to this period, that of the Marquis Wellesley and Lord Cornwallis. Neither of these two men, I suppose, was ever in Bombay.

It gave a substantial contribution to the statue of William Pitt in London; and the battered hulk of the *St. Fiorenzo* was no sooner signalled from Malabar Point, than a subscription was opened to commemorate, by a monument in the church, the heroic death of Hardinge, who fell in the moment of victory.

The subscription amounted to £2,000 to commemorate an action off Cape Comorin, a thousand miles away. The first statue ever erected to Robert Burns owes its existence to the same noble spirit. The movement for the Pitt and Burns statues, is destitute of every atom of human selfishness or local pride. But everything at this period, in these parts, is done on a magnificent scale. The gold vase presented to Arthur Wellesley by the officers in the army of the Dekhan cost 2,000 guineas.

However, at this critical time men were willing to act as well as pay. No laggard or half-hearted feeling animated the volunteers of these days.

The Bombay Fencibles were commanded by the Governor himself, and in March, 1799, a vast concourse assembled to see the presentation of colours and listen to the speech of Mrs. Rivett which accompanied it—given with all that lady's "accustomed gracefulness and ease." Mrs. Rivett was a lady of great beauty.

Including the Mahim Division of the Portuguese Militia, there must have been 1,000 volunteers in Bombay. The Bombay merchants, though few in number, I mean, of course, the English merchants, were, as I have said before, mostly very rich, and no wonder. It was their good fortune to be in the

place, before it was exploited. Their trade was not only large for the time (indeed for any time), but very lucrative. I call an export *ad valorem* of ten millions sterling of our money in two and half years, from 1806 to 1808, to China alone, a big trade; and I say that it was a rich trade when I see that their merchants admitted to Sir Edward Pellew, in 1806, that his convoy to China had saved the Bombay underwriters £316,000! What a chance for an Income-tax Commissioner!

I say, moreover, that they were an enterprising body of men, when I see that, in spite of great disasters (eleven of their ships were lost in eighteen months on its shores), they continued to prosecute a large trade with the Red Sea. Exchange was 2s. 6d., or eight rupees to the pound sterling, and that they were cautious, I gather from Mr. Remington's expression about mines. "Mines," he says, "into which gold and silver are being thrown, instead of being dug out."

And they had their amusements. The Bombay Theatre, on the margin of the Green (not far from the *Times of India* Office, 1892), dated from 1770 and was the oldest in India, so we are told. The players were amateurs, and the purpose was charity as well as amusement. Gaiety culminated in 1804, with Arthur Wellesley, after his splendid victories. General Bellasis gave a dinner to him in the Theatre. Colonel Lechmere and the officers of the Fencibles a magnificent fête in the same place. Dinner at 7. Illuminations all over the Green, far and wide. The Governor gave a grand ball at Parell, when that sheet of water, to which succeeding generations of wearied dancers have repaired to recruit their exhausted energies, became a fairy scene of gorgeous fireworks, which blazed away far into the night and early morning over the faces of fair women and brave men.

The Duke, though a man of few words, was not callous to these orations. It was the first blast of that mighty trumpet of praise which, in successive bursts, was to sound over him for the next fifty years.

"The approbation of this Settlement is a distinction which will afford a permanent source of gratification to my mind, and I receive with a high sense of respect the honor conveyed to me by your address." And much more to the same effect.

Here is an amusement that has not been seen in our day in Bombay.

The date is January, 1800, when a great number of gentlemen and some ladies attended on a Saturday at the Riding School, to witness the baiting of a horse, a wild boar, and some buffaloes by a leopard. The first object of attack was a dummy man, which leopardus tore to pieces in a twinkling. He then essayed the wild hog, for which he soon showed

Muslim aversion, and "backed," with his tail between his legs, which did not suit the spectators, who goaded him into fury by squibs and crackers until the brute, becoming exasperated by its tormentors, on a sudden, by one tremendous leap, alighted on the edge of a high bamboo palisade which divided the spectators from the arena. You may well believe that, as he hung in mid-air, there was a great consternation. The account says that "each waived all ceremony in the order of his going, to establish his own right of precedence." The riding-master, who happened to have a loaded pistol in his hand, was equal to the occasion, and shot the leopard dead on his perch, his body falling with a thud into the enclosure, while the crowd flew helter-skelter. The night of the 4th November, 1799, was one long remembered. A storm blew with terrific violence, and, when day broke, a spectacle of appalling ruin was revealed. The shore from the Bunder Head to Mazagon, far as the eye could reach, was piled with wrecks. Under Hornby's Battery, round the Castle sea face, as far as Fort George, were great heaps so completely dashed to splinters that not a trace could be discovered of any individual ship.

The "Resolution," ship of war, went to pieces under the Castle walls, and more than 100 craft and 500 lives were lost.

In 1802 a young man of the name of Maw arrived by the "Scalesby Castle," and immediately raised an action against Learmouth, the Commander, for the hard treatment he had experienced during "Neptune's rites" on crossing the Line, having been soused and shaved with dirty water and otherwise tumbled about by the officers and sailors. The Captain was fined Rs. 400. Fines like this soon put an end to the custom.

On August 12th, 1799 Government ordered that no European should travel without a passport. But, with or without a pass, four officers, in 1800, crossed over the harbour to Panwell and proceeded to Chowk, 12 miles. Here a surprise met them. At a turn of the road they beheld six headless men suspended by the legs from a tree—dacoits, suspected of waylaying treasure from Poona. The Paishwa's amuldar had settled the matter by cutting off their heads!

Without mentioning Matheran, they note that it was "a beautiful country of hill and dale."

Another adventurous individual made his way, the same year, to "Carachee." There he found a population of 10,000, mostly in mud huts, and a Fort garrisoned by 20 men, "conspicuous by their poverty and insolence." Think of this, ye Sindians driving to-day to Clifton, and of this other fact, illustrative of the insecurity of life and property in these dry and sandy regions, "even the shepherd tending his flock is accoutred with his gun, scymitar, shield and dirk."

On 1st January, 1800, Colonel Dow obtained leave to proceed to Europe "Overland," which meant in these days *via* Baghdad, as Colonel Hartley had done in 1781, he taking a year to make the journey.

The staple of amusement in these days was, no doubt balls, dinners, reviews and launches.

The driving of the silver nail when the keel was laid down was always a big day. When, on 4th May, a ship of 1250 tons was launched and christened, by Sir Edward Pellew, "The Bombay," with a bottle of good English porter, the affair drew the principal people of the Settlement. But some more expensive liquor was, no doubt, used at the launch, in 1810, of the "Minden," of 74 guns. That was an event of which Bombay was very proud, as sayeth the *Chronicle*: "Bombay has the singular credit of being the first place out of the British dominions at which a British 74 was ever built."

The Duncan Dock was completed on 23rd June, 1810; and it is a singular fact that the "Minden's" keel was laid down while the dock was being constructed, the two works going on simultaneously.

Then as to reviews. On the 4th of June, 1801, the old King's birthday, still sacred at Eton, the 74th Regiment marched past the Governor, their war-worn colours, which they had carried for 14 years in Asia, on many a battle field, waving in the breeze.

We come now to crimes and offences. I confess to a shudder as I read the following:—

Bombay, April 23rd, 1799.

"This day, Ismail Shaikh, Borah, was convicted of stealing different articles of property of James Morley, Esq., partner in which was found in the prisoner's possession. Guilty. Dead. On the 9th May he was executed, pursuant to the sentence."

He had been engaged in another robbery; but 40 shillings constituted a capital offence. Short shrift in these days was given to the condemned.

"On 11th May 1804, Heerjevan was sentenced to be executed on 14th instant, and hung in chains."

On 10th May 1804, Mulharow do. do.

On no site could the gruesome spectacle be so widely and conspicuously exhibited as on Cross Island.

The pillory and whipping were much in vogue.

15th October 1804, James Pennico, 3 months' imprisonment for theft, and to be whipped once from the Apollo to the Bazar Gate.

1804, a woman imprisoned for 5 years for perjury, during which period she is to stand once every year, on the 1st day of the October sessions, in the pillory, to be placed in front of the

Court House, with labels on her breast and back explanatory of her crime.

In 1806, a man who stole a watch was sentenced to two years work in the Bombay Docks; and another to stand in the pillory before his own shop in the bazar.

In 1806 a profound sensation was created by a rumour that an attempt, which was frustrated, had been made to murder Sir James Mackintosh.

It was quite true. Two young lieutenants who were prisoners, came into court, with apparently a writing desk, ostensibly for the purpose of holding papers which they might wish to use in court. The box was taken from them and found to contain 4 pistols loaded with slugs. There seems to have been little doubt that they came into court with intent to kill Mackintosh and afterwards commit suicide.

It must have been an event in one's life to hear Mackintosh rise to "the height of his great argument." "If that murder project had been executed, I would have been the first British Magistrate who ever stained with his blood the bench on which he sat to administer justice. When I accepted the office of Minister of Justice, I knew that I ought to despise unpopularity and slander—and even death itself. Thank God, I do despise them."

The young men were sentenced to 12 months in Bombay goal. All this exhibits the prevailing feeling *at the time*, and we now see that all parties were under unnecessary alarm, for a letter exists, written by Mackintosh to Cauty, one of the prisoners, many years after, when he was high up in the army, exculpating him from an attempt to assassinate him. The letter is dated 6th November, 1824.

Not less important was the trial of the conspirators to murder George Cumming Osborne of the Treasury, in the year 310. He had been Private Secretary to the Governor and afterwards Secretary in the Foreign and Political Department. Three native servants of the Treasury, rich men, were placed in the dock and sentenced to five years' imprisonment—to be annually exposed in the pillory—to be twice whipped in the bazar—and each to pay Rs. 10,000, and to be further imprisoned until the said fine is paid.

This is a typical case of what occurs when law and justice begin to force their way upon a reluctant people, and where a solitary Englishman of position is found foolish enough to compromise the English name, for Charles Joseph Briscoe Esq. was found guilty of accepting a bribe to prevent the trial of these wretches, and, after a trial of three days, was sentenced to 2 months' imprisonment in Bombay goal. The case, so complicated, gave Mackintosh a great deal of trouble, and he had no one to consult.

The man Briscoe was high in the employment of Government—in what position I know not—; was an officer of the Bombay Volunteers, made Alderman in 1803, an office which carried magisterial powers; and it is a significant fact that the clerk and cash-keeper of the police were tried for the same offence.

The grand jury paid a high compliment to the Recorder, for his ability in unravelling the widespread ramifications of the conspiracy and the powerful enginery which had been set in motion to prevent the trial, and defeat the ends of justice.

On the 4th May, 1801, the news that Mitchell had been killed by Bellasis in a duel came upon Bombay like a thunderclap.

Arthur Forbes Mitchell was a young man of great promise, and only 22 years of age; had been, when he was 19, in Malabar, in a post of much responsibility, which he managed with credit to himself, and signal benefit to his employers, and at the time of his death was a member of the Civil Service and a partner of Forbes & Co., and his death was greatly deplored. Bellasis was a Lieutenant, I presume, in the Navy, as he was tried by a jury of Naval men, chiefly Captains and others. Tried and convicted of manslaughter, the sentence of the court was that you, George Bridges Bellasis, be transported to Eastern Australia for a period of 14 years.

His *second*, Captain Charles Byne, was sentenced for seven years. Bellasis received a free pardon on the 4th June, 1802, the King's birthday, at Sydney, when Mrs. Bellasis and he returned immediately to India.

Of vulgar robberies and attacks on the person, there was a plentiful crop in this decade. George Osborne, coming home from dinner, was attacked by 12 men, and owed his safety to his personal courage. The Surat mail was robbed on the Parell Road by a gang of men. As Captain Hendon was returning from dinner in his palanquin, with 6 bearers and a mussaul carrying a light, two privates stopped him and presented a bayonet to his breast. Searched him and found he had no money. Left him with:—"D—n the old fellow, as he has no money, it's not worth while taking his life." One of them was caught and transported for life.

Another gentleman was stopped in his carriage by a number of persons with long poles and swords. He aimed a blow at one of them, shouted to his coachman to "drive on" and so escaped.

On the 14th October, 1798, a stranger, happening to be in the Colaba Light House, observed that a peaceable dingy being attacked off the harbour by five Marhatta gallivats, the dingy being in shot, burning her to the water edge, when she blew up, leaving her crew the chance of the flames or a watery grave.

Such were occasional scenes in these days. During the most of this decade Mackintosh was Recorder, which was Chief Justice and Judges rolled into one.

In 1807, the Company's counsel and Counsel for the Crown were altered to the new style of "Advocate General." Stewart Moncrief Threipland in this decade carried all before him. He was, in Bombay, what, nearly about the same time, in Calcutta, was Robert Cutlar Fergusson of Craigdarroch and Orroland. But Threipland, with all his eloquence, was a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water compared with Mackintosh. The fashion of this world passeth away, and so has the fashion of these Advocates General, great, no doubt, in their time, convincing and sometimes converting both Judge and Jury. Strange to say, in these dim and misty records, where everything has gone antiquated and so much out of date, you will never read anything old fashioned in Mackintosh. His eloquence is like gold, and does not become dim or tarnished by the lapse of time; and neither moth nor rust doth corrupt that imperishable armour of his which is ever burnished. It is all fresh, as of yesterday. He concludes his address to the Grand Jury in August 1803, with this peroration:

"I am persuaded that your feelings would have entirely accorded with mine, convinced that both as jurors and private gentlemen you will always consider yourselves as interested in this remote region of the earth with the honour of that beloved country which I trust becomes more dear to you, as I am sure it does to me, during every new moment of absence; that, in your intercourse with each other as well as with the natives of India, you will keep unspotted the ancient character of the British nation, renowned in every age, and in no age more than the present, for valour, for justice, for humanity and generosity; for every virtue that supports, as well as for every talent and accomplishment which adorns, human society.

Brave words those, spoken in "this remote region of the earth," as good and cogent now, when Peshawur, and not Tanna, is the outpost of British dominion, as good when Wellesley broke the Bonsla's ranks at Assaye, as when Roberts became Lord of Kandahar. Such is the prerogative of genius that it overleaps the barriers of time and appropriates the homage of successive generations. Words like these, often spoken to a few merchants in the old dingy Court House of Bombay, burst the bonds of Apollo Street and become the property of civilisation. He found Bombay, as he says himself "a desert;" but, all unconscious of the fact, he made it blossom as the rose.

A silent revolution had been going on in this decade much of which was, no doubt, due to Mackintosh.

Some of the following notices have more than a local interest

Colonel Joseph Boden, Quarter Master (founder of Boden Professorship, retires 1807.

1st November, 1801. Brigadier General Carnac dies at Mangalore—84. "The friend and associate of Clive."

"16th July, 1802. At Bombay. James Carnac, formerly Member of Council. Buried with military honours. Long respected and beloved. All the principal gentlemen of the settlement attended his funeral."

May 1800. Stephen Whitehill, Senior Merchant.

1800, Nana Farnavese, at Poona.

March, 1800. Jeremiah Hawkins, drowned, while bathing, between Bombay and Colaba.

11th February, 1808. General Bellasis.

1803. During the famine, in the village at the top of the Ghau (Khandala?), 100 dead bodies were seen lying, some of them at the door of their own houses.

1800. At Cuddalore, Andrew Kerr, "The old Commodore." Kept his coffin; used it as liquor and gram chest.

We observe that Daniel Draper, relict of Eliza, was alive in 1803, and that his address was St. James Street, London.

Also a birth announced in Vaux's tomb, near Surat. It is roomy enough to live in, but a birth in a tomb is unique, at all events in prose. In Scott's "Lady of the Lake" we have Brian,

"Bred
Between the living and the dead."

J. D.

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ART. XIII.—COLD WEATHER VISITORS IN INDIA.

IT may be hoped that the majority of the visitors who come to India each cold weather, in ever increasing numbers, carry away with them a certain amount of real information regarding our Indian-Empire, our Indian fellow-subjects, and even their own fellow-countrymen whose lot it is to spend their lives in the gorgeous East. But the race of "Paget, M.P." is not extinct; and, as we are now in the thick of the globe-trotting season, the opportunity is a favourable one for examining an article in the *Nineteenth Century*,* which gives the impressions of one of our last year's visitors. The article, which attracted considerable attention at the time of its appearance, is not by Paget, M.P., but by the Rev. Samuel A. Barnett, who under the title of "Man, East and West," gives a sufficiently inaccurate picture of the conditions of those with whom he came into contact in the East. After sixteen years' experience of various parts of India, during which my duties have enabled me to mix on intimate terms with natives of every class, I can give, I am glad to say, a very different account of the circumstances of those among whom we live, and one for which I venture to claim a far greater degree of accuracy than can be attached to the impressions gathered by a traveller, in a brief cold weather tour.

In Mr. Barnett's opinion, there are three great common characteristics of the people of India: (1) All are poor; (2) all have been conquered, and (3) all are subject to Brahman influence. These are sweeping assertions; and I propose to show that they cannot be substantiated.

Poverty, like many other things, is a matter of comparison. In fact, the generality of the people of India are not poor, whether relatively or actually. There is, of course, a percentage, in which the professional beggars are certainly not included, who are more or less destitute. But this is the case in all countries. The enlightened Mahomedan gentleman who enjoys the high appointment of Chief Justice in Nizam's Dominions, has stated in the same journal to Mr. Barnett contributes, that he has never known such intense poverty in India as he saw in the East of London. The well-to-do appearance of the people in Bombay is at once contradicted by visitors on their arrival in the East. The streets swarm with natives of every class who look well fed, and, according to their own ideas and requirements, well dressed: and whether walking or driving in carriages, or in quaint and

**Nineteenth Century*, January 1892.

gaudy rechlas drawn by fast trotting bullocks, whose approach is heralded by the tinkle of the bells on their harness, or sitting in the crowded tram-cars, all, or nearly all, appear eager, contented and busy. If there is an exception, it is to be found in the women of the poorer class, on whom the results of marriage when mere children cannot fail to leave their mark in the worn expression of the features. Walk through the streets of the great Māratha city of Poona and it is just the same. Endless streams of people passing to and fro, all bent on business of some description; endless rows of shops all doing a roaring trade; few, if any, standing idle in the market place; all with every appearance of being well off, except the professional beggars, part of whose trade is an ostentation of poverty which is very far from real. Then their clothing is often scanty, but in an Indian climate clothes are an encumbrance. The dress of the labourers is suited to their work, and is as good of its kind as that of the average English hedger and ditcher; while the middle and upper classes delight in wearing garments of rich textures and bright colours. Few even of the poorest have not some showy "angralsha" to display on their persons at festivals and tamashas. Poor they are not; but, many could be richer than they are, if they had not much the same dislike to steady work that is proverbial amongst the Irish. They can get along well enough by working at intervals, and then living on their earnings while they enjoy a holiday. The continuous hard work done by an English farm-hand from year's end to year's end without intermission, is highly distasteful to the Indian labourer. The work of a cultivator, or peasant proprietor, is far lighter than that of a man earning his living in the same way at home. In most districts, no easy task to obtain recruits for the police, although this is sufficient to allow a constable to feed and clothe himself, give him, unless married, a surplus of at least three rupees a month to spend on comforts and luxuries, simply because work, though not hard, is steady. If occasional field labour with a wide margin for idleness between whiles, can provide a man with the necessities of life, why should he enter a department in which he would have to work every day? In Sind, many young men who enlist in the police resign a short time. This is a very fair indication that there is a great amount of poverty.

Railways in India are excellent investments; but it is the third class passengers who make them pay. The trains are crowded with natives who have taken to the "fire-carriage" in a very remarkable way, using the train not only for business, but for the enjoyment of holidays, change of air, and from sheer love of travelling. This characteristic of modern India

is clearly incompatible with universal poverty. Then, again, Mr. Barnett refers to the comfortless houses. All people have not the same idea of comfort. I have been into hundreds of Indian houses, both in villages and towns; and experience shows that natives possessing large incomes live in a style that differs only in degree from that of the poorest class. Furniture beyond rugs and cushions is practically unknown. There may be sometimes one room set apart for the reception of Europeans, or for occasional visits of ceremony from friends, where some stiff couches or hideous candelabra may be seen; but amongst themselves, eating, sleeping and writing, are all done on the floor. Natives who own cash and ornaments, with thousands of rupees, will occupy dark and dingy tenements of the smallest dimensions. On investigating cases of burglary, I have often found people who were in the enjoyment of considerable fortunes, living in what an occasional traveller would consider very straitened circumstances indeed. On the walls and in boxes and jewellery an immense amount of money is hoarded. Women and children whose general appearance might, to the uninitiated, suggest absolute poverty, constantly wear upon their persons ornaments, in the shape of nose-rings, ear-rings, bangles, armlets and anklets, of no inconsiderable value; and the practice of covering little children, even among the poorest classes, with trinkets of this description, frequently leading to petty thefts and worse crimes.

"Why do they live?" is the question which according to Mr. Barnett, is ever forcing itself for answer. "It is not," he says, "that they may enjoy food; all that they eat is some coarse grain." True, the food of Hindus usually consists of a few simple articles; but they have as much variety as the poorer classes of Englishmen can get at home, and the quantity that they habitually consume at one meal is very large. Their chapatties, or their girdle-cakes, are by no means unpleasant to the European palate; and, made as they usually are by the women in their own homes, there is no doubt as to their wholesomeness and purity. But chapatties are by no means the only staple of food. Sweetmeats are used, not as luxuries, but as articles of ordinary diet. There is an immense variety of these, as even a casual traveller like Mr. Barnett might observe at the platform of most railway stations, where the vendors have a busy time in attending to the wants of third-class passengers. In the towns and larger villages, it is not uncommon to find a dozen or more confectioner's shops close together. Mahomedans and many Hindus, as the Marathas, frequently eat meat. Nor are fruit and vegetables unknown luxuries. The poorest classes can, according to the season, obtain at very low rates mangoes, figs, guavas, plantains, melons, gourds, pomegranates,

custard-apples, potatoes, yams, dates, cocoanuts, tomatoes, onions and various native vegetables, not to mention spices and chillies. Rice, of course, is largely consumed; garlic and chutney being used to flavour it. Tobacco, of native manufacture, is regarded as a necessity of daily life by persons of both sexes. Thus the bill of fare laid down by Mr. Barnett must have a few additions made to it.

Further, Mr. Barnett contends that "they do not live a sense of duty; all their duty consists in enduring, and doing." As regards the Mussalman community, it may be admitted that their theory of existence is the will of Allah, or destiny, yet this does not ordinarily preclude a large amount of energy and activity. But the Hindu most emphatically does live from a sense of duty. With him birth, marriage, death, every meal that is taken, every ablution that is performed is a religious ceremony. He is deeply impressed by the mystery and solemnity of life; and he feels the presence of the god whom he worships in every phase of his earthly existence. The theory is closely followed by the practice. The Hindu will, as a matter of course, support his aged parents and the families of any of his relatives who may have fallen. He gives largely in charity to religious mendicants and to those in real want. The regimental sepoy will, if necessary, forego one meal a day, in order to remit the means of livelihood to his wife and children in their distant home. The religion, both Hindu and Mussulman teaches them to endure patiently, except, perhaps, on the occasion of some sudden calamity, they may submit to what appears to be their fate without effort, their life is composed of positive, and not merely negative, duties.

Again, "it is not for pleasure that they live; all their aim is a pilgrimage." On the contrary, the native of India has far greater opportunities for pleasure and enjoyment than the English country labourer. The Indian has frequent holidays that last for days, the followers of the two great religions usually taking part in each other's festivals. The most important Hindu holidays are the Dassara, the Diwali or feast of lamps, when every house is illuminated, and the Holi, which, though not of a very respectable nature, is, perhaps, the most popular; while the chief Mahomedan holiday is the Moharram, when gaily decorated effigies of the tombs of the martyred brothers, Hassan and Hussein, are carried through the streets, day after day, for the best part of a month, to be finally immersed in a river, or tank, or the sea. On all these, and countless other smaller occasions, people of all classes don their best attire, and go in for a period of thorough enjoyment. Then there are fairs from time to time, with booths of all des-

criptions ; theatres, peep-shows and merry-go-rounds are in full swing, and largely patronised. Government offices are closed for a number of holidays in the year to allow the employes to join in the fun. There are, again, all sorts of family anniversaries and feasts. A marriage ceremony, with its processions through the streets, the chief persons being engarlanded with flowers, affords enjoyment to thousands and thousands ; while fire works, in the manufacture of which natives excel, form a principal feature in most entertainments. Illuminations are a matter of course on all great and many smaller occasions. Feats of jugglery excite the utmost interest ; and, emulated by visits of professionals from England, natives have of late introduced circuses of their own. Kite-flying, again, is a common form of amusement, not only for children, but for grown-up men ; while there is music in abundance, which, if not pleasing to the Western ear, is widely appreciated by our Indian fellow subjects. Wrestling matches in many places attract large crowds ; and most towns of any size have theatres, where strolling companies of actors can perform. No pleasures for the Indian ! It would be a good thing for Hodge if he could only get half as many.

• And yet, in spite of all these opportunities for enjoyment, the faces of natives, according to our visitor, are too sad to answer a smile ! Joviality may not be a pronounced characteristic of the native of India ; but I have, over and over again, seen natives indulging in hearty laughter ; more usually perhaps among the lower classes than among the somewhat grave and dignified land-holders. I have always found that a kindly greeting meets with a cheerful response ; a little chaff is invariably appreciated, and always taken in good part ; while, in bargaining with shop-keepers, business is greatly facilitated by their enjoyment of a joke, and their keen sense of humour. A further argument in support of the alleged poverty of the people is, that they are always talking about pice. The fact is true ; the deduction wrong. Pice means money, generally, and not merely the small coin of that name ; while the fact that filthy lucre is a common topic of conversation, proves rather the love, than the absence, of that commodity. As regards the stock phrases of a Congress-man, we in India know too much about the constitution of that assembly to attach much value to every cry that it may put forward for political purposes. A European district officer could represent the masses far better than most of the gentlemen who lightly assume that onerous task. The assertion that a million persons lie down every night not knowing when they will break their fast, is purely fanciful. Probably the percentage of persons in that unpleasant predicament is not greater than, if so great as, it is in Europe. It is

equally preposterous to suppose that the people get poorer every year. In proof of the contrary, there is the unanswerable fact that India imports an immensely greater quantity of European goods year by year. By whom are these paid for, but by the masses? The fact that the standard of comfort is increasing, is patent everywhere. Men who, a few years ago, would have put an old sack over their shoulders in the rain, now carry English umbrellas, which are imported by the million. Glass is seen in windows where it was not long ago undreamt of. In the smallest bazaars are found imported prints and coloured pictures, unfortunately of a wretched style of art, but all implying that there is money to buy them. The deposits in the savings banks grow larger and larger. The revenues of the Post Office and telegraph increase by leaps and bounds. Mr. Barnett alludes to the salt tax. Seven pence a year on each individual is not a severe burden, though the imposition is undoubtedly felt. But it is the only tax which the poor man has to pay. The income-tax does not touch him, tobacco is free, and the duty on imported goods, when there is any, is nominal. Land revenue is only rent, the Government being the landlord.

Then, again, "why is education so backward? Why are there few school buildings?" India is not a country where knowledge of reading and writing is an unmixed benefit. Education may be, comparatively speaking, in its infancy; but it is nevertheless making vast strides. In my district tours, I come across Government schools in the most out-of-the-way villages, and often go in and have a chat with the children about the maps and pictures that are on the walls. Education is cheap, a schoolmaster's pay commencing at Rs. 10 per mensem. It is not poverty that prevents an expansion of learning. There is probably quite as rapid progress as the country requires.

Then, take the assertion that all have been conquered. The great Mahomedan buildings are said to be symbols of the conquest by that Power. But how many such buildings exist? Delhi, Agra, and a few other places contain all that there are. You can count them on your fingers. That the British Magistrate is a sign of a power which has conquered, is an indisputable fact; but, in our daily intercourse with the people, it hardly ever forces itself upon our notice. Few of us ever think of it; and the natives of India are remarkably indifferent to what form of government they are under, so long as they are left alone and not harassed. The conquering race, as such, has practically only one privilege, *viz.*, the right to arms without a license. On one railway only in India are there first class carriages reserved for Europeans, on all the rest, natives can, and frequently do, travel in the same carriages as Europeans. Again, except perhaps

in Lower Bengal, there is nothing whatever in the mien of the natives to show that they are a conquered people. As for the masses, relations are much the same between us and them, as at home between gentry and the working classes, sometimes satisfactory, sometimes the reverse. But no more in one case than in the other, is there any palpable sign of conquest. And as regards the suspicion against the English official insisted upon by Mr. Barnett, the absence of trust between governors and governed, the first thing that a native who has a grievance does, is to come straight to the Sahib. What he dislikes is the intermediate official of his own race. "If the Sahib will only come himself, it will be seen clearly, and all will be well," is what is constantly said to me. Unfortunately, the Sahibs are few, and they can, as a rule, only supervise and direct a large number of native subordinates; but, especially in the Bombay Presidency, officers do, as far as possible, go personally into details of administration at the place where they may arise. I do not know where Mr. Barnett may have met the English resident who knows less of the Indian character after 20 years residence than when he first landed. He may not have been a district officer. We, who live among the people, must learn more about them every day. Their good and their bad qualities are alike apparent. In both they much resemble other nations, except that, in candour it must be admitted, the impulse to say the thing which is not, is a more prominent trait in the character of Eastern than of Western people.

As regards Brahminical supremacy, the subject is too vast and intricate to admit of its being dealt with satisfactorily in a limited space. But it is a pure fallacy to suppose that all natives of India are subject to Brahman influence. Here, in Upper Sind, where Mussulmans predominate, the Brahman is of no account; and many Hindus pay their devotions at the shrines of famous Mahomedan saints.

What useful impression can have been gained by the Oriental travellers mentioned by Mr. Barnett, who could discover practically no national differences between the English, French, Germans and Italians? But Mr. Barnett's crude and undigested impressions of India are far more useless, and also far more mischievous. Wrong from beginning to end as his lucubrations are, they are yet accepted as a true picture by a wide circle of Englishmen at home. Of course, this is nothing new. Anglo-Indians are all aware that such misrepresentations of their work out here pass muster at home for real facts, and that the relationship between the English official and the people whom he governs, is grievously misunderstood. Perhaps, more might be done to place a true picture of the state of things before our countrymen. But the Indian official is a very hard worked

one ; and, after a long day in cutcherry, he does not care to take his pen in hand again. If a few could glean time in the midst of their vast responsibilities and difficult duties, before Indian impressions have had time to fade away, while they are still surrounded by all the local colour,—the white robed servant, the smart orderly, the swinging pankah, the shaded verandahs, or the white tents beneath the mango tope, the chat with the villager and peasant in their own haunts,—to record what is passing around them, they might perhaps find listeners.

ART. XIV.—LORD TENNYSON.

WHEN a great man has just passed away from amongst us, it is not easy at once to estimate the value of his work, or to assign him his true place in history. His personality is too much with us. We are rather inclined to hear and to tell stories of how he pulled his hat over his eyes when we tried to see him, or how we wrote to him for his autograph and did not get it, than to criticise his work. And Lord Tennyson had been Poet Laureate before most of us were born, and had filled so large a place in public interest for so long a time that this is especially true of him.

Nevertheless, when we turn away from his personality to his work, there is no reason why we should not estimate its place as correctly now as we should years hence. For we do not hesitate to say that all his great work by which he must be tried, and by which his place among our great poets must be assigned, was completed long ago. During the last few years we have read his dramas, 'Queen Mary,' 'Harold,' and so on, and his poems like 'Teiresias,' with a sort of pathetic interest similar to that with which we shall read his posthumous poems. But we cannot think that these later works will be ranked beside his best—beside the *Morte d'Arthur*, the *Princess*, *Maud*, or *In Memoriam*. And *Teiresias* is but 'the grey shadow' of *Tithonus* and *Ulysses*. In these days, when historical novels and history itself are so well written, it must be easy for any one with great technical skill in blank verse

to write a historical drama. Practically, in 'Harold,' Lord Tennyson has dramatised Lord Lytton's novel of the same name. Now, we have very good cause to be familiar with this novel, because, for some reason or other, it appealed to us in our early days more than any other, and we were constantly acting scenes from it. And in the battle of Hastings our elder brother took the part of Harold—why do children, like Cato, always prefer the beaten cause?—and we had to be William, and, though in the end victorious, got very much the worst of the actual fighting. We may, therefore, be prejudiced in favour of the novel, but we think that it has lost much of its power in being dramatised. To take one instance—in the novel, William says to Malet de Graville:—'Let his spirit guard the coast which his life so madly defended.'

And, when Edith's body cannot be separated from Harold's, and it is permitted to lay them on the sea shore together, it is said of Malet de Graville that 'so, in that sentiment of poetry and love which made half the religion of a Norman

Knight, he suffered death to unite those whom life would have divided.' Well this passage is thus dramatised—

William.—Take them away. I do not love to see them
Pluck the dead woman off the dead man, Malet.

Malet.—Faster than ivy : must I hack her arms off ?

How shall I part them ?

William.— Leave them. Let them be.

Bury him and his paramour together.

He that was false in oath to me, it seems,

Was false to his own wife. We will not give him

A Christian burial : yet he was a warrior,

And wise, yea truthful, till that blighted vow

Which God avenged to-day.

Wrap them together in a purple cloak

And lay them both upon the waste sea shore

At Hastings, there to guard the land for which

He did foreswear himself.

It will be seen, too, that Lord Tennyson impliedly condemns Harold for being false to his own wife. Those who remember the novel and the scene where Harold was found to have tattooed over his heart, 'Edith,' and underneath, 'England,' will take a different view of his motives in marrying Aldwyth though he loved Edith. Which view is historically correct, does not greatly trouble us, but we know which is most poetical, and we like to think the best of 'our Saxon Harold.'

The subject of 'Queen Mary' is less interesting than that of 'Harold,' and the result is quite as unsatisfactory. And Teiresias is, as we have said, only an echo of Tithonus and Ulysses, and, if there is still a touch of power in 'Kirpah' and 'The Revenge,' that, too, is but the echo of the power of the Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington and the Charge of the Light Brigade, and, as echoes are apt to be, 'like,' by oh! how different! And because we think that final judgment as to the merit of a poet ought to be based on his best work in his best period, we think that we should not consider these later works, but look rather to the former—the Idylls of the King and especially the earlier ones, the Princess, Maud, Aylmer's Field, In Memoriam and Enoch Arden,—and to the shorter but not less precious poems—the series of the May Queen, Locksley Hall, The Dream of Fair Women, The Gardener's Daughter, The Lotus Eaters, the Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington, Ulysses and Tithonus. It is not to be understood that this exhausts the list of his great work. We have merely noted the names which occurred to us first, and there are few poets who can boast of a list of work in which excellence has been so well sustained. Nevertheless, when we look into the matter, we have to ask ourselves if this is the very highest sort of excellence. We cannot, indeed, regard the works we have mentioned without tenderness, because through them Lord Tenny-

son has been a schoolmaster to bring us to the love of poetry. He is always melodious and always interesting, and melody and interest are needed to attract the ear and hold the attention of the young. But we have seen him compared with Milton, and we have seen him called the first poet of the nineteenth-century. Now, we think that he can only be compared with Milton by contrast. Of all our great poets, Milton was the most Homeric. Lord Tennyson has been the most Virgilian. Indeed, he admits his debt to Virgil and calls Virgil's 'the stateliest rhythm ever heard from lips of man,' or something like that—any how the stateliest rhythm. Now, the fact is that neither Virgil's nor Lord Tennyson's rhythm is really stately at all, except at times and by accident. The sound of their rhythm is as that of a lake breaking on a pebbly beach; that of Homer (and of Milton in a less degree) resembles rather the roar of the sea under the cliffs.

us, then, proceed to examine some of the qualities which differentiate the greatest of our poets from those who are not so great. The first is, we think, a power of producing by words the effect of music—that effect which Robert Browning describes:

'And I know not if, save in this, such gift be allowed to man,
That out of three sounds he frame, not a fourth sound, but a star.'

This effect is produced frequently by Shakespeare; but two instances will suffice—

'Till, in these thoughts myself almost despising,
Haply I think on thee, and then my state,
Like to the lark at break of day arising
From sullen earth, sings hymns at heaven's gate.'

Here we think that the double rhyme is intended to produce, and does produce, in the mind the sight of the lark as it rises 'higher still and higher,' and still soars and sings. Any one who has seen a lark soar will at once understand.

So in—

'Bare ruined choirs where late the sweet birds sang,'

we seem to feel at once the past sweetness of 'songs in July bowers' and the present 'old December's bareness everywhere.'

In Shelley's celebrated line—

'And wild roses and ivy serpentine,'

we similarly are made to see that the roses are as wild as the ivy.

—Wordsworth's—

'Bees, that soar for bloom,
High as the highest peak of Furness Fells
Will murmur by the hour in fox glove bells.'

we seem to hear in the last line all the medley of sweet sound which one hears in English meadows on a summer afternoon.

Now, we think that no passage can be quoted from Lord Tennyson's works which possesses this peculiar quality.

The best of his single lines—

'And sweet girl graduates with their golden hair'
presents a picture only, and not a harmony.

And the line—

"Where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest," which does to a certain extent present the trouble of life and the calm of the rest which follows it, is, in the first place, taken from the Book of Job, and, in the next, is very inappropriate to its context. For the May Queen, so far as we can judge, was much more inclined to trouble others than to be troubled by them, and surely she ought not to have been weary of life so soon.

The next quality which we think most distinguishes the very greatest poets is, that of intensity. By this we mean, to a certain extent, what the French call "*abandon*." This is the price of so losing oneself in the subject of the moment that all things are not to be then at all considered. This is the special characteristic of Shelley; and, if Shakespeare had not written, Shelley would have been the most intense of poets. And yet in this quality also Shakespeare is supreme. To illustrate the meaning of intensity, we may first quote this sonnet—

Being your slave, what should I do but tend
Upon the hours and times of your desire?
I have no precious time at all to spend,
Nor services to do, till you require;
Nor dare I chide the world-without-end hour
Whilst I, my sovereign, watch the clock for you,
Nor think the bitterness of absence sour
When you have bid your servant once Adieu:
Nor dare I question with my jealous thought
Where you may be, or your affairs suppose,
But, like a sad slave, stay and think of nought
Save, where you are, how happy you make that;
So true a fool is love, that in your will,
Though you do any thing, he thinks no ill.

It is easier to begin to quote examples of Shelley's intensity than to end them, but the following is one of the best:—

Life of Life! Thy lips enkindle
With their love the breath between them:
And thy smiles, before they dwindle,
Make the cold air fire; then screen them
In those locks, where whoso gazes
Faints, entangled in their mazes.

Child of Light! Thy limbs are burning
Through the veil that seems to hide them,
As the radiant lines of morning
Through thin clouds, ere they divide them,
And this atmosphere divinest
Shrouds thee wheresoe'er thou shinest.

Fair are others : none beholds Thee :
 But thy voice sounds low and tender
 Like the fairest, for it folds thee
 From the sight, that liquid splendour,
 And all feel, yet see thee never,—
 As I feel now, lost for ever !

Lamp of Earth ! where'er thou movest,
 Its dim, shapes are clad with brightness ;
 And the souls of whom thou lovest
 Walk upon the clouds with lightness,
 Till they fail, as I am failing,
 Dizzy, lost, yet unbewailing.

The intensity of Wordsworth, which, again, is chiefly to be found in his sonnets, though it is also found in many parts of the Ode on Immortality, is of a different sort.

'The World is too much with us ; late and soon,
 Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers ;
 Little we see in Nature that is ours ;
 We have given our hearts away, a sordid boon !
 The Sea that bares her bosom to the moon,
 The winds that will be howling at all hours
 And are upgathered now like sleeping flowers,
 For this, for everything, we are out of tune.
 It moves us not. Great God ! I'd rather be
 A Pagan suckled in a creed outworn—
 So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
 Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn ;
 Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea ;
 Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn ?

And it is necessary to quote one example of Browning's intensity—

So is my spirit, as flesh with sin,
 Filled full, eaten out and in
 With the face of her, the eyes of her,
 The lips, the little chin, the stir
 Of shadow round her mouth ; and she—
 I'll tell you—calmly would decree
 That I should roast at a slow fire,
 If that would compass her desire
 And make her one whom they invite
 To the famous ball to-morrow night.
 There may be Heaven ; there must be Hell ;
 Meanwhile there is our life here,—well.

Now, we think that of this sort of intensity Lord Tennyson had little or no share. He never seems to lose himself in his subject. It is only seldom that we think he could not help writing this or that passage. Now, of the poets from whom we have quoted examples, we need not speak of Shakespeare, who was supreme in all poetry, who possesses all and more than all the stateliness of Milton, the intensity of Shelley, Wordsworth's observation of nature and Browning's observation of human character ; nor need we speak of Shelley, to whom con-

summate art was, as it were, second nature. But of Wordsworth we may say that he turned into verse all that he saw, and of Browning that he did the same for all that he thought. We think that neither of these great poets was able to apply the gift of literary criticism to his own writings, and that consequently much of their work is very unequal; but, when such work offends our finer literary taste, we have to remember that had it not been written, we might have lost we know not what else of the highest value. The sense of literary criticism was very seldom absent from Lord Tennyson, and hence it is that he has written nothing so much below the level of his best work as some of the writings of Wordsworth and Browning are below the level of theirs. But neither has he been able to achieve that intensity which is the gift of the Muses to those who worship them 'with all their soul and with all their strength.'

In only three of Lord Tennyson's poems does he approach to intensity. For one of those, 'Locksley Hall,' he apologises. 'Sixty Years After.' *Maud*, in spite of many beautiful passages, is, we think, as a whole, as unsatisfactory and as little intelligible as much of Browning. The poem in which he has seemed most to forget himself, and to have, therefore, moved nearer to the ultimate problems of life, is 'Aylmer's Field.'

If, then, we must say that in these two prominent qualities—the power of producing by words the effect of music, and intensity—Lord Tennyson was deficient, we must examine next the reasons for his popularity and the qualities which he does possess.

It is, we think, Mr. Andrew Lang who says somewhere that a great part of Browning's popularity is due to the difficulty of his language. He compares the pleasure of finding out his meaning with that of the scholar who has puzzled out the meaning of a difficult Greek chorus. We think not only how beautiful the thought is, but how clever we are to have found it out, and this sense of self-appreciation is very natural and human. And we obtain this same sense of self-appreciation, in a different way, from what we may call the allusiveness of Lord Tennyson. We constantly meet with passages in his poems which suggest, and, indeed, are very often echoes of, passages once well known, and now partly forgotten, and we say, 'this reminds us of that passage in Theocritus,' or, 'this is from Virgil,' or 'that from Dante,' and are very pleased with ourselves for having such good memories.

This subjective sort of pleasure contributes very much to Lord Tennyson's popularity, but obviously is not one of the qualities by which his claim to a high place among our poets is to be established. The two qualities which are most remarkable, are his choice of subjects, and his clearness of expression.

Of all his works there is scarcely one that is not interesting ; and his meaning is scarcely ever hard to understand. In India, where he is to be studied by those to whom English is a foreign language, this clearness of expression is found especially grateful. And, though his rhythm is possibly not of the very highest sort, it is, nevertheless, in its own way, very perfect. Unfortunately, perhaps, it became, after a time, too easy for him to write this melodious blank verse ; and, because the public would read, and, what is more, buy, whatever he set before them, he came to compose what are called among painters ' pot boilers.' When he had exhausted the original power which had given us the *Morte d'Arthur*, the *Princess* and his other better and earlier work, he seems to have gone back again to Mallory's great romance and turned parts of it, as it suited him, into blank verse. There is good work in the earlier *Idylls*, and especially in the ' *Holy Grail* ' and ' *Guinevere* ; ' but it is rather the work of the artisan than of the artist, and the later *Idylls*, like ' *Gareth and Lynette*,' or ' *the Last Tournament*,' bear the same relation to the ' *Morte d'Arthur* ' and ' *the Princess* ' as ' *Count Robert of Paris* ' and ' *Castle Dangerous* ' do to ' *Ivanhoe* ' or ' *The Heart of Midlothian*.'

The interest of the *Idylls* of the King is of incident merely. The characters are abstractions. No wonder *Guinevere* did not love *Arthur*. She might as well have loved a wooden man ; and he cared for *Excalibur* as much or more than he did for her. And of *Guinevere* we hear very little, except with reference to her guilty love. There is more of a real *Guinevere* in the earlier fragment—

' She looked so lovely, as she swayed
The rein with dainty finger tips,
A man had given all other bliss,
And all his worldly worth for this,—
To waste his whole heart in one kiss
Upon her perfect lips.'

than in all the *Idylls* of the King.

The *Morte d'Arthur* was afterwards included in the ' *Passing of Arthur*,' but it was written long before any of the other *Idylls*, and is quite different from them.

It begins abruptly—

' So all day long the noise of battle rolled
Among the mountains by the winter sea.'

And then we seem to be carried into a darkened atmosphere, with the full moon seen now and then through clouds, and dark water on either hand. And we see the king—here is a king and not a cuckold—going with the calmness of perfect faith to his doom, and we hear that masterpiece of pathetic rhetoric—his last words—

And slowly answered Arthur from the barge :

'The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world:
Comfort thyself : what comfort is in me ?

I have lived my life, and that which I have done
May God within himself make pure ! but, thou,

If thou shouldst never see my face again.

Pray for my soul. More things are wrought by prayer

Than this world dreams of. Wherefore let thy voice,
Rise like a fountain for me night and day.

For what are men better than sheep or goats
That nourish a blind life within the brain,

If, knowing God, they lift not hands of prayer
Both for themselves and those who call them friend ?

For so the whole round earth is every way
Bound by gold chains about the feet of God.

But now, farewell. I am going a long way
With these thou seest—if indeed I go—

(For all my mind is clouded with a doubt)

To the island valley of Avilion ;

Where falls not hail, nor rain, nor any snow,

Nor any wind blows loudly ; but it lies

Deep meadowed, happy, fair with orchard lawns

And bowery hollows crowned with summer sea,

Where I will heal me of my grievous wound ?

And yet one must observe that the image, 'bound by gold chains about the feet of God,' is borrowed from one of the Fathers, and that the description of Avilion—

'Where falls not hail, nor rain, nor any snow,'

is simply translated from Homer.

The atmosphere of 'The Princess' is different ; yet it is one that we have breathed before, for it is that of Coleridge's 'Christabel' and 'Keats' 'Eve of St. Agnes.' It is soft and warm and perfumed, and there is a sense in it of soft carpets and rich hangings. And the light is not the 'open sunshine' of Shakespeare or Wordsworth, nor 'the Elysian glow of Shelley, which recalls the background before which Rafael loved to paint his Madonnas.' But it is a light like that which falls through painted windows on the chancel of the cathedral at Milan, and may be likened unto the light of the pictures of Rossetti and of Burne Jones—'A light that never was on sea or land.' What is now called the 'motif' of the Princess seems to be partly a protest against the higher education of women, and yet not so much such a protest as a suggestion that the end of higher education should be to make women help-mates for men. We are not at present concerned to discuss this question ; but, as we have quoted an example of Lord Tennyson's rhetoric, we may quote this of his tenderness. In places there is perhaps more than a reminiscence of Theocritus ; but the passage is none the worse for that :—

"Come down, O maid, from yonder mountain height :
 What pleasure lives in height (the shepherd sang),
 In height and cold, the splendour of the hills ?
 But cease to move so near the Heavens, and cease
 To glide a sunbeam by the blasted pine,
 To sit a star beside the sparkling spire ;
 And come, for Love is of the valley, come,
 For Love is of the valley, come thou down
 And find him ; by the happy threshold, he,
 Or hand in hand with plenty in the maize,
 Or red with spirted purple of the vats,
 Or foxlike in the vine ; nor cares to walk
 With Death and Morning on the silver horns,
 Nor wilt thou snare him in the white ravine,
 Nor find him dropt amid the firths of ice,
 That huddling slant in furrow-cloven falls
 To roll the torrent out of duskey doors :
 But follow : let the torrent dance thee down
 To find him in the valley ; let the wild,
 Lean-headed eagles yelp alone, and leave
 The monstrous ledges there to slope, and spill
 Their thousand wreaths of dangling water smoke,
 That, like a broken purpose, waste in air :
 So waste not thou ; but come ; for all the vales
 Await thee ; azure pillars of the hearth
 Arise to thee ; the children call, and I,
 Thy shepherd, pipe, and sweet is every sound,
 Sweeter thy voice, but every sound is sweet ;
 Myriads of rivulets hurrying thro' the lawn,
 The moan of doves in immemorial elms,
 And murmuring of innumerable bees."

But, perhaps, it is needless to criticise in detail, or to quote from his works beyond what has been thought necessary for illustration. No poet's writings, perhaps, are so well known. The inevitable comparison between Lord Tennyson and Robert Browning must, however, again be made. For, however unlike they are in their work, they are alike in this, that they have been the only great English poets during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and that, being gone, they leave us without any great poet at all. We remember, when we had been to see Lake Coniston, lingering half way up the hill towards Ambleside to look back on it. At this point no houses (not even Mr. Ruskin's) can be seen—only there is the perfect oval of the lake, surrounded by perfect greenery. The lake is of such a size that it quite fills the eye, and yet one knows that one has seen all of it, and there is water underneath. And most of Lord Tennyson's poetry has this same quality, that it fills and satisfies the eye without having any thing more. Robert Browning's poetry, on the other hand, resembles a mountain, grand in outline, though rugged enough, but containing, when one has well dug, iron, perhaps, and gold, perhaps. In order to decide how a new poet is to be classed, it is

necessary to recall how his predecessors have been classed. We had thought of dealing with the old problems of the classification of Aristophanes and Theocritus, Virgil and Horace, but for present purposes it is sufficient to say that the first class of English poets has long included the names of Chaucer, Spencer, Shakespeare and Milton. To these, we think, the names of Shelley and Wordsworth will, certainly, and those of Byron and Keats, more doubtfully, be added.

Because of our early love for Lord Tennyson's poetry and for the solace which, in our later troubles, we have found in 'James Lee's Wife' and in 'Rabbi ben Ezra,' we could wish that the names of the two great poets of the latter half of this century might be placed beside these. But we fear that the want of simplicity and clearness in the one; and of depth and intensity in the other, will forbid that they should be so honoured. Their names will hereafter be written in a very noble and worthy second class. There are the names of Beaumont and Fletcher; of Ben Jonson and of Massinger; of Dryden, Pope and Gray; of Burns; of Scott, Campbell and Coleridge—beautiful and pleasant names all of them, howbeit they attain not unto the first class.

THE QUARTER.

SINCE the date of our last retrospect, the comparative calm which of late had come over public feeling in Bengal, has been rudely disturbed by one of those blunders that, however excellent the motive with which they may be committed, are worse than crimes.

On the 26th October, without warning or explanation, a Notification, dated the 20th idem, appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette*, to the effect that the Lieutenant-Governor, in the exercise of the power conferred on him by Section 269 of the Criminal Procedure Code, had been pleased to modify the orders of the 7th January, the 27th May, and the 13th October, 1862, which offences under Chapters VIII, XI, XVI and XVIII of the Indian Penal Code, that is to say, offences against the public tranquillity, false evidence, and offences against public justice, offences against the human body, offences against property, and offences relating to documents and to trade and property marks, had been declared triable by jury in the districts of the 24-Pergunnahs, Hooghly, Burdwan, Nuddea, Murshidabad, Patna and Dacca, and to revoke, as from the 10th November, so much of them as applied to offences against the public tranquillity; offences against the human body, with the exception of kidnapping and abduction, selling a minor for purposes of prostitution, buying a minor for purposes of prostitution, and rape; and offences relating to documents and to trade and property marks. Simultaneously it was notified that the Lieutenant-Governor was pleased to direct that, from the same date, offences defined in Chapter XX of the Code (offences relating to marriage) should be triable by jury in the districts in question.

The Notification, which, as appeared from the official papers published in the local Gazette on the 10th November, was indirectly the outcome of an enquiry instituted, more than two years previously, at the instance of the Government of India, and was issued with its approval, was received by the educated classes throughout the Province with no less indignation than surprise, and these feelings were intensified by a perusal of the papers above referred to, comprising, along with the rest of the correspondence on the question, the opinions of the various judicial and other authorities consulted. It was felt, at the outset, to be opposed alike to justice and precedent that a privilege which had been enjoyed for thirty years, and

which had been virtually confirmed and placed on what seemed a permanent footing ten years after it was originally conferred, should be withdrawn by an executive order, promulgated without consulting non-official opinion, and unaccompanied by any statement of objects and reasons, or that it should be withdrawn at all except for reasons of the most conclusive and emergent kind, of the existence of which there was no evidence before the public; and, when the papers in question came to be read, it was seen clearly, not only that the reasons upon which the Order was based were neither convincing nor urgent, but that it had been issued in opposition to the advice of the majority of the judicial officers who had expressed their opinions regarding it, while the Judges of the High Court, though they had been consulted as to the way in which trial by jury had worked, and as to what, if any, improvements were called for in its application, had not only not been asked for their opinion regarding the propriety of the step eventually taken by the Government, but had not even been informed that it was under consideration.

What the papers really showed was that, while, as was to be expected, most of the executive officers consulted were in favour of the abolition or restriction of trial by jury, on the ground that it favoured the escape of criminals, especially in capital cases, only a minority of the District Judges adopted this view, the rest either reporting favourably on its working, or, while considering that in some respects it worked unsatisfactorily, recommending that it should be reformed, and nearly half of them, on the ground of the length of time it had been established and the estimation in which it was held by the people, strongly condemning the proposal to withdraw or curtail it. As to the Judges of the High Court, only one out of thirteen recommended the abolition of the system in capital cases, while, of the remainder, the majority were in favour of various modifications in the law for the purpose of safeguarding its operation.

In the course of the discussion to which the Notification has given rise, it has been shown that the belief that trial by jury leads to a failure of practical justice, whether by favouring the escape of criminals or in any other way, is not borne out by judicial statistics, a comparison of the results of references to the High Court in cases tried by juries and appeals to the same tribunal in cases tried by Sessions Judges with assessors, showing that the percentage of cases in which the verdicts of juries were interfered with, even when increased by the addition of a corresponding percentage of cases in which the Sessions Judges differed from the juries, but which were not referred, being actually somewhat lower than the percentage of cases in which the decisions of Sessions Judges were reversed or modified on appeal.

No attempt has been made to show that these figures, which are taken from the Annual Administration Reports of the Province, are incorrect. Yet it seems impossible to reconcile them with the opinion of the executive officers, that the system tends, in any special degree, to the escape of criminals, except on the violent supposition that the Sessions Judges are in the habit of acquiescing in verdicts which have that effect, against their own convictions.

It is scarcely to be wondered at that, under these circumstances, the action of Sir Charles Elliott should have been attributed by the native community to a determined hostility to the application of liberal principles of administration to India, or that it should have given rise to widespread agitation of a very intense character. Numerous meetings to protest against the measure have been held in the districts affected, and a requisition, in which all or most of the members of the local Bar and a large number of Europeans are understood to have joined, has been submitted to the Sheriff of Calcutta to call a public meeting for the same purpose in this city.

The Government seem to have made a twofold mistake. They seem to have formed a radically wrong conception of what must be proved in order to establish a case for the abolition of trial by jury, and they seem to have either wholly ignored, or seriously underestimated the importance of the political aspect of the step taken by them.

They seem to have thought it enough to show—though it is not at all certain that they have succeeded in doing this—that the system sometimes leads to the acquittal of criminals who would have been convicted by a judge, and that, in some cases, these acquittals are the result of bias. But these defects of trial by jury are the defects of its qualities; and the first of them is an inevitable condition of its fulfilment of its primary purpose. The very object of trial by jury is to give the innocent man an extra chance, and it cannot, from the nature of things, do this without giving the criminal also an extra chance. The fact, again, that verdicts are sometimes partial, if not an inevitable, is, at all events, a common, incident of trial by jury wherever it exists. But here, also, it is better, according to English notions of justice, that, if there is to be bias—and it is not pretended that Judges are exempt from it—it is better that it should be in favour of the accused than against him. If the Government was not prepared to accept these incidents of the system, then it should never have introduced it. But, having introduced it, it must, if it is to be consistent, prove a good deal more than the existence of these defects, which, indeed, might have been taken for granted, before it can have even a plausible case for withdrawing it, either wholly or

partially. It must prove, in short, that these defects are so excessively frequent in jury cases in India, as compared with other countries, or that the system is attended in India by other defects of such magnitude, as to more than counterbalance the advantages which the system affords, whether in protecting innocence, or in conciliating public opinion, or in any other way.

It has not done this. It has not even proved that, taking one case with another, the verdicts of juries are more frequently erroneous than the judgments of judges. Not having done this, it has not even a plausible ground for its action. But, supposing that it had done this, and had made out a clear case against trial by jury from a judicial point of view, it would still have been bound to consider how far it was advisable, on political grounds, to withdraw a system which had been so long established.

In considering the latter question, it might have accepted it as certain, first, that, with whatever objects and under whatever reservations the system might have been originally introduced in Bengal, it could not have subsisted there for thirty years, in a country where the judges hold their appointments at the pleasure of the executive, without coming to be regarded as a valuable political safeguard; secondly, that, one of the effects of conferring it being to assimilate the status of the natives of the country to that of the ruling race, it would, on that ground alone be highly appreciated, and, thirdly, that, apart from these considerations, its revocation after so long a period would necessarily be regarded as fixing a very severe stigma on those deprived of it. For all these reasons it was inevitable that its withdrawal, even in part, would be bitterly resented; and to justify the Government in incurring this resentment, the prospect of some very great and indubitable gain was necessary.

At the time of writing, rumours of some sort of a compromise are current; one report on the subject being that the Government is willing to extend the system, within the limits defined in the Notification of the 20th October, to the whole of Bengal.

It may be added that an order was passed on the 11th October, by the Chief Commissioner of Assam, limiting trial by jury in a similar way in that province, where it had been in force for nearly sixty years.

Though, as far as the chance of its leading to an agreement between the Powers for a common course of action is concerned, the prediction that the Brussels Monetary Conference would prove a failure, seems likely to be realised, it has in one respect proved a pleasing disappointment to those interested

in the prospects of silver. Its deliberations have shown, not merely that the gold standard nations have ceased to regard the existing situation with equanimity, but that they have begun to realise the possibility of its being worth their while to make some sacrifices for its amelioration. While their attitude is such as to render international Bimetallism more improbable than ever, it testifies to a desire to prevent a further divergence between the values of the two metals, by the adoption of steps to extend the use of silver, which, if it is not likely at once to lead to the discovery of a *via media* satisfactory to both sides, may not improbably do so in the near future. The most important proposals put before the Conference have been those of Baron Rothschild and Mr. Moritz Levi. The former was to the effect that, on the condition of America continuing her present purchases of silver, the European Powers should agree to buy between them five millions sterling worth of the metal annually for three years, at a price not exceeding 43*d.* per ounce, and should further declare silver legal tender up to £5. The proposal was referred to a committee of thirteen delegates, of whom six supported and seven condemned it. It was subsequently discussed by the Conference which has not yet finally decided upon it, but seems unlikely to find in it the basis of an agreement.

During the course of the discussion, Sir Guilford Molesworth said that, in the event of any bimetallic plan being adopted, India would keep her mints open, and, without renouncing her liberty of action, would be prepared to purchase silver, or permit the mintage of a quantity of not less than fifty millions of rupees annually, while the plan was operative; and Mr. Bertram Currie, on behalf of the India Office, said that he was instructed to accept nothing which would interfere with the freedom of action of India regarding its currency, and could support no proposal which was not sure to be effective, or would involve prolonged discussion. Mr. Bertram Currie added further that the standard of the future should be gold even without a gold coinage. The American delegates declared that, in the event of the failure of the Conference, the United States would probably repeal the Silver Law of 1891; and Sir Rivers Wilson stated that in that case the Government of India might suspend the free coinage of the metal.

Mr. Moritz Levi's proposal was to the effect, that the Powers should agree to withdraw from circulation all gold coins and notes of less than 20 francs in value. Sir Rivers Wilson and Mr. Fremantle declined to support either scheme.

In the meantime, a Bill has been introduced into the American Senate for the repeal of the Act of 1891, and the price of silver, under these discouraging influences, has fallen to 38¼*d.* per oz.

In view of the probable failure of the Conference, the Vice-President of the Indian Currency Association addressed a letter to the Government of India, suggesting that it should give an assurance that, in the event of America stopping her purchases of silver, it will take whatever steps may be necessary to protect its currency, and asking whether, if it was not prepared to give such an assurance, it would recommend the Secretary of State to stop the sales of Council Bills below the rate now current, pending the decision of Lord Herschel's Committee. The Government of India, as might have been anticipated, has refused to be drawn on either point, on the ground of the necessity of preserving to itself complete freedom of action.

Lord Herschel's Committee, consisting of Mr. Leonard Courtney, Sir T. Farrer, Sir R. Welby, Mr. Arthur Godley, Lieutenant-General Strachey and Mr. Bertram Currie, has adjourned, after holding several sittings, and examining numerous witnesses, including Mr. J. Mackay. The Committee is very properly sitting with closed doors, and it may be taken for granted that the nature of its recommendations will not be allowed to transpire till the moment when action becomes necessary. Mr. Bertram Currie's declaration at the Conference, however, furnishes us with the means of making a shrewd guess on the subject. What the views of the Government of India are, if not the *modus operandi* they favour, was made sufficient clear by Mr. Finlay, in his reply to the Memorial of the Darjiling Planters, objecting to a change in the standard of value. It amounted to a distinct pronouncement in favour of a common standard for India and England, as likely to facilitate international trade, and stimulate production in both countries.

Two more or less important pronouncements regarding Indian affairs have been made by Lord Kimberley during the Quarter, one at the usual Mansion House dinner, at which, in the absence of Mr. Gladstone, he represented the Government, and the other in reply to a deputation from the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, and several other bodies devoted to the same object. On the former occasion, referring to the question of the Pamirs, he expressed his belief that a friendly settlement was possible, adding that, in any case, our frontier was in a state of defence which entitled us to regard the future with equanimity. This, it may be said, was not very informing, while his further assurance, that the Indian Currency Commission would recommend nothing likely to shock the British currency system, was hardly needed. The reply to the opium agitators who asked for nothing less than the complete abolition of the cultivation, was a simple *non-possumus*. In the course of his speech Lord Kimberley made

another statement which must seem supererogatory to any one possessing the smallest acquaintance with English politics, viz., that no British Minister would venture to propose that England should make good the loss which the measure urged by the députation would inflict on this country.

During his recent progress from Simla to Madras, by way of Aunah, Bhopal, Hyderabad and Mysore, the Viceroy had an opportunity, in the last named territory, of witnessing the capture of a herd of wild elephants, as well as of visiting the site of a military operation which bulks, perhaps, more largely in the history of British rule in India, than any other single operation—the famous siege of Seringapatam. Several interesting speeches were delivered by His Excellency during the tour, the most noteworthy, perhaps, being his reply to the address of the Coorg Planters, in which he reiterated, in effect, the statement of the Financial Secretary already referred to, and that in reply to the representations of the Madras Chamber of Commerce and others, regarding the East Coast Railway. He could hold out no hope, he stated with much emphasis, of the Government accelerating the completion of the line, either by increasing its own rate of expenditure on it, or by giving a guarantee to a private Company. All prospect of the Madras-Bezwada section being completed concurrently with the central section of the line, or of the early completion of the line to link the latter to Calcutta, may, therefore, be considered at an end. At Madras His Excellency also announced that the Municipality would probably be invited to send a member to the local Council under the new scheme. At the State banquet given him by the Maharajah of Mysore, Lord Lansdowne made a speech in which he warmly eulogised His Highness's administration, with special reference to his enlightened public works and educational policy, and to his introduction of popular institutions. His speech on a similar occasion at Hyderabad, though, on the whole encouraging, was marked by an undercurrent of something very like veiled censure. At least there was a marked absence of the enthusiasm which characterised the Mysore oration.

The proposed Mission to Jellalabad still hangs fire, the Ameer, in reply to a further communication from the Government of India on the subject, having again declined for the present to fix a date for its reception, on the ground that the pacification of the Hazara district, where, however, active operations are in suspense for the winter, is not yet completed. In spite of the eagerness shown in high military circles to bring matters to a head, there is probably very little disposition on the part of the Government of India, at the present juncture, to press the Amir too warmly on the subject, and it seems not unlikely that, in the absence of overtures on his part, the project will be dropped for a season.

In the meantime a somewhat awkward contretemps has occurred in the little State of Chitral. On the death of the old Mehtar, it will be remembered, his younger son, Afzul-ul-Mulk, who happened to be on the spot, had seized the reins of power, and Nizam-ul-Mulk, the elder son, after a feeble attempt to assert his claim, had fled the country. Afzul-ul-Mulk being particularly well disposed towards the British Government, this was a turn of affairs on which the latter had good reason to congratulate itself, and there was every prospect of the State being brought completely under the influence of the Foreign Office. Suddenly, however, Sher Afzul, the brother of the deceased, and uncle of the ruling Mehtar, who had been for some time past a refugee in Afghanistan, appeared on the scene, having set out with a small force, including half a dozen Afghans, from Badakshan, and, after a short struggle in which the few followers of the Mehtar who had had time to assemble, were dispersed or killed, the Mehtar himself was surprised and slain, and Sher Afzul took possession of the place. He is not likely, however, to remain long undisturbed Nizam-ul-Mulk having set out from Gilgit with a considerable force to expel him.

Sher Afzul is said to have been posing as the representative of the Ameer of Afghanistan, and an attempt is being made to fix the responsibility for the revolution on the latter, though it does not appear, so far, that beyond Sher Afzul's own representations, there is any proof of his complicity, and Sher Afzul himself, since his seizure of the State, has disavowed all hostility towards the British Government. Nizam-ul-Mulk, on his side, left Gilgit full of professions of loyalty to the Government of India, whose good will he is understood to have, though it is unlikely that, in the absence of special cause, the Government will interfere actively in the struggle.

There is an unconfirmed report that Sher Afzul has abandoned the conflict and fled.

A disturbance, the origin of which has been imperfectly explained, has also taken place in the Indus Valley country to the south of Bunji, where a hostile gathering of Chilasias assembled in the latter end of November, apparently with the object of raiding into Yasin. Their first exploit was to fire upon five sepoy, who had been sent down the river by Dr. Robertson, to meet certain headmen of Gor who had made friendly overtures. Hearing of the attack, Captain Wallace set out with a party of troops to the assistance of the party, when the firing was renewed and Captain Wallace severely wounded. Subsequently the gathering was attacked and dispersed with considerable loss by a body of Kashmiri Imperial Service troops.

There has been a renewal of trouble on the North-East

frontier, where the Chins, in the neighbourhood of Fort White, rose and attacked our posts, and at one time it was thought that a serious rebellion of the Lushai tribes was brewing. Matters seem since to have, to a great extent, quieted down, and a punitive expedition is being organised, but it is evident that the country will not be completely pacified till it is rendered easily accessible by roads.

The Chartered Mercantile Bank suspended payment during the Quarter, but a reconstruction scheme has been agreed upon, and the depositors will be paid in full.

The case against Mr. Beyts of the firm of Beyts, Craig & Co., for defrauding the Bank by obtaining advances on bills unrepresented by goods, has resulted in the conviction of the defendant, who has been sentenced to five years rigorous imprisonment.

The Resolution of the Government of Bengal on the Report of the Director of Public Instruction for the past year, which is noticed more fully elsewhere, marks a new and salutary departure in the educational policy of the Province, the Lieutenant-Governor having decided that public money is no longer to be spent in grants-in-aid to higher schools where private institutions capable of supplying instruction of a similar character exist. The decision will, no doubt, cause some dissatisfaction among the classes which have hitherto reaped the chief benefit from more or less eleemosynary education of this class; but the policy of educating the well-to-do at the expense of the poor is one which is tolerable only so long as there is a common object of importance to serve, which can be attained in no other way, and it can hardly be said that this is any longer the case in Bengal.

Great dissatisfaction has been caused throughout Assam by the determination of the Local Government to increase the land assessment by a hundred per cent. There is no doubt that the land is greatly under-assessed, and that, even the new rates, as compared with those prevailing in other parts of India, will be very lenient. But it can never be good policy to double the rent of land at one stroke, and the Government would have acted wisely had it adopted a graduated assessment. This it might have done in such a way as to yield quite as good an average result over a series of—say—twenty years, without exciting any discontent. The opposition to the new rates is shared in by the tea planting interest.

The enquiry instituted by the Government of the North-West Provinces into the complaints of police oppression in connexion with the dispersal of the Hardwar Mela, has resulted in showing that the charges were either absolutely groundless, or grossly exaggerated, and that much of the evidence brought forward in support of them was suborned.

The appointment of Major-General Sir George White to succeed Lord Roberts as Commander-in-Chief has given general satisfaction, the more so that it is regarded as a triumph for the Government of India over Horse Guards traditions.

Mr. Gladstone's Ministry has not been fortunate in its earliest measures, though, regard being had to its position, may fairly be said that they have been distinguished by moderation. The repeal of the Crimes Act Proclamation in Ireland was a logical necessity; the appointment of a Commission to enquire how the purchase clause of the Land Act can be rendered more effective was, at least, justified by the circumstances. How far the recrudescence of agrarian agitation which has marked the last few months, has been encouraged by the former step, it is impossible to say, for the probability is that, under any circumstances, the return of Mr. Gladstone to power would have been attended by such an outbreak of license. That the Commission has proved a failure, attributable rather to the grossly partisan attitude of the President than to any fault of the Government. The compromise to which Mr. Asquith has had recourse in the matter of the right of meeting in Trafalgar Square, has served rather to whet the appetites of the agitators than to appease them; and it is to be feared that stern measures will have to be adopted sooner or later, if the "unemployed" trouble is not to assume a much graver form than hitherto. In the matter of the retention of Uganda, again, the spirit of compromise has, almost of necessity, prevailed. A definitive decision could not have been come to without grievously offending one or other of two large sections of Mr. Gladstone's supporters; so, to gain time, it was determined to despatch a Special Commissioner to the spot to enquire and report.

The crushing defeat of the Republicans and the election of Mr. Cleveland to the Presidentship, in the United States; the political crisis and the prosecution of the Panama Canal Directors, in France, and the introduction of General Caprivi's Bill for the increase of the army, and the substitution of two years' for the present three years' service with the colours, in Germany, are among the most noteworthy of the Foreign events of the quarter.

The Democratic triumph in America marks the revolt of the consumer against the McKinley tariff, and foreshadows important fiscal changes, though Mr. Cleveland is understood to be averse to hasty action. In the Electoral College votes were, for Mr. Cleveland, 268; for Mr. Harrison, 150, and for General Weaver, 26. The Democrats are expected to command a majority in both the Chambers.

The French Ministry, after carrying their new Police Bill by an unexpectedly large majority, resigned in consequence

of the passing of a vote of want of confidence, owing to their refusal to order the exhumation of the body of General Reinach, regarding whose sudden death suspicions were entertained in connection with the Panama scandal. The position in which M. de Lesseps is placed, at the close of a long and illustrious career, by the determination of the Government to prosecute the Directors of the Canal Company on criminal charges, inspires universal regret, the more so that no one suspects him of being morally compromised by anything that has taken place; but it is difficult to see what other course the Government could have adopted, in view of the nature of the charges and the strong pressure brought to bear upon them. There is a very angry feeling abroad in France, and the position of the new Cabinet which has been formed by M. Ribot, is not an enviable one.

In his speech on the new German Army Bill, General Caprivi based his advocacy of the measure, not upon any pretence of immediate danger, but simply on the ground of the necessity created by the threatened preponderance of the military forces of neighbouring Powers, a fact which, from one point of view, only renders the situation the more deplorable.

- The period under review will be long remembered for two of the most terrible wrecks in the annals of the Eastern passenger service; that of the Anchor Line Steamer, *Roumania*, with the loss of almost all hands, and all but two of a large number of passengers, the majority of them women and children, on the Portuguese coast; and that of the P. and O. Steamer, *Bokhara*, on one of the Pescadores, in which, out of a total of about 170 souls, including 20 passengers, only 23, of whom two were passengers, five ship's officers and the remainder lascars, were saved. The latter disaster was the result of a frightful storm, by which the ship was utterly overpowered and driven ashore. The former seems to have been attributable simply to the ship's missing its course, in a prolonged fog, whether owing to the action of currents, or to deviation of the compasses, or to any other cause, cannot be ascertained.

Since we last wrote, the grave has closed over one of the greatest of English poets—for we take a higher view than the author of the article on Lord Tennyson in our present number, of the place which the dead Laureate is destined to occupy in the Temple of Fame. But whatever may be the rank which posterity will assign to Lord Tennyson, one thing may be said of his work with perfect assurance; and that is that it embodies, in a measure unsurpassed by the work of any other English poet, the highest thought of the age in which its author lived. To this it may, perhaps, be added that, in spite of the comparative silence of his muse in recent years, and notwithstanding that he lived very much the life of a recluse, the

death of no other English poet ever created a keener sense of loss among his contemporaries.

Our obituary includes another great name in literature—that of M. Renan, the eminent French philosopher, together with the names of Doctor Wordsworth; Bishop of St. Andrews; Cardinal Howard; the Dukes of Sutherland, Marlborough and Roxburghe; Generals William Sankey, James Primrose, J. M. Cripps, Sir F. Abbott, J. H. Maxwell and Hastings Fraser; Mr. George Croome Robinson; Mr. F. A. Lushington and Mr. Veasey, late of the Bengal Civil Service; Mr. Thomas Woolner, the sculptor; Mr. Lionel Moore, the well-known Turkish scholar, Mr. Samuel Brandram, Mr. Theodore Child, Mr. Thomas Adolphus Trollope, M. Hervé and General Faillly.

CALCUTTA,
12th December 1892. }

J. W. F.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Monograph on the Pottery and Glass Industries of the Punjab, 1890-91.

MR. Hallifax's monograph on the pottery and glass industries of the Punjab is a seasonable contribution towards furtherance of the aims of the Society for the Encouragement and Promotion of Indian Art. Mr. Hallifax has treated his subject as exhaustively as the space at his command permitted; his essay is compact and well packed, being arranged under three leading heads: I, dealing with rude utensils; II with glazed ware and art work; III with glass.

The æsthetic is not a cult affected in the Punjab; such translations of it as appeal to Sikh and Jât counsels of perfection in art, emanate from Birmingham; the indigenous art of the province is almost entirely utilitarian in scope, in its appeal to the senses, its severe ugliness, unredeemed even by grotesqueness. An interesting portion of the paper under notice is taken up with remarks on the castes affected by Kumar families domiciled in the Punjab. The artificers concerned with its manufacture are, it is stated—and we presume that there is some underlying reason for emphasizing a seeming truism, although we have failed to grasp it—"apparently a real caste, consisting of both Hindus and Musalmans, the former principally in the South-Eastern districts, the latter on the frontier." It does not strike us as strange that, in a society more or less dominated by Sikh standards of equality, a country permeated with the spirit of self-sufficient independence, stringencies of caste isolation, extremes of caste phariseism, should be abated; or that Kumhars living in the immediate neighbourhood of cut-throat fanatical Afghan hordes, should, as a measure of self-protection, profess Mahomedanism. Caste, all over the Punjab, is an emigrant survival, as "mixed" as marriage customs among South Sea Islanders, and as little amenable to the rulings of universal codifiers.

In the land of separatist rivers, unauthorized assumptions of caste membership and privilege everywhere exist, side by side with duly accredited qualifications thereto. In the Hissar district, Kumhars call themselves "Tanesar Rājputs," and are divided into the gôts of "Golu" and "Melar," and also sub-divisions indicating the district of their origin, such as "Desí and "Jodhpuria." In the Karnál report a similar subdivision is noted in the case of "Purbias." But, though he claims to be a

"Rájput," Hindús do not regard the "kumhár" as of a caste superior to those of his fellow "kamíns." According to Monier Williams, "his caste has a mixed origin, and results from the union of a Brahman" with a "Kshatria" woman, and, owing to this fact, and because they occupy themselves in keeping donkeys and collecting dung and sweepings, "kumhárs" are regarded as of low caste. The Muhammadans, who must for the most part be converts from Hinduism, claim to be "Sheikhs;" among them there are a few Kashmírís, who are found chiefly in Siálkot, Gujrát and Amritsar. Muhammadan Chogattás and Bhattís are occasionally found as sellers of pottery-ware, but do not themselves work as potters.

In his late Census Report for the Hissár District, Mr. Ibbetson has noted that the Kumhar there is frequently a husbandman. He estimates that, of 21,623 Hindu and 6,077 Mahomedan Kumhars, only 1,621 actually work as potters.

Mr. Hallifax judges that not more than $\frac{1}{3}$ rd or $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the persons caste-labelled as artificers in clay, are really such.

Paras. 31 and 32 of the Monograph run thus :—

DONKEY AND WHEEL WORSHIP.—The customs of donkey and wheel worship may be noticed here as interesting, though the amount the potter gets from them is small, and they are said to be dying out. On the birth of a child, during small-pox epidemics, and in the month of Chait, women worship "Mata Deví." The "kumhár," as the care-taker of the donkey, Mata's favourite animal, which is worshipped, comes in for an offering of cooked rice, &c. "Banniáhs" are especially addicted to donkey worship, and it is frequently performed by them. The donkey is also worshipped at marriages; the bridegroom, before the ceremonies at the bride's house, has to touch it with his feet, and the "kumhár" who brings the animal, is fed and gets some money.

Wheel worship is performed both before and after a marriage by the bride's female relatives, and is either "Krishna" worship (the wheel being an emblem of that god), or else it represents the worship of "Brahma Prajapati," the wheel being the symbol of reproduction.

GRAVE-DIGGING.—Muhammadans pay "kumhárs" a few annas on the occasion of a burial for digging the grave, and a little given besides.

Owing to the method in which pottery ware is disposed of in exchange for *haq sep*, nothing like a correct estimate of the volume of that trade is possible. Inter-district trade is carried on by means of fairs. Small parcels of the finer sort of ware are occasionally exported; at best, a pettifogging business. But, it is predicted that the demand for rough potters' ware will never fail, since supply is at all points singularly well adjusted to it, and kept level by the caste prejudices of Hindus, (while conveniently believing that gold is purified by air, and silver and other metal by water) hold that, if earthenware is once put to any use entailing need of purification, it is thereby rendered useless for all time. Nor air, nor water, nor any *mantur* known to man can eradicate from it the sin of having

been eaten from. Hence, potter's ware is not held in favourable esteem for breakfast and dinner services. Nevertheless, many people are too poor to be able to afford brass or *Kansi* kitchen utensils, and these even have to fall back on such substitutes as the Kumbhar can furnish them with. It is curious to note that the incidence of demand on his resources has of late years been sensibly affected by the substitution of emptied kerosine oil tins for the baked clay pots and pans of sorts in which formerly the bulk of a housekeeper's "bazar" used to be stored. Imported China ware, too, stronger, and in many ways more serviceable, than the productions of native artists in clay, is aiding the supersession of Punjab handwork. Last year, no less than 10,300 rupees worth of China ware was imported into Lahore city alone. The Punjab potter is a strict follower of the crude traditions of his craft that have been handed down to him; has no idea of adopting improved methods, and is stolidly set upon his own business, and drive him out of it.

As to distinctively art pottery, we are told that a trade in it

exists only in Mooltan and Peshawar. Attempts have been made to introduce "kashigari" into Amritsar, by inducing workmen from Mooltan and Sindh to settle there, but they have failed. The introduction of a sort of porcelain manufacture into Delhi has, however, been more successful, and Delhi is now noted for its white pottery. Vessels are occasionally glazed and coloured elsewhere than at Mooltan and Peshawar, but there is no regular manufacture as in those towns. A few potters, such as Muhammad Sharif of Jullundur, are still able to make first-class painted and glazed tiles, but the manufacture of tiles, which was once so extensive, has practically died out in the Punjab, and it is stated, that even when tiles required for mosques and buildings can be prepared locally, the orders for them are not given to the local workmen. The obstacles in the way of art pottery are the lack of enterprise displayed by the workmen, the jealousy with which they guard their secrets in order to prevent competition, and the readiness they display to abandon old forms and methods suited to native work, in order to adopt cheaper and less effective materials, such as dyes, or English patterns that are unsuitable.

Art pottery has suffered at the hands of the Goths as well as at those of its more utilitarian sister:—

Mr. Kipling, in a note printed in the Mooltan Gazetteer, states that the Mooltan work had the same origin as that of Sind, but differs from it technically. Originally it was confined to the manufacture of tiles, slabs, &c., painted with texts and other designs, and intended to be built into mosques, tombs and other buildings. But the native demand for this kind of work has died out, and a European demand has arisen which has entirely changed the character of the articles made, and "has developed a trade in flower-pots, large plateaux for decorative purposes, and many varieties of the comprehensive word vase."

The curious in such matters may find in this monograph some account of the different methods of manufacture, and of the dyeing and glazing materials employed in different districts, together with much more information on technical details.

*Report on the External Land Trade of the Punjab
for the year 1891-92.*

THE system of trade registration in the Punjab has recently been improved, with the result that the public are warned against "the danger of drawing detailed conclusions from the statistics." 1891-92 is the first official year for which traffic by the Jummoo-Sialkot Railway has been included in the returns, and even now, we are told, little or no attempt appears to have been made to classify the export trade. With regard to registration of the Tibet and Ladakh trade, it is admitted that a portion of the former is classed with the latter, while part of the Ladakh trade, which finds its way through Srinagar, is credited to Kashmir. The mischief about tabulation of such "mixed" figures is, that they get dubbed "statistics," and, because of some occult ^{neene} supposed to be inherent in the title, are relied on as ^{p of} worthy, and at times mislead even the very elect.

Prophecy is as dangerous a double-edged tool for unwary to handle as statistics. We read in the Resolution accompanying Mr. A. J. Grant's Report, that "the figures of the trade with Kabul in 1889-90 show how considerable is the expansion which may be looked for in this direction in a year of unusual tranquillity."

When will that be, say the bells of Stepney?
I do not know, says the great bell of Bow.

Has there ever been a year of tranquillity in any land where unadulterated Afghans rule the roost? Is there reasonable ground for expectation that there ever will be, this side of the millennium? The wolf who changes his skin does not consequently become a dog, says an Italian proverb. The Punjab Revenue Secretary's assumption is as damaging to his prophetic gift as actualities are to the worth of his—"statistics." He says himself—

There can be little doubt, however, that the construction of the Trans-Caspian Railway and the Russian Fiscal Policy have closed the markets of Central Asia to Indian enterprise, and that the taxes levied in the Amir's dominions are driving such through-trade as still survives, to the sea route by Mashad and Bender Abbas. Statistics, however, by no means justify the conclusion that the trade with Afghanistan is on the whole declining, and there are particular items of the export trade in which analysis of the figures, between 1886 and 1892, appears to show a progressive development. The exports of European piece-goods for instance, though lower than in the unusually favourable year 1889-90, exceeded those of any other year in the period referred to. In some other branches of trade in which contraction is noticeable, the circumstances are capable of specific explanation. Thus the decline in the fruit trade appears to be due to the Amir's assumption of a monopoly to which reference is made in the Report, and examination of the figures prior to 1882 shows that this is not the

first occasion on which the silk trade has appeared to languish and subsequently recovered itself. There is so much in the Kabul trade that would be susceptible of improvement under a less unfavourable system in Afghanistan itself, that the Lieutenant-Governor hopes that the opportunity of the proposed mission to Jellalabad may be taken, to induce the Amir to agree to a consideration of the whole question by Commissioners appointed by himself and the British Government.

Put in fewer words—let us hope for the best. “Hope is a curial dog in some affairs.”

The great physical and mercantile difficulties in the way of any extended trade with Tibet, and the attitude of the Chinese in Yarkand, does not favour any hope of any expansion of commercial relations with the countries North of Kashmir. In Kashmir is balm of Gilead; it is the “one direction in which the prospects of the Punjab trade may, with safety, be considered as promising.” So the Lieut.-Governor of that province is made to resolve, albeit, that he has not before him such a statement of the customs arrangements in that country, as would enable him to judge to what extent those prospects are capable of yet further improvement. Further on in the resolution is another expression of hope, based on inconclusive grounds:—

- The traffic of the Jummoo-Sialkot Railway was not shown in the returns for 1890-91, though the Railway was then open, and comparison of the figures of the present with those of the past year is to this extent unsatisfactory. There is good reason, however, to believe that, while in certain directions, for example in the importation of shawls and raw silk, trade has, beyond question, decayed, there is a steady tendency to expansion in several important branches. The imports of *ghi* for instance, which were valued at nine, twelve, and thirteen lakhs in the years 1886-87, 1887-88 and 1888-89 respectively, amounted to fifteen, fourteen and fifteen lakhs in the three years under report, and the weight as well as the value shows considerable increase. A striking feature of the export trade to Kashmir is the development under the heads of Wines, Refined Sugar, Petroleum, Foreign Tea and Tobacco. It is not to be supposed that any considerable portion of this expansion is to be attributed to the increased number of English residents, and it seems fair to infer, that the inhabitants are becoming more addicted to foreign articles of luxury. It is noticed that the returns show no importation of Kashmir wines, though these have recently attracted some share of public attention.

Report on the Excise Administration of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 30th September 1891.

N. T. R. Caine, Mr. Evans, and likeminded obscurantists, will not probably be pleased with the following refutation of their canards. It is extracted from the Resolution of the Government of the North-Western Provinces on the Excise Administration Report for the year ending 30th September 1891.

It was shown in the orders on the Report for 1889-90, that the income of that year was smaller than that of any other year since 1884-85. The report for 1890-91 exhibits a further decline. The gross and real receipts for the last six years, under all heads whatever, are—

		Gross receipts.	Real receipts.	Percentage, or —of real receipt of each year on those of 1885-8
		Rs.	Rs.	
1885-86	...	57,02,151	56,78,783	.....
1886-87	...	56,46,546	56,65,117	— '23
1887-88	...	55,45,110	56,29,887	— '86
1888-89	...	57,06,546	57,04,999	+ '46
1889-90	...	54,15,600	54,21,040	— 4'53
1890-91	...	51,04,917	51,70,590	— 8'94

The percentage has been struck on the real receipts, as they represent the revenue actually belonging to the year, after adjustments on account of advance payments have been made.

Concurrently with this quotation, Messrs Caine, Evans and Co. are hereby advised to read, mark, and digest sundry remarks by the Commissioner of Excise, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, on the subject of an increased consumption of drugs by the people of those provinces: Mr. Stoker strikes a key note in his remark, that drugs are very much cheaper than spirits. As to the causes which have led to the increased consumption of drugs, he is afraid to "dogmatise," but he states that this branch of revenue has a "distinctly upward tendency" (paragraph 7), "and that statistics indicate distinctly that it is flourishing at the expense of that from spirits," (paragraph 12). Elsewhere he remarks that the temperance movement, which is making way in some of the largest towns among certain castes, is exclusively directed against spirit drinking, and that there are serious reasons to fear that it may indirectly lead to an extended use of hemp drugs.

Census of India, Assam, 1891.

THIS well adjusted Census Report on a backward province reflects credit on Mr. Gait and all concerned in its production.

The Report has been divided into three parts. The first contains an account of the way in which the census was taken, and the manner in which the final tables were compiled from the schedules, together with a dissertation on the more obvious results shown by the tables, and on some of the conclusions to be drawn from them. The second volume comprises the Imperial tables prescribed by the Government of India. A third, (supplementary) volume, contains certain Provincial tables, together with a Caste index showing all the castes and caste subdivisions returned at the census, together with the numerical strength of the more important sub-castes. In a

preface Mr. Gait informs us that his chief aim has been to present census results in a clear and intelligible form, and expresses a regret that pressure of other duties prevented such amplification of notes on Religion, Marriage, Caste, Languages, &c., as fuller opportunity would have enabled him to present. We share in the regret, for these are concerns of more enduring interest, and at any rate, of equal political moment, with grand totals and perplexing involutions of figures more or less Indian in character, and for that reason not quite as statistically reliable as such double-edged tools ought to be before they can be warranted safe for general use. With them we do not propose to meddle much. Not that we would disparage their possible usefulness as aids, when judiciously employed, to the smooth working of the administrative machine, but mainly because the figures are easily accessible at first hand for any one requiring them, and, secondarily, because we could not easily find space for such detail as would do justice to them. Let us, then, glance at a few portions of the record bearing on ethnic conditions and sociology: a wide field, and one of fruitful promise, which here we can but skim. We hope, that at some future time, Mr. Gait may find opportunity to return to it, unhampered by routine duty and with abundant leisure at his disposal. A contemporary reviewer has remarked, that one of Mr. Gait's merits is, that he rather indicates fields for enquiry than explores them. Darning with faint praise was not perhaps intended, but Mr. Gait's modest self depreciations have, perhaps, been taken too much *au pied de la lettre*.

In Bengalee estimation, Assam is a land of magic, mystery, ~~mya~~, an indirect indication, perhaps, that ethnically the Assamese were integrally, before divers immigration streams had flooded and half swamped the original stock, nearer akin to Tibeto-Burman tribes—than to the races inhabiting India Proper. It was once a fashion to regard the Assamese language as a patois, a corrupt Bengali, but that heresy has long been dissipated. Assamese is now recognised as a separate tongue, and is as such taught in all primary schools in the Brahmaputra Valley. As a language it has philological affinities with those of Upper Burma. The Kachari language is, Mr. Gait, thinks dying out: there can be no doubt that it has been largely superseded by Assamese. Part II. of the Report contains information about the grammar of several local languages and dialects, with vocabularies illustrative of assimilations and differences. Apropos of the tendency of Bodo languages to die out, para 172 of the Report is worth noting:—

I have several times mentioned that various languages of this group are disappearing. This fact is clearly shown by a comparison with

the return of 1881. The number of persons speaking Gáro has increased, owing to the better enumeration of the Gáro Hills district, and there are more Tipperahs than before, owing to immigration. The increase under Mech is probably due to some confusion between this language and Káchári.* With these exceptions, the falling off in the number speaking the languages of this group is very marked. Only 200,129 persons now speak Káchári, against 263,186; Lálung is the language of 40,204, against 46,920; and Hájong of 999, against 1,246. But the most marked defection from their mother tongue is shown by the Rábhás, of whom only 509 now acknowledge that they speak their tribal language, against 56,499 returned under that head ten years ago.† It is strange that these tribes, which have been for centuries in the province, and have, until recently, maintained their own languages intact, should be now so rapidly taking to Assamese in preference to the forms of speech of their ancestors. The only reasons I can offer are the better communications of the present day, and the greater amount of trade and travel which have in consequence taken place. Thousands of Kácháris, &c., leave their homes for a few months annually to work on tea gardens and roads, and while away from home they must perforce speak Assamese. I myself was, for three years, in the centre of the Káchári population of the Brahmaputra Valley, and during the whole of that time had only on two or three occasions to employ an interpreter as a medium of communication with Káchári litigants. The process will, doubtless, continue at an annually increasing rate, and the entire extinction of all these languages, in the same way as Chutiya has already been extinguished, is probably only a matter of a very few years.

The indigenous Brahmans of Assam are said to belong either to the Baidik or Saptasati sub-castes:

The Baidiks claim to be the descendants of those Bráhmans, who refused to accept the reforms of Raja Ballal Sen,‡ and fled to Assam and Orissa. The Saptasati Bráhmans trace their separation from the main body of Bráhmans to the same epoch, one account being that they were exiled across the Brahmaputra for declining to accept Ballal Sen's classification, and another, that they are descended from the seven-hundred ignorant Bráhmans sent to Kanauj to learn their duties.

Except in Sylhet, however, the number of Bráhmans who returned themselves under these sub-castes is very small. In other parts of the province, the entry in the sub-caste column was simply Sarmá or Deb Sarmá, which is a designation common to all classes of Bráhmans. The Bráhmans of Assam Proper seem to be ignorant of the various caste subdivisions which are found in Bengal and other parts of India. They have also lost sight of the rules of exogamy based on the Guttra,§ and have no Kulins or Ghataks. They are besides in the habit of taking money for their daughters, and are thus much in the condition in which the Bráhmans of Bengal appear to have been before Ballal Sen instituted enquiries into their position and qualifications.

* It will be seen in the chapter on castes and tribes, that there has been a large increase of persons described as of the Mech tribe, and a decrease amongst the Kácháris of the Goalpara district.

† I think there must have been some mistake about the number then returned.

‡ The contemporary of William the Conqueror. He is celebrated amongst the Hindus of Bengal as having reorganised the whole of the caste system.

§ This appears to be also the case in Sylhet, although there the Baidik Brahmans still claim descent from one or other of the ten Munis.

The Buddhists in Assam at the present time are all foreigners, either Shans or Bhuttias ; but there is reason to believe that the doctrines of Sakya Muni were widely spread amongst the indigenous population of the province at some previous period of its history. Traces of Buddhist architecture are discernible in the temples of Kámákhyā, Singheswar, and Hájo, and the latter contains a statue of Buddha, which the common people call the Mahámuni, and which is still visited by Buddhist pilgrims from Bhutan and Tibet. Ralph Fitch, as lately as the 16th century, found Buddhist principles still powerful amongst the people in the western part of the Koch Kingdom. To day there are no traces remaining of Buddhism as a living cult, except possibly in the general laxity regarding caste, and the monastic constitution of the Vaishnava Sattras on the Majuli and elsewhere. The Hindus in Assam at the present time belong chiefly to two sects, the Vaishnava and the Sáktā, the main doctrinal divergence between them being that the former believe in the efficacy of sacrifices (which in former times used frequently to be of human beings), while the latter do not. But—

The ignorance of the common people regarding the tenets which they nominally profess is so great, and the return of sect was therefore so untrustworthy, that it was thought to be useless to attempt to tabulate the information contained under this head in the census schedules. It is impossible, therefore, to gauge the tendency of each sect to increase or die out by reference to actual figures. I am, however, inclined to think that Sáktism has more vital force than Vaishnavism. Many Vaishnavas are attracted by the more realistic worship of the Sáktas, and offer sacrifices at Kámákhyā, despite the remonstrances of their spiritual guides.*

* I have given the above outline of the rise of Vaishnavism and the Sáktā revival in the Brahmaputra Valley, as I cannot find that any account thereof has previously been printed. But it is only a sketch, and necessarily a very brief one, as any more detailed account would be out of place in a Census Report. For fuller particulars, the *Guru Charitra*, *Sankar Deber Jiban Charit*, and the *Guru Bhatima* may be consulted: A considerable amount of information may also be found in Notes by two Extra Assistant Commissioners now serving in Assam, Mr. M. N. Ghose and Rai S. C. Banerjee, but these unfortunately are in manuscript. The description I have given of the tenets of the Sáktas and Vaishnavas applies also to these sections in the Surma Valley. I have not given an account of the religious history of that Valley, as in its main features it differs in no respect from that of Eastern Bengal. It seems not improbable that Sáktism is the Vedic Hinduism as modified by the Shamanistic tendencies of the non-Aryan converts, while Vaishnavism is a revival, in a modified form of Buddhist thought and feeling. The rejection of sacrifices and disregard of castes shown by the Vaishnavas seem to be survivals of Buddhist views, while the Vaishnava monasteries, with their crowds of resident Bhakats remind one forcibly of the Buddhist Sanghárāmas. Similarly Sáktism seems to have derived some of its most objectionable rites from the previous practices of its converts. The human sacrifices, for instance, to which reference has been made above, seem to be quite foreign to Vedic Hinduism (*vide* page 247, *et seq.* of Wilson's 'Religion of the Hindus,') and the practice in Kuch Behar, as described in the 'Haft-Iqlim' is essentially pagan :—"There is a cave in this country, which, according to the belief of the people, is the residence of a Deo. The name of the Deo is 'Ai,' and the people are zealous in their worship * * They likewise kill on

Although figures cannot be given to show the extent to which Hinduism has spread in Assam during the past ten years, it is well known that the work of proselytism is steadily going on. In Assam, as in other out of the way parts of the country, the theory that a Hindu must be born, and cannot be made, is being exploded in practice. Sir Alfred Lyall and others have explained the different methods by which translation to the more respectable social platform is effected. Of these—

The first, and perhaps the most important, may be described as conversion by fiction. The Brahmans ingratiate themselves with the head of the tribe, discover that he is a Hindu of unexceptionable antecedents, whose ancestors have for some reason thought fit to conceal their identity, and present him with a brand new genealogy, in which his descent is traced back to some god in the Hindu Pantheon or potentate in Hindu mythology. Thus the Koch kings are said to be descended from Siva, who, assuming the form of Haria Mandal, had intercourse with his wife, who was no other than an incarnation of Párbati. While furnishing a divine origin for the king, the rest of the tribe were not forgotten; it was explained to them that they were Kshetriyas, who had fled eastwards to escape from the wrath of Parasuráma, and had remained there ever since, disguised as Meches and Koches. The Káchári kings of Hiramba were similarly converted, and, after their ancestry had been satisfactorily traced back to Bhim, the two chiefs, Krishna and Govind Chandra, were placed about 1790 A.D. in the body of a large copper image of a cow, and thence produced as reclaimed Hindus to an admiring people. The whole of the Kácháris of that part of the country were also admitted to be of Kshetriya origin, and were allowed to assume the thread on declaring their adherence to the orthodox faith. The conversion of the Manipuris happened in precisely the same way. Arjun was alleged to have been the founder of the royal family, while the masses of the people, like the Kácháris, were admitted to be concealed Kshetriyas; and to this day a Nága or Kuki, on conversion, is at liberty at once to describe himself accordingly, and to assume the sacred thread. For the Ahoms, Indra^a was selected as the progenitor of the kings, but no special origin appears to have been assigned to the common people, so that an Ahom on conversion takes as low a place in the Hindu caste system in his own estimation as he does in that of orthodox Hindus.

Accretions to Hinduism notwithstanding, the Christian religion is, we read—

The only one for the propagation of which organised measures are

the same day the Bhogis, who are a class of men that have devoted their lives to Ai, saying that Ai has called them. From the time they become Bhogis, they may do what they like: every woman is at their command, but after one year they are killed." (Blochmann, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1873, page 240.) That pre-Aryan beliefs have not yet died out, is shown by the fact that even now many villages have their sacred grove and their Grám debá, to whom the people sacrifice when any exceptional calamity comes upon them. On such occasions also exorcism and divination are still practised amongst the lower castes.

* Indra enters also into the traditions of the Mon-Anam races, and Forbes has shown that he alone of the great Vedic gods has been admitted into Buddhist mythology ('Languages of Further India,' page 41.) It is thus a question whether the Ahom Kings brought their tradition regarding their descent from Indra with them to Assam, or whether it was manufactured for them here by the Brahmans.

taken. In Assam there are several missions. Judging by their results, the most important of these is that of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, already referred to, who for many years past have been working amongst the Khásis. This race appears to be more than usually receptive of Christianity, and the number of Christians amongst them has risen from 1,895 in 1881 to 6,941 at the present census. The next missions to be mentioned are those of the American Baptists, who have stations at Tura, Gauhati, Nowgong, Sibsagar, and Mokokchang. A fair amount of success has attended their efforts, and the number of native Baptists now reported amounts to 3,718, against 1,475 ten years ago. The greater part of the increase is found in Goalpara and the Gáro Hills. In Nowgong the number is almost stationary, the increase during the last ten years being only 29, or less than three new converts a year. Next, in point of numbers, come the missions of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, whose converts have risen from 640 to 1,324. The most important of these missions is that conducted amongst the Kácháris in the north of the Darrang district by Mr. Endle, whose converts appear to have risen from 194 to 509 in the course of the decade under review. There is a small colony of Christian Santhals of the Lutheran Church in Goalpara, but this is rather a settlement of persons converted to Christianity elsewhere, than a centre of mission work in the generally accepted use of the term. The total number of native Christians has risen during the last ten years from 5,462 to 14,762. A small proportion of the increase is due to the immigration to tea gardens of Christian Uriyas and Santhals, but by far the greater part is the result of the labours of the missionaries of different denominations within the province. But the above figures by no means adequately represent the labours of the missionaries. Besides converting upwards of 9,000 persons to Christianity in the course of the past ten years, they have opened schools amongst the people and have been the means of spreading education in backward tracts. They have also in some places opened dispensaries, which are presided over by medical missionaries, and in various ways have helped to civilise the backward races amongst whom their chief work lies.

With regard to the religious beliefs of Assam hill tribes, the first thing that strikes an enquirer is, we are told—

The extraordinary uniformity of principle which underlies them all, and which they share in common not only with each other and with the north Turanian tribes, but also with the Dravidians of southern India. There can be no greater mistake than to assume that each tribe has its own individual beliefs, differing widely from those of others and circumscribed by the narrow tribal limits. The facts are quite the reverse, and the religion of these tribes—Shamanism,^{*} Animism, *Nat* worship, or whatever name may be applied to it—is everywhere practically the same. There are differences, it is true, but they are differences of practice or detail rather than of fundamental principles, and are far less important than those which divide the Sáktas from the Vaishnavas, or Unitarians from the members of the Salvation Army.

There is a vague but very general belief in some indefinite

* '*Shaman*' is the word used to denote the magician priest of the north Asian demonolaters. Caldwell derives it from '*Shramana*,' the Sanskrit term for a Buddhist ascetic. The objection to the use of the word to denote demon worshipers generally, is that it refers to a particular method of divination, which is perhaps not invariably practised.

but omnipotent being, well disposed towards mankind, and whose worship may therefore be safely neglected. Sacrifices to the numerous malevolent spirits, at whose malign disposal are all ills and afflictions, and whom it is obviously necessary to propitiate with burnt offerings and gifts. These demons, though they have no good natured side, resemble the satyrs and fauns of classic mythology, inasmuch as they are sylvan *dii minores*, tutelary guardians of trees, streams, rocks—and at whiles are the angry ghosts of tribal ancestors. There is no regular priesthood, but some persons are eclectically endued with keener power of divination than others. We are not told, as we ought to have been, whether these augurs wink at one another when they meet on a hillside after some specially audacious feat of soothsaying, devil dancing, or pronouncement on the omens afforded by examination of eggs, grains of rice, or the entrails of a fowl.

There is a profound belief in omens of all sorts: no journey is undertaken unless it is ascertained that the fates are propitious, while persons who have started on a journey will turn back should adverse omens be met with on the way.

One peculiarity in connection with their sacrifices may be mentioned. On all necessary occasions goats, fowls, and other animals are offered to the gods; but it is always assumed that the latter will be contented with the blood and entrails,—the flesh is divided amongst the sacrificer and his friends, the presiding soothsayer usually getting the lion's share.

The animistic population of Assam is 969,765, or 17.70 per cent. of the total number of inhabitants. The largest proportion of *Nat* worshippers is found in North Lushai and the Naga Hills, where it amounts to over 95 per cent. of the total population. The Khasi and Jaintea hills follow pretty closely with 93 per cent., and the Garo hills with 84 per cent. We note that the deficiency of females in the Naga and Garo Hills districts is entirely due to the plains population. Amongst the "animistic" tribes of both districts there is a net excess of women.

In the following extract a novel element of statistical discord is adumbrated:—

There was no lack of words for 'widow,' but it was more difficult to find an equivalent for a man who had lost his wife. The only Assamese word is *borola*, which is an exact translation of the English word 'widower,' and was adopted as the term to be used in the schedules. It was subsequently found that in some places the term is also loosely used to designate any man without a wife, whether he ever had one or not.* To avoid mistakes owing to this loose use of the term, the particular attention of district officers was drawn to the point, and the

* Notwithstanding the fact that there is a special word, '*dungua*,' to denote bachelors.

necessity of impressing the proper use of the term on their enumerators was pointed out. As a rule, the matter was properly explained to the enumerators, but in one or two districts, the point was not sufficiently noticed, and as a result, some of the unmarried have apparently been classed amongst the widowed.* The total number of such mistakes is, however, small, and only affects the proportions to a very slight degree. Another possibility of error is in regard to remarried widows. The practice is forbidden amongst Hindus, but the prohibition does not apply to the Musalmans or the hill tribes, nor is it by any means universally attended to even amongst the lower castes of Hindus. With the exception of a few of the higher Hindu castes, widow remarriage is common amongst all classes of the population. But although Brahmanism has been unable to prevent the practice, it has succeeded in bringing it into disrepute, and in lowering the general estimation of the solemnity and validity of these second marriages. Widows who contract a second alliance are known by a special name (*dhemani*, *batalu*, &c.,) and are not, as a rule, considered to hold the same position as women married for the first time. To guard against the danger of these second marriages being ignored, it was noted in the instructions, that women so conditioned should be shown as *dhemani*, if the enumerators had scruples against entering them as married, and persons thus returned were afterwards treated as married in the tabulation office.

Marriage amongst the Hindus of Assam is almost invariably by purchase. "As a Hindu would prefer to say the *asura* is the prevalent form of marriage." The price paid for a bride varies considerably: on a general average it may be placed roughly at from Rs. 60 to 70, but very much larger sums are often paid, more especially by the Sháhás of Sylhet, when they want to marry into Káyastha or Vaidya castes. One marriage market result is to raise the age for marriage amongst males, since the most improvident of them cannot secure a bride until they can pay for her. Of the old unmarried males, not otherwise disqualified, the greater part consists of persons who have refrained from matrimony for religious reasons. Elderly spinsters are uncommon, one reason being that there are no religious sisterhoods among the Hindus of Assam, another and more paramount one, that there is greater demand for wives than for husbands. Child marriage is uncommon in Assam, except possibly among a few of the higher castes. Amongst the lower castes, which consist largely of converts from the aboriginal tribes, it is more usual, than not, for a girl to attain puberty while still unmarried, and her age at marriage depends a good deal upon her personal qualifications, the position of her parents, and the value they set upon her. Statement No. 66 on page 112 shows that out of 10,000 girls under 4 years of age, only 10 are married; 308 are married out of the same number aged 5 to 9; and 3,427, or slightly more than a third of 10,000 girls, between the ages of 10 and 14.

* This is especially the case in Kamrup. In the Surma Valley and Goalpara, 'widower' was rendered as '*st'imariyachhe*.'

It is probable that the great majority of those returned as married at the last mentioned age period, are over 12 years of age. It should also be remembered that marriage in India does not always mean cohabitation. The proportion of married women is said to be highest between the ages of 20 and 24. But in no instance are Indian statistics more popularly obnoxious, and ergo more fallible than when they seek to pry into the relations between the sexes. In the Brahmaputra Valley, widow remarriage is permitted by all castes except Brahmans, Ganaks, and Kayasthas. It is, however, dying out among the Kalitas, and is regarded by all classes of Hindus as not altogether proper. It is the very poor man's resource, and even in his not too delicate social circle, a remarried widow is not received with much respect.* A distinction is, however, made between virgin widows and unvirginal. Divorce is by no means rarely resorted to among the lower castes,

They are effected simply enough. The husband dissatisfied with his bargain, turns his wife out of his house; a woman of sensibility not mated with her proper affinity, either elopes with her Young Lochinvar, or goes back to her father's house. As to Assam Mahomedans, we learn that the majority are monogamous. The proportion of unmarried women of advanced ages is less amongst them than with Hindus. The Buddhists of Assam, the few left there, purchase their wives. Polygamy is permitted to them, but not much resorted to. The same remarks apply to divorce and the remarriage of widows. Here are a few statistics that may have interest for others besides actuaries:—

The child-bearing age for women in this country may be taken as lying between 15 and 39. The number of women who give birth to children before they reach the age of 15 is very small, and that of women who have children when over 40 is smaller still. Taking the total number of births per annum at 261,000, there are thus 29 births annually for every 100 married women of a child-bearing age, or, on the average, a married woman gives birth to a child every three or four years during this period of her life.

Chapter VI. contains statistics of Infirmities. They are admittedly unreliable; which is a pity. Here is a paragraph worth quoting—

The largest proportion of lepers is found in Goalpara, and the next largest in Sibsagar, which is closely followed by Lakhimpur, Sylhet, and North Cachar. After these districts, come Cachar Plains, the Gao Hills, and the Naga Hills in the order in which I have named them, and lastly Darrang, Nowgong, Kamrup, and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. This distribution is sufficiently puzzling, and all that can be said regarding it, is that it seems to corroborate the view now generally held, that leprosy depends more on the food and habits of the people, than on the locality in which they live. It is curious that the number of lepers should be so high in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur, as two centuries ago, the Musalman historian of Mir Jumla's invasion asserted that the inhabitants of Upper Assam were free from this disease.* As it

* '*Fathiyahi*' '*Ibriyah*.'—*Apud* Blochmann, 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' 1872, page 77.

spread has not been noticed since our occupation of the province, it seems not improbable that the disease attained its present prevalence during the disastrous anarchy which attended the revolt of the Moamorias and the invasion of the Burmese.

In Chapter X. a great deal of interesting information as to the habits and customs of Naga tribes is given.

Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal, 1891.

GREAT are the uses of Indian statistics as handy foundation-stones on which to build up theories. In para. 2 of the Secretariat Resolution accompanying the twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal, we are told :—

The registration of births was confined as before to Municipal towns, numbering 141, with an aggregate population of 2,716,424. The total number of births recorded was 58,317, giving a birth-rate of 21.46 per thousand as compared with 19.71 per thousand in 1890.* There

* Calculated on the population of 1891, can be no doubt, as was observed last year, that the rate returned is much below the actual rate. In last year's Resolution the Sanitary

Commissioner's estimate, placing the normal birth-rate for these provinces at something over 40 per thousand, was accepted, and this opinion is borne out by the statistics of other provinces quoted by the Army Sanitary Commission in their Memorandum on the Provincial Sanitary Reports for 1889. The highest birth-rate there recorded is 40 per thousand for the Punjab; the Central Provinces show 39, and the North-Western Provinces and Bombay 36, while the Government of the latter Province express the belief that the true birth-rate of that part of India cannot be less than 45, which was the estimate adopted by the Famine Commission. On these general grounds and by reason of the occurrence of such widely divergent rates as 44.57 in one town (Kurseong) and 2.95 in another (Jhalakati), the reported birth-rate of 21.46 per thousand for the urban population, subject to registration during 1891, may be put aside as manifestly absurd and impossible.

We find no sufficient reason to doubt that the record of female births in Bengal is as unreliable as it is in other parts of India. One of the "most notable" instances of imperfect registration occurs in that focus of light and leading, the South Suburban Division of Calcutta. It remains to be seen whether the Police—to whom the business of registration has now been transferred—will achieve more trustworthy results than the Municipality. For our part, we more than doubt it, and in the departure see foreshadowed loopholes and opportunities for perpetration of much petty oppression.

As to epidemics and their effects :—

The general health of the Province is said to have been decidedly worse in all districts, except Pabna, Backergunge, Noakhali, Tippera, Patna, Puri, and Lohardugga. It is remarkable that Patna, which lies within the area where scarcity prevailed, should have enjoyed better health than in 1890.

During the year 229,575 deaths from cholera were registered showing the high death-rate of 3·26 per thousand of population. In 1890 the deaths from this cause numbered 145,885, and the death-rate was 2·07. In the five years 1886—90, the average was 2·02. Scanty rainfall in the latter part of the year, and the great movement of population which took place during February in consequence of the *Ardhodoya Jog*, are mentioned as the chief causes of the widespread epidemic during the year. This festival depends on the combination of three astronomical conditions: the new moon between the months of *Pûs* and *Mâgh* must fall on a Sunday, the day must be the 17th in the series of 27 days called *yogas* or *Jogs*, and the moon that day must be in the *Srawan Nakshatr*, i.e., between 280° and 293° 20' of the Ecliptic. When these astronomical conditions coincide, which only happens once in 27 or 28 years, the sanctity of the day is ten million times as great as that of a sun eclipse.

16,193 deaths from small-pox were recorded, against 12,679 in 1890. The ratio was higher in towns than in rural districts. The districts that suffered most were Cuttack, Midnapore, Puri, and Lohardugga. In Dr. Gregg's opinion, the outbreak would not have been as severe as it was, if Superintendent of Vaccination had been more alive to the insufficiency of the Vaccinating Establishments in these Districts. As regards towns he writes:—"The usual excuse is offered in most cases, viz., that the disease was introduced from without and did not originate in the towns themselves. . . . but this does not exonerate the local authorities from blame, because, if their towns had been thoroughly protected by vaccination, small-pox when imported would not have created much havoc, and could easily have been stamped out." The mortality from fever during the year under review was even higher than in 1890, when the death ratio (16·42) exceeded that of any previous year since registration was introduced. This scandal the Sanitary Commissioner attributes mainly to malarial poison arising from obstructed drainage, polluted water-supply and neglected conservancy arrangements. Such is the bass accompaniment to the chorus of self-esteem with which the Bengalee press greeted Lokil Sluff—some years ago.

Report on the Administration of the Customs Department in the Bengal Presidency for the official year 1891-92.

IT is noteworthy, in connection with the Exchange question that, as regards Bengal, the:—

Position of the two classes of trade, import and export, has been reversed as compared with 1890-91. Excluding Government transactions, the total value of imports shows a decrease of Rs. 1,49,20,236 as compared with an increase of Rs. 4,25,15,529 in 1890-91, attributed chiefly to smaller importations of cotton goods. On the other hand the year under review shows an increase of Rs. 4,20,19,122 under exports against a decrease of Rs. 1,11,05,536 in 1890-91. This increase was due under Indian produce to heavy shipments of tea, linseed, wheat, indigo and rice, and under Treasure, to heavy des-

patches of gold to the United Kingdom during the time of low exchange, and of Silver to Ceylon. The decrease in the imports of Treasure is the result of smaller receipts of gold from the United Kingdom and Australia, and of silver from the Straits Settlements. It is observed that, while in the case of exports the duty on dutiable goods increased *pari passu* with the increase in the value of the goods exported, the value of the dutiable imports shows a fall, though the duty thereon shows an increase. Taking imports and exports together, the total value of the trade, exclusive of Government transactions, increased by Rs. 2,70,98,886 over the figures for 1890-91. The value, both of imports and exports on Government account, fell off during the year by Rs. 7,19,924 and Rs. 2,53,280 respectively.

As usual, the bulk of the foreign trade was carried on with the United Kingdom, which absorbed nearly three-fifths of the entire trade of Calcutta. China occupies the next place. The trade with China, as well as with the United States, which stands third in importance, shows a decline, the percentages being 10·2 and 5·89 against 10·69 and 6·63 respectively in the previous year. The decrease in the trade with China is ascribed to decline in the shipments of opium and cotton to Hongkong and of opium to the Treaty Ports, and with the United States to smaller imports of kerosine oil and decline in the exportation of linseed oil. The trade with Germany continues to advance, the percentage having risen from 4·08 to 4·50, owing to larger shipments of raw hides and oil-seeds, and the revival of the wheat trade. France regained its position after a depression in the two preceding years, and the Collector of Customs has for the first time noticed in this report transactions with Belgium, the trade with this country having expanded owing to direct steamer communication carried on during the last three years.

The total value of the trade of Calcutta *via* the Suez Canal shows an increase of Rs. 3,94,48,060 over the figures of the preceding year, which were the highest recorded since the opening of the canal. The increase was almost entirely confined to exports.

Notwithstanding the levy of a duty of six pies per gallon on mineral oil since February, 1888, the trade in the article has increased, since that year, from 19 to 34 thousand odd gallons. The prejudice against Russian oil, believed to have been due to defective packing, is disappearing. The trade in salt continues to decline.

In the last five years, it is stated, the price per gallon of spirits has fallen from Rs. 7-14-11 to Rs. 6-12-7, and the value of wines and liqueurs in a smaller ratio. This probably means that the bulk of the imports is of inferior quality.

Exports of tea advanced by 11,093,438lbs., the average declared being—as in the preceding year—seven annas eight pie. Mr. Risley thinks it is satisfactory that, notwithstanding the advance of Ceylon tea and the vigorous efforts made to push it in the London market, Indian tea still maintains its leading position in the United Kingdom.

Exports of wheat, which had shown a steady decline since 1887-88, “revived remarkably” during the year under review; as also did those of oil-seeds. The export of indigo was the largest known for many years; too large, perhaps.

Report on the Income Tax Administration, Punjab, for the year 1891-92.

FROM the Punjab Income Tax Administration Report for 1891-92, we gather that, excluding Government officials, the tax is paid in Part I (Salaries and Annuities) by 1,792 persons, of whom 561 are Local Fund officials. There was a slight increase in the collections of the tax on salaries paid by companies and private bodies.

Collections under Part II (Profits of Companies) show a very slight increase. Those under Part III (Interest on Securities) are insignificant.

The Lieutenant-Governor thinks it is remarkable that as much as 50 per cent. of the number of persons assessed should fall in the lowest assessable class, which comprises incomes within so narrow a range as from Rs. 500 to Rs. 750. It is, we should say, a remarkably good argument against retention of this unpopular tax.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

collections of a Happy Life: being the Autobiography of Marianne North. Edited by her Sister, MRS. JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. In two volumes, Vol. I and II. London: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

IT has been said of many books that they do not contain a dull page between their covers. With regard to the two volumes before us, we are almost persuaded to believe that this too often abused critical verdict would be a just one. It is certain that we have not been tempted to skip even a line of the 688 pages octavo that embody Miss North's *Recollections*, which, it will be as well to premise, are the unpretentious record of her travels all the world over, and what she saw and did in the course of them. We may be allowed to say that, as a rule, the tales of modern travel commonly retailed for public consumption are the reverse of attractive to us. In our unregenerate lack of appreciation for the beauties of steam power, other people's hotel *menus*, and globe trotting stampedes, we find them wearisome. For nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand of them are either fashioned on the model of ships' logs, (un) relieved by attempts to imitate Mark Twain's dry humour; or they are by way of being scientific, and statistical and dismal, or sentimental and bilious. Many of them are so over-ballasted with egoism, that there is scant room left in them for aught else. Miss North's book does not partake in the least of these objectionable features. The only people who need be warned off it, are those to whom love of nature has been denied, and to whom sympathetic readings in out-of-the-way treasure houses and cranks and crannies of natural history lore are repellant.

Apart from, as well as in connection with, natural history notes derived direct from nature, the charm of Miss North's writing consists in its frank, easy naturalness, its absolute freedom from affectation or stilts of any sort. Natural history was the passion of her solitary life; painting what she saw in her attempts to decipher its arcana was her consolatory hobby: passion and hobby were both kept in some sort of subjection, and made to act subordinatedly to the dictates and impulses of a generous and kindly temperament. Rarely, in spite of the frequent frictions of adverse circumstance incidental to, and inseparable from, perpetual travelling, and its worries and discomforts, very rarely indeed did her rare equability of

temper desert her. Almost the only man she seems ever to have got really angry with, was a bumptious Bengali Baboo; and then she was angered at the bumptiousness, rather than with the man. She was from time to time afflicted with bad servants—lazy ones, drunken ones, incapable ones. She changed them for others as soon as might be; but she never goes into tantrums over their misbehaviour, and the inconvenience this entailed on her: often, with perhaps a dash of contempt, extenuates and excuses their shortcomings. Latterly she dispensed with the services of a personal servant, and found her reward in increased comfort, and the satisfactions of independence. A sweet-tempered, loveable woman, whom everyone was glad to meet and to help. Music, by the way, was her earliest inspiration. She studied it systematically for years at Munich and in Italy; went through all Mozart's operas and masses, learnt many of Beethoven's sonatas by heart, often spending eight hours a day at her piano. She gave evidence of musical talent, and was in much request at fashionable concerts, &c., but shy. After the death of her father, to whom she was devotedly attached, and whose companion and friend she was in many Continental wanderings, her propensity for travel asserted itself vehemently. Broadly, her life thenceforth might be called one continuous travel,—north, south, west, east, all the world over,—love of the study of natural history, and an itch for painting undiscovered secrets of nature, being made excuses for it. Afterwards, they became amalgamated with it: finally they dominated over it—and every thing else in her being. Her sister, Mrs. Symonds, in a preface to the *Recollections* writes:—"My sister was no botanist in the technical sense of the term: her feeling for plants was more like that which we all have for human friends. She could never bear to see flowers uselessly gathered—their harmless lives destroyed."

Marianne North was born at Hastings in 1830, daughter of the Member of Parliament* for the town, scion of an aristocratic and widely well connected family: moreover, she was well off. In these two particulars she had greatly the advantage over Madame Ida Pfeiffer, the only woman whose feats of travel and endurance could at all be put in rivalry with hers. Their excursive instincts led both of them over pretty much the same world course,—the West Indies, Brazil, China, the Straits Settlements, India. Ida Pfeiffer exploited also Persia, Central Asia, Russia—countries that Miss North did not visit. She, by way of set off, so to speak, traversed a great part of inhabited Australia, of New Zealand, of Canada and the United States. She was inheritor of half a century more of mechanical progress than Madame Pfeiffer could take

* In 1830, he was elected by ten "freemen," one of them being himself.

advantage of, and journeyed comfortably in P. and O. and Messageries Steamers and Pullman cars. For the plucky little Austrian woman, her predecessor, there were no such luxurious short cuts. She was fain to make the best she could of steerage passages in ill-found brigs and Chinese junks, on camel back, or over bad roads in a springless bullock cart. Both women were gifted with indomitable pluck, good nerve, and a great faculty for patience. But this is a digression. During her father's lifetime Miss North enjoyed, what she then, in her undeveloped gipsy nature, appraised as much variety in life, spending the winter at Hastings, the spring in London, the summers between an old manor house in Lancashire and a farm place at Rougham in Norfolk (the family seat of the North family). Journeys from Hastings to Rougham were, in the days of which she writes, "a long week's work." All Norfolk was a sleepy hollow, full of sporting parsons, who thought their new Bishop (Stanley) undignified, because, instead of sitting still in his stall at the Cathedral, as his sainted predecessors had done, he had an awkward habit of starting off on his pony, no one knew whither, on Sunday mornings, and "pouncing down on some wretched preacher and empty church, in which he was not found out till his fine voice gave out the blessing at the end." Labourers were badly housed, badly paid, and half starved. Reform Bills, the Oxford Movement, model farming, and Mr. Joseph Arch have combined to polish the Norfolk of sixty years ago out of most men's remembrance. Let Miss North's notice of a bygone condition of rural society serve to refresh the memory of factious demagogues, who deny with their lips that improvements have been effected by the hierarchy.

Miss North was in Vienna, Gratz and Dresden during the revolutionary weeks of 1830, and was at the last named city when the Prussians marched into it—green branches on helmets and bayonets. She bears witness to their discipline and their good humour; acorns then, oaks thirty years afterwards. At Dresden, Ceccarelli, the choir master in the King's chapel, discovered that his English pupil's voice was contralto, not soprano, as she had theretofore been advised, and so she attempted no more "high tunes" (*O si sic omnes!*). We are not told that this was a disappointment; but, after Dresden, we do not hear much of music and singing, except that in 1851 she took lessons from Miss Dolby, and sang at some of that talented artist's concerts, much bothered with nervousness the whiles. In brief, a slight deafness in one ear, and absorption in other interests, put a period to what had once been an ardent pursuit. Albeit not in the least bit commonplace or vain, she had a good deal of unclamorous ambition in her mental equipment: must

either excel or abstain, could be content with no mediocrity of performance on her own part, howsoever charitably disposed towards it in other people. That is one secret of the successes she achieved as a traveller, successes arrived at often, especially in the latter part of her life, in despite of much weakness of the flesh—acute rheumatism, fevers, bouts with the insidious fiend, melancholia, even. The sword of her brave spirit was ever bright, even, keen-edged, no matter how warped or worn its sheath might be. To love of music succeeded love of flower-painting, in which she got a few lessons from Bartholomew. At a later time, Lear, another artist, author of once famous, now forgotten, *Books of Nonsense*, helped also as a teacher. He was fond of singing Tennyson's songs to his own accompaniment on the piano, and used to put the greatest expression and passion into the words, without making much impression on his fair pupil, who frankly confesses, as a good many more people would, if they were honest enough to avow it, their incapacity for appreciation of modern poetry. To her it seemed "sense worried, and often worried without the sense."

Putting Continental travel on one side, Miss North's first far stretch of her wings was to the United States and Canada. Afterwards she never ceased travelling, save for a spell now and again to take breath. She went here, there, everywhere, pretty much as the humour of the hour led; followed no beaten track which guide-books laid down. In the course of her American tour she had luncheon at Cambridge (Mass) with Longfellow, "a model poet to listen to and look at, with his snow-white hair, eager eyes, and soft gentle manner and voice." Professor and Mrs. Agassiz and their botanical treasures, were more in her line than psalms of life. Mrs. A told her that though she had strayed in South American forests for days and days together, she had never come across either snake or wild beast. At the White House, Washington, Mrs. Grant, the then President's wife, took our traveller to be, and spoke to her as, the daughter of Lord North, so long a time, and so long ago, George the third's Prime Minister.* Subsequently, but it may as well be noticed here, she had the honour of shaking hands at Salt Lake City with another American President, Brigham Young, the Mormon Prophet King. Here follows the following entry in her diary:—"Horrid old man! my hands felt dirty for a week." At Washington, Miss North went to see an opening of Congress. "There were two black, M-T particularly well dressed (not a general fault in that Assembl

* Miss North's good natured gloss on this is:—"I always knew I was old, but was not prepared for that amount of antiquity."

and there was an ample supply of bald heads, as well as some preposterously young looking men. There was a female reporter among the others, in gold bracelets and a tremendous hat and feathers." At Niagara, the falls far "oustretched" the traveller's grandest ideas of them. Enormous! the banks above and below wildly, luxuriantly wooded, and tangled with vine and Virginia creeper, intertwining about the trees, or the dead stumps of what once were trees; worn rocks, white with lichens; the whole setting grand; the bridges so cobwebby that they seemed by contrast to make the Falls more massive:

I talked to a good many of the regular tourist Yankees; they were of a very different sort from my friends near Boston. (The Cataract House is a famous honeymoon resort.) "Now, I guess, you'll get a long price for that thing when it's done. What are you going to ask?" They seem to have no idea of work being done except for dollars.

One of the railway guards on the Great Western Express told Miss North he did not believe it was a bit better for a working man in the New World than in the Old, for though they might get better wages, living was proportionately costly. Apropos of her arrival at New York, and translation from the railway terminus to the Hofmann House Hotel in a fly, Miss North writes drily: "That quarter of an hour's drive cost me eight shillings. New York is not cheap." She had to pay five dollars a day for room alone, getting her food from a neighbouring restaurant. In New York studios and exhibitions she saw some good paintings, "but a great preponderance of French millinery amongst the favourite pictures." The prices of dresses in the shops were three or four hundred dollars each, and gloves ten shillings a pair. The Johnstone Gallery is referred to as a most exquisite collection of pictures, every picture a gem. At the Opera House, Nilsson, as Marguerite, was not appreciated; the audience was most cold; all the applause was lavished on the French tenor, Capone, who was then the fashion. The Grand Duke Alexis of Russia was one of the audience. Miss North was amused to see the Republicans and the rest of it rising to do honour to the Russian national hymn.

From the States and Canada to Jamaica, arriving at Kingston on Christmas Eve. Next day she tasted her first mango. "Wasn't it good? I think no fruit is better, if it be really good of its kind." It's an old story that there is a good deal of saving grace in judiciously applied *ifs*. Miss North discovered beforehand the reason of the negro champion's win in the late prize-fight—thickness of skull, and absence of brain or any other nervous cerebral tissue, to wit. There being a difficulty about getting the iron frame of her bed together at Kingston, a negro carpenter was sent for. After trying in vain to put things right by dint of muscular strength, he made a bull-like rush at

his objective with the top of his head, and the iron work succumbed at once to the impact. Negro's cottages at Kingston are mostly hedged round with scarlet and double salmon-coloured hibiscus. "The little children met one carrying flowers of it." Notwithstanding which they "did not beg." All round the people made a favourable impression on her, as being sociable and having gentle manners. Sir John Peter Grant, of erstwhile Bengal Indigo Rebellion renown, was Governor of the island at the time. "A great Scotchman, with a most genial, simple manner, a hearty laugh and enjoyment of a joke." He made Miss North put up at Government House, telling her to come and go just as it suited her, and not taking any more notice her. For which reason he is her ideal of a perfect Colonial Governor. Sensible though she was, Marianne North was a woman, and so could not help being, at times, inconsequent. The Governor, by the way, had a habit of waiting placidly till the second bell rang for dinner, and then jumping up and saying: "God bless my soul, I must go and dress." While he was dressing, the dinner of course got cold. We wonder whether Miss North would not have thought such behaviour on the part of a private gentleman—not the Governor of a Crown Dependency—snobbish. Sir John Peter Grant's tree, plant and flower adoring guest fairly revelled in the exuberant vegetation of Jamaica; more so than Charles Kingsley even. With a view to painting these marvels of nature's art, she did a deal of riding and driving hither and thither in the country. On enquiring how it happened that, in the course of her lonely peregrinations, she never came across any of the snakes she heard so much about, she was informed that it was because they had all gone up into the trees to drink the juice of the wild pines. Rats are a great pest in the island. Sir J. P. Grant introduced Indian mungoses as a check on it, but they preferred chicken flesh to rats, and rather liked sugar, too, proving themselves a remedy worse than the disease they were intended for to cure. Jamaica rum, everyone knows, is coloured with burnt sugar; everyone does not know that its price depends more on good colour than good quality: utilitarian instance of the truth of the proverb, that fine feathers make fine birds. From Jamaica, Miss North proceeded to Rio de Janeiro; apropos of the emancipation of slaves there, she writes:—

It would have been better, perhaps, if our former law-makers had not been in such a hurry, and so much led away by the absurd idea of "a man and a brother." I should like some of the good housewives at home who believe in this dogma, to try the dear creatures as their only servants. One of my friends had been settled in Rio nine years, with no maid-servant, only two black men (the lesser evil of the two), and some of her experiences were amusing. The blacks never kneel

(except on the outside of illustrated tracts), and if they were told to scrub the floor, they brought a pint pot full of water, which they poured over here and there, then put a bit of rag under their feet, and pushed it about till the floor was dry again. . . . It is a mistake to suppose that slaves are not well-treated; everywhere I have seen them petted as we pet animals, and they usually went about grinning and singing.

From South America to Japan is but a hop, skip, and jump for our energetic globe-trotter. Sir Edwin Arnold has set the fashion of so much unmeasured panegyric over Japan and the Japs, the beauty of the land, the culture, the æstheticism, the politeness of its people, that it is quite refreshing to find Miss North far from enthusiastic on such subjects. Not that she was unappreciative of the rare sights to be seen. At Kioto, for instance, she saw and made a note of a man riding on a horse that had its tail in a blue bag tied together with red tassels; the animal's mane was similarly decorated. But people need not go as far East as Japan for such developments of the æsthetic as that; they are common enough in India, with artistic embellishments of the horse's body thrown into the bargain. Even the Jap women Miss North did not find beautiful. Japan, on her showing, must be a greatly over-rated country. Perhaps that is because there are so many Americans there, and going there: it is well known that Yankees cannot exist anywhere without advertising copiously. As to the Japanese, they, we are told in this book—

Are like little children, so merry and full of pretty ways, and very quick at taking in fresh ideas; but they don't think or reason much, and have scarcely any natural affection towards one another. Everybody who has lived long among them, seems to get disgusted with their falseness and superficiality. One never sees a mother kiss or caress her baby. The poor little thing is tied on to the back of a small sister in the morning, in a well-padded bundle, and tumbles about with her all day, roaring piteously. People only laugh if one pities it.

Singapore is word-painted much more in the tints of an earthly paradise than Japan. "Still, warm air, exquisite blue sky, lilac shadows, and blue lights. The figures squatted under the verandah and portico had a grace about them which I had never seen before, and their rich, dark complexions were the real thing, and not white turned brown or yellow by fading or scorching. Their turbans, sashes, and draperies of pure colour, and the sprinklings of gold and silver, were in such perfect harmony with their skins." In Borneo, again, in our traveller's estimation, the head-hunting Dyak "has a sweet expression, and much nobleness of figure, which he does not hide with superfluous clothing." He alone, amongst Eastern races, gains credit in these *Recollections* for veracity. Passing from Borneo to Java in the mail steamer, there was only one

Englishman on board, who "contradicted me flatly when I talked of the *Amherstia nobilis* as a sacred plant of the Hindus. I said Sir W. Hooker told me it was so, and he said Sir William had been a great botanist, but was not a Hindu scholar. I had made a mistake, and I began to look at the little man with respect, and found he was Dr. Burnell, the famous Indian scholar and Judge of Tanjore, making a pilgrimage to Borobodo during his short spring holiday; so we became friends, and continued so till he died. I like a real contradiction when it has a reason behind it, and there were plenty of reasons in Dr. Burnell."

Madame admired much the good ordering of everything in Java, and is of opinion that, in spite of, perhaps because of, the *strong* rule of the Dutch, the natives wear a happy, independent look not to be found amongst the sons of the soil in India. Java she accounts one magnificent garden, of a luxuriance more bountiful and splendid than Brazil, Jamaica, and Sarawak all lumped together in the other balance of the scales. Then, too, there are the grandest volcanoes, and the mountains in which these take their repose are covered with rich forests, and enjoy the proud distinction of having a peculiar Alpine vegetation on their summits. The men are less consequential than the mountains:—

The Governor-General asked me to dinner in his grand palace in the midst of the garden. There were several people there, and some great men with fine orders on their coats; and when a little dry, shy-mannered man offered me his arm to take me in to dinner, I held back, expecting to see the Governor-General go first; but he persisted in preceding the others, and I made up my mind that Dutch etiquette sent the biggest people in last, only taking in slowly that my man was His Excellency after all. We ought not to be led by appearances, for he was very intelligent, and talked excellent English.

The Bromo crater is considered very holy by the 8,000 odd Hindus who remain in the southern end of the island. On a certain appointed day every year, they throw chickens into it—which usually fly out again, and are then caught and eaten with much gusto. At Smerooe, the German landlord of the inn did a lot of amateur doctoring, bartering doses of quinine, or a shock from his galvanic battery, for poultry. Cats in Japan (like their Manx cousins) have no tails. At Garvet, Madame put up at a Herr Holle's house:—

It faced the high road, and every native who passed, got off his horse and led it past the house of the white official, though my host was only a humble specimen of his class. They only pay the same respect to the Dutch they do to their own Chiefs, and I still think we should have done more wisely in our Indian colonies, if we had kept up the same old manners of the country. Ignorant people think very much of outside signs of respect, and take us at our own estimation.

From Java the next move was to Ceylon. Miss North

finds fault with the cliqueism and intolerance prevailing there. She met there an old Protestant Missionary candid enough to tell her he had no idea of converting the Ceylonese. In his opinion they were not convertible, though some of those living in the neighbourhood of the large towns, found it a paying speculation to pretend to accept Christianity. From Ceylon, homeward bound, by a *Messageries* steamer. On board—

The Anglo-Indians, as a rule, were innocent of foreign languages. I heard two of them grumbling over the wine canteen: "So odd, they put down neither Claret, nor Bordeaux, nor Burgundy! *Garcong! avez vous Burgundy? Macon?* No: I don't want any of those second class wines, I want good, pure Burgundy." They took an amazing quantity of stimulating drinks, and mixed champagne with porter, ale, claret, etc., both men and women, in a way which proved them to have wonderful constitutions left to survive it, in spite of the much blamed climate. The children were great fun. I heard a little boy telling a group of others, his discoveries at the other end of the ship: "Then I saw a mamma poodle dog, a papa poodle dog, and their whole family of poodle dogs; and there was also a boy poodle, but the boy was very drunk."—"How did you know he was drunk?"—"Because, whenever he was told to stand up or beg, he always tumbled down again."

After a short stay in England, India was the next country selected for exploitation, Tuticorin (of all wayward choices) the port of debarkation. Next day the veteran voyageuse was struck all of a heap by the weird strangeness of the old temple at Madura, full of darkness naturally, filled with uncanny carvings and depictions. The temple sapphires were as big as nutmegs, and floods and fever encompassed the temple on all sides, and to the homeless and the sick there was none to give succour. The next departure is in the S. S. Khandalla to Bombay, the seaboard entrance to which city is pronounced very striking, with its numerous islands and abundant shipping, albeit disfigured by a background of hideous factory chimneys and coal smoke, "which are doing their worst to make Bombay as ugly as Liverpool." Our traveller went to a local hotel, and wanted to stay there, but Sir Richard Temple would not hear of such an arrangement, or accept the excuse of "no proper dress" for the State Ball that night. To it she had perforce to go in "an old, turned, black silk;" endued in which unfashionableness, she was trotted round the rooms and gardens by Sir Richard,—just returned from one famine *dour*, and just off on another; entertaining his English guest by telling her everyone and all their histories and belongings, with minuteness as any gossip old lady." The old lady thereto by Mr. Lear's dictum, that "the divine plateau," went to inspect it, and pronounced its colouring magnificent, &c.,

&c. Her praises lack the hearty, spontaneous ring, and "a few days were enough of Matheran. Stock landscapes, sights of every sort labelled "To be admired," never did appeal much to her regard. For instance, soon after the excursus to Matheran, we find her at Agra, willing to allow that the Taj Gardens are "a dream of beauty," and the bougainvillea there super-excellent. But she declines to bow the knee before the Taj itself, appraising it as too square and solid a mass of dazzling white to be worthy of commendation from a justly æsthetic coign of regard: Unworthy, from an outside point of view at least. As to the inside, "the more" (she says) "I studied it, the more I appreciated its marvellous detail, and general breadth of design." For all that, for her the old (unsung) palace rooms in the Fort were even more lovely in their way; Sikandra, too, "a wonderful building, with magnificent gates." We have a notion that not a few tourists lavish indiscriminate adulation on the Taj, merely by way of following the fashion, and having the honour of saying ditto ditto to the great Panjandrum with the gilt button atop.

At the end of vol. I of the *Recollections*, we leave Miss North at Mussoorie, rejoicing over deliverance from a drunken, lazy Goanese servant, and—*mirabile dictu*!—content for a little while to rest, and be still.

II.

As the second part of Miss North's narrative will take us, in the course of her second visits to them, back to many of the places scampered through in her first volume, we have thought it well to differentiate the two parts. The reader will kindly note that our Part II synchronises with the author's vol. II, which opens at Mussoorie, "a long, scattered place, covering an uneven ridge for about three miles, looking over the wide Dun valley on one side, and into the rolling sea of mountains on the other," the ever changing lights and shadows over those cloud-wreathed hills and valleys, being a continual wonder to our artist friend. A Kabul War was in progress at the time of Miss North's visit to Mussoorie, and in the hotel she put up at, there were, twenty ladies and two men. And, "how those men did flap their wings and crow, and how the young ladies cackled!" Mussoorie climate, adjudged delicious between the showers, which were as frequent as in England; "and I do not think England itself could have shown finer roses than the gardens about that place." There for the restless. The next scene is a hotel at Amritsar, and a young officer search of the picturesque, that, though I

there for some time, he had never had curiosity enough to go and see the Golden Temple. That unveiling of latent British Philistinism redoubled Madame's ardour (strong enough before) for the artistic pilgrimage, and, chartering a ticca gharry, she forthwith entered upon it, and chartered the famous temple (for once in a way) "a real gem, half white marble lace work, and half gilt copper, with rich, dark hangings and carpets, built out in the middle of a clear lake, smooth as glass, in which every line was accurately reflected." She set to work without delay on a sketch, and on the first day nobody demurred or interfered. On the second day, undefined "they," temple priests, we presume, said to her: "No orders give chair," and would not let the poor lady sit down even on her own chair anywhere within the temple precincts. Sikhs have many admirable qualities, but their most perfervid eulogists have never credited them with much chivalric regard for womanhood,—women folk throughout the Punjab being held no otherwise worthy than according to the measure of their capacity for hard work. Away then, casting the dust off one's feet, from Amritsar to Lahore, there, compensatorily, to find the flowers in their most gorgeous livery, the tanks full of tall pink lotus, women garlanded with necklaces and eardrops of white jasmine: moreover, the drives round the city charming, noble trees everywhere shading the roads, peeps vouchsafed through them at picturesque old walls, gates, mosques, minarets. Soon we are transported to Simla, lovely in the early morning—and the English residents, too lazy to turn out of bed, and revel in the glories of the sunrise and its afterglow. Lord Lytton was Governor-General at the time. It will surprise many Anglo-Indians to hear that he knew more about Indian trees and plants than anyone Miss North met in India. Here is a vignette from the Capua of the day:—

I took my paintings one day, and had luncheon with them, in the middle of which entertainment the Viceroy lit his cigarrette (like Salvatore Politi). He was interested in my work, and spent an hour or more looking at it. One night I went to a tremendous dinner there. About fifty sat down in the great dining-room, and a band played all the while. The table was quite covered with green ferns and ivy laid flat upon it, with masses of different coloured flowers also laid on, in set patterns. The yellow bracts of the benthamia, with bougainvillea, hibiscus, etc, formed separate masses of colour. The ladies' dresses were magnificent, Lady L. herself so hung with artificial flowers, that she made quite a crushing noise whenever she sat down. Lady L. came in arm in arm, just as dinner was announced. I tried to know nearly every one there in some way or other. After dinner D.C. carried a small chair for Lady L., who went about alone in turn. The Viceroy also did his best to be useful. Our journey home was very amusing,—about three days on the ridge in the bright moonlight,—the ladies all on horseback. I had a continual gossip all

the way with different people, and did not wonder at Anglo-Indians raving about the delights of Simla and its society, for there, of course, one met the very best people in India, in the very easiest and pleasantest way.

Miss North considered "Mr. A. C. L., the Foreign Secretary, quite the cleverest man she met in India." Her discrimination, when thrown among the set she had been used to, was seldom at fault.

In flight, again, from restful ease. At Lucknow, the graves and stones of the Mutiny, sickened the unsentimental votary of botanical science—but the Gardens were beautiful. At the Railway Station refreshment rooms, casual politeness on the part of the 'Khānsāmer' in attendance (on the look out for bucksheesh) induced her to think Mahomedan surroundings a delightful change from Hindu ones, Mahomedans being, in her estimation, much cleaner, more independent, more civilized, and not given to perpetual yelling for bucksheesh; which shows that Miss North's powers of discrimination are unreliable when brought to bear on a class of people outside her set, and furthermore illustrates the catholicity of the axiom, *Dolor latet in generalibus*; likewise that the good deeds a man does for virtue's sake (*i. e.* with an eye to the main chance) sometimes live, and are endued with power to affect the conduct in life of other men—and women—seemingly quite beyond their range. Accordingly, when Miss North depicts Benares,—material head-centre of Hindu religious feeling and its reflection in the arts,—the holy city's architecture and riverside lights and shadows, etc., etc., are dismissed in half a page of unappreciative lukewarmness, and the reader is hurried on to a dissolving view of a room in the interior of the "huge cosmopolitan hotel" in Old Court House street, Calcutta, and six large adjutant birds sitting stolidly "on the top of the tall house opposite," or helping themselves about with their beaks, as old gentlemen help themselves with walking sticks. Of course, a visit to the Botanical Gardens was the first business undertaken—the only business, indeed, for, being disappointed in them, Miss North flitted without loss of time to Darjeeling. After an unpleasant night at "Siligori," a palkee came for her "with the most magnificent set of men to carry it—real models of humanity," who carried her through a wonderful country up to Darjeeling, "the finest hill place in the whole world." The flowers there seemed endless; new ones were to be found every day, the *Thunbergia coccinea*, perhaps, the most beautiful of them: it is known to the profane as a sweet-scented *ipomœa*, of a pure pink or lilac colour. Rangoon, at first sight a mere clearing in a steep hillside, "which some insane Government thought fit to grow cinchona in." An opportune

ing up a view of Kinchinjunga, suddenly metamorphosed the bald clearing into "a fairy dell":—

While hard at work at that fairy dell, I felt it was raining, and before I could get over the fifty yards of steep descent to the bungalow with my things, I was soaked through and through, and came back through a running stream of water to find the house occupied by a large picnic party—a regular ball-supper, cooks, coolies, and other litter all over the passage floor, and half a dozen ladies all drying their things and themselves in my room, using my towel and soap, almost too much company to be pleasant. I escaped as soon as I could to my poor soaked painting. "You only sketch it on the spot and paint it indoors?" one beauty said, pointing to the poor thing which was so covered with raindrops, that it looked as if it had the smallpox. "Yes," I said, "that's what I do. Then I take it out to be rained on, which makes the colours run faster, and that's the way I paint, as you say, so quickly." Those unthinking, croqueting, badminton young ladies always aggravated me, and I could hardly be civil to them.

From the hill above Jumboo, Miss North saw a most curious reflection of herself and the sun's disc in the mist opposite the setting orb. She thought it would make a good suggestion for a Madonna. Our artist plant-hunter does but scant justice to the delicate beauty of the ever changeful, silvern, golden, roseate, fairy-fashioned cloud aureoles that now hover about the valleys, and now sail dreamily upwards and anon melt in sunshine. They are a very distinctive feature in Darjeeling scenery.

A rush through Calcutta, and the inevitable Botanical Gardens. Then Benares again, and this time Miss North found it "such a mass of picturesqueness," that an attempt to paint it almost drove her to despair. But the streets of the holy city did not impress her favourably, and she deemed the neighbourhood of Seven Dials brilliant when compared with Benares, as she saw it one night making a pretence at illumination in honour of something or other. Delhi, a grand place, quite equal to its reputation; the Gate of Ala-ud-din, gem of all its architectural splendours. Alwar, full of strange sights: she met there an old ayah who had been to England, and had been much struck with the magnificence of the Albert Memorial—because it was so like one of her own Hindu temples: a far-fetched compliment to the beauties of the tinselly London monument. Ayahs, by the way, were Miss North's pet aversions; mainly, it would seem, because "their picturesque flowing drapery required one hand to hold up, only leaving one anything with."* At Chitor, the Rajpoot nobles were

*At Ratlam, the old ayah whom Miss Bartle Frere has made famous as the story-teller in her *Tales of Old Deccan Days*, sat on the doorstep. People there said, the old lady was quite guiltless of any of the stories imputed to her; that the only thing she was famed for was idleness, and a habit of

discovered to have a real look of *race* about them. One day the Rana, with all his hunting entourage at his heels, passed close by the spot where Miss North was sketching. She was not shy, or averse to beholdment of barbaric pearl and gold, but on this occasion she hid herself, ostrich like, behind some boulders, because "such grandees have a habit of demanding anything they have a fancy for, and have no idea of being refused, while I had no idea of giving away the sketch I had come so far to make, to a half-civilized human being I had never seen before." At Udaipur she saw a Mohurrum procession—the colouring of the whole marvellous, every shade of red mixed with black, and sprinklings of turquoise, darkblue, green, and yellow. She noticed that the Durbar Hall was surrounded with inlaid peacocks in gray and blue, and wondered whether it was from Udaipur that Whistler "got his idea." At Songarh, an agricultural show claimed her attention :

It was an odd sight, that tent full of strange figures of all races and ranks, listening to an Englishman lecturing on "Soils," not one word of which they understood. Then an interpreter read the translation, and I wondered if they understood it any better. After this, we departed, gold umbrellas and all.

It is admitted, however, that the horses on view were "superb." A good horsewoman herself, Miss North was able to appreciate the excellence of the Kathiawar breed.

Back to England, to superintend an exhibition of her Indian studies in Conduit Street. Then off to Florence to see the vintage. Then—hey for Borneo, Queensland, and New South Wales; collection of more botanical subjects for Kew, affording good excuse for continuity of motion. At Singapore, a crowd of "big natives, Chinamen, and other grandees," collected under umbrellas to welcome home again her fellow passenger, Rajah Brooke. He accepted all the fuss with philosophical good humour, but felt hurt in his tenderest part when his chimney pot hat was found in a crushed and collapsed condition, and became, the Rani said, "quite awful and dangerous." Apropos of the growing prosperity of his dominions, Miss North is of opinion, that the whole machinery of government there depends on the prestige left behind him by the Rajah's father, Sir James Brooke. There was a state dinner one night, and actually six white women at it. Sir James Brooke could never muster more than one.

It may well be that in time, at Sarawak, ladies will approve themselves as effectual civilizers as prestige—or even

getting drunk on Sundays, when she said : "I Christian wom^{op} to church." But Sir Richard Temple promised the Freres to keep her, and he did. I liked the old lady, as she never worried me by putting things tidy, but sat picturesquely on the door-step and told me of the wonderful things she had seen.

engines, cog wheels, and patent lifts. Here is something that seems more germane to the locality :—

One day a boat-load of Dyaks of high degree came down to see the Rajah, and, I suppose, were told they ought to clothe themselves before going to the Great House, for they came up in wonderful garments. One had a bright scarlet scarf with long fringed edges trailing on the ground like a train, and his arms folded with prodigious dignity in it, leaving all the rest of his body *au naturel*; another had a short Chinese jacket, and no continuations. Many of them had fighting-cocks under their arms, too precious to be left behind or trusted to women. They always walked up in single file, and squatted round the verandah till they saw the Rajah, and even after they had seen him, for hours and hours, seeming to derive much satisfaction in so doing. One of them startled us with a most infernal yell one day, and the Rajah said it was merely to show that he was happy, and was the same noise he would make on his return from a successful head-hunt.

From Borneo to Queensland, Australia. Tenterfield, what Australians call "a very pretty place,"—meaning thereby that there's not a tree within a mile of it, and that there *is* a little water procurable within easy distance. Cobbe and Co. (*à la mode* Bianconi and Co. aforesaid in Ireland) coach all Australia, with extraordinary vehicles of every shape and size, but really splendid horses. Note is taken of an "odd custom" prevalent not only at inns, but in private houses too—the custom of supplying guests with brushes, combs and sponges. "Miss B. told me her sister's girls, when they went anywhere to stay a few nights, never thought of taking luggage, but depended for every thing on their friends, and were thought rather particular if they even took their own tooth brushes." What all colonials she met stigmatised as "monotonous gum trees," were for our artist-botanist full of variety in form and colour. Some of the names of townships she passed are odd, some oddly derived. Years ago, some casual passer by remarked of an incipient, unnamed station—"Ain't this a queer place?" "Believe yer," said his chum. So it was called Bolivia. At an inn, a gentleman holding an appointment as Inspector of Mounted Police, was met at dinner. He was reputed a good fellow, but no one dared take much notice of him, "or the rascals would say you bribed him." Miss North was not impressed with the beauties of a democracy, as illustrated in New South Wales. "Every one seemed afraid of his neighbour in that free, young country," she writes. Sheep washing, as there practised, she considered a cruel process. The poor beasts were first boiled in mud at 170°, then soused over and over in a cold shower by men standing in tubs, who swung them by horns and tail underneath—and then they were pulled up to dry, half dead with fright and exhaustion. Here is an enigmatic deliverance about Melbourne—"Fine atmospheric effects are produced, as in London, by the abundance of smoke which hovers

over the busy town." The italics are ours. Miss North's notice of Victoria concludes with these words:—"It is curious how we have introduced all our weeds, vices, and prejudices into Australia, and turned the natives (even the fish) out of it." Why curious? It is the Anglo Saxon method of colonisation all the world over, and always has been. As to the fish-grievance, a stock of good imported fish seems to us in many ways preferable to the preservation of old and decayed indigines. We are told that sandal wood (*Fusanus spicatus*) is exported from Western Australia to India. Christmas-day at Pinyarrah, where was put up a notice in Church, that the offertory would be devoted to augmentation of the Bishop's salary, that of which he was in receipt being, it was stated, quite inadequate to his wants; whereanent a Mr. C. observed, that he thought both he and the Station Doctor had also salaries inadequate to *their* wants, and might, quite as reasonably, make a claim on other people's money. Begging as a fine art afflicts us in India more in the way of Fancy Fairs and Bazaars. When leaving Pinyarrah, our traveller made acquaintance with an Irish car driver, who "was only good as long as he did not think: when he tried to do that, he lost his head entirely."

The only fault found with Hobart Town, New Zealand, is that it is too English looking; it might have been a bit of Somersetshire. At Christchurch, Sundays were marked for remembrance by all the meals at the hotel being crammed together, contrarily to the week day routine, on pretence of facilitating attendance at Church. This is an uncomfortable, objectionable relic of self-styled evangelicism that still endures in a few old-fashioned Indian boarding-houses; as if impaired digestion, and premonitions of dyspepsia, could be an offering worthy and acceptable in God's sight! At Christchurch, the Governor confided to Miss North his opinion of the political *status quo* in New Zealand. He held that something must be wrong with a country standing in need of so much laudation. "Everyone was asserting its supreme beauty and superiority wherever I went. Every blade of grass was to be specially admired, and was different from anything anywhere else."

Miss North left Auckland for the Sandwich Isles in the *Zealander*, and, an attack of rheumatism reacting, perhaps, on her tired nerves, found herself at the cuddy table set down amongst a lot of third-class colonists "who scolded for the very indifferent food like pigs." Honolulu was reached on the 13th April (definite dates are of rare occurrence in the *Recollections*, and when found should be made a note of). Soon we met, on horseback and cantering along in "sensible"

Bloomer costumes, native ladies with wreaths of roses round their heads, and looking "entirely comfortable" (why shouldn't they in that free and easy costume). The streets were full of Chinamen, who kept most of the busy shops; the air delicious; small-pox raging. The quickly succeeding kaleidoscope gives us a glimpse at San Francisco. Nothing about the beauty of the place, which so many other travellers have held up to admiration; but mention is made of cloudless days and cold nights, the city "in a terrible whirl and noise, and the Palace Hotel (at 30 shillings a day) quite perplexing in its vastness, easier to get into than out of. Coloured persons will not condescend to carry luggage, and white men, willing to act as porters, are few and far between and too well off to care much for work. A fly to the railway station, half a mile off, cost 8 shillings. In short, California is a free country; and Miss North solemnly blessed it, and rejoiced that she was no longer in "dismal," starched, puritanism-overridden New Zealand.

Across the American continent in a dozen pages. Across the Atlantic to London, and there whole-heartedly devoted to concern about the building at Kew, designed by Mr. Ferguson for the reception of her botanical sketches. In all the arrangements connected with this Northian annexe at Kew, she took a most lively interest, and great pains to ensure their being carried out properly. Mr. Ferguson undertook the decoration of the walls. Woods of sorts were requisitioned from all parts of the world, wherewith to make a suitable dado. Only half of those that came to hand had their names written on them; half were lost in transit, thus proving that it is possible to make one's arrangements *too* complete. A scheme of an enlarged map of the world, coloured and shaded according to the geographical distribution of plants, and intended for use as a ceiling cloth, had to be abandoned after an expenditure of £120 had been incurred on it. Miss North, herself, compiled a catalogue of her treasures. One way and another, the Northian building at Kew cost its author no inconsiderable amount of trouble and fatigue. But it was the fulfilment of a life dream, and the worries it entailed had their compensations. It brought her, too, into touch with many interesting people, and sometimes strangers said things about it which gave her great pleasure. For instance, there was an unknown gentleman who, after getting "gradually interested" in the paintings, one day when she happened to be present, turned to her asking—"It isn't true what they say about all these things painted by one woman, is it?" On learning that the lady he addressed had done them all, he caught her enthusiastically by both hands, exclaiming "You! Then it's lucky

you did not live 300 years ago, or you would have been burnt for a witch." Miss Gordon Cumming patronised the exhibition. So did Mrs. Bishop, *née* Isabella Bird.

I saw her first at a party, given by some relations of hers, who sent out cards—"to meet Mrs. Bishop, *née* Bird." I found her seated in the back drawing-room in a big arm chair, with gold-embroidered slippers, and a footstool to show them on, a petticoat all over gold and silver Japanese embroidered wheels, and a ribbon and order across her shoulders, given her by the King of the Sandwich Islands. She was being interviewed in regular Yankee fashion; and I was taken up to her the moment I came in. Miss Gordon Cumming put her great hand on my shoulder at the same time, on which Lady A. joined our three pairs of hands and blessed us—"three globe-trotteresses all at once!" It was too much for the two big ones; and we retreated as fast as we could, leaving Miss Bird unruffled and equal to the occasion. One story is told of her (of which I feel sure she is quite guiltless). She was asked if she would not like to go to New Guinea. She said, "Oh yes; but she was married now, and it was not the sort of place one could take a man to!"

A good anecdote is related of old Mr. Brassey, who one day bought the park with the Roman camp in it, on Ham Common. Twelve months afterwards some chance occurrence brought his investment to mind, and he said—"God bless my soul! I forgot all about it"—went to see it; did not like it; sold it again immediately. This beats the "More curricles" story of sixty or seventy years ago, told at the expense of Anglo-Indian Nabobs; it signifies, moreover, that the centre of millionaire gravity has shifted from Nabobs to contractors. Not on them did Miss North waste admiration. Such faculty for hero-worship as she had, was entirely devoted to Charles Darwin. She gives a pleasing picture of the genial old sage of 74, who seemed no older than his sons, and was full of fun and freshness.

All the Continents except Africa having been ransacked for the greater honour and glory of Miss North's gallery at Kew, it naturally enough occurred to her that she ought to set to word-painting these, without loss of time. Wherefore, in August 1882, she embarked in the *Grantully Castle* for the Cape, and arrived at her destination eighteen days afterwards. The extraordinary variety of the different species of flowers there struck her almost as much as it had done at Albany, in Western Australia, and she discovered a certain family likeness.* The proteas were the great wonder:—

I had not formed an idea of their size and abundance: deep cups, formed of waxy pointed bracts, some white, some red or pink, or tipped with colour, and fringed some with brown or black bracts.

* Some scientists, not without honour even in their own country, have held that Australia, in some primeval world convulsion, was split off from the African, not the Asian, continent.

others with black or white ostrich feathers. These gorgeous flower-bracts were bigger than the largest tulips, and filled with thickly packed flowers. One large variety seemed to carry its stamens outside. While painting it, I saw them begin to dance, and out came a big green beetle. I cut the flower open, and found an ants' nest. The energetic little creatures had pushed the stamens out to make room for their colony. I found all the other flowers of that kind possessed by ants, and in every nest a beetle. The young shoots generally sprang from below the flower-stalk of the protea, so that when the cone which succeeded it became ripe, it was protected and half hidden by three leafy branchlets.

Many of the species have their male flowers and cones on separate trees; like the silver tree, which only grows on the spurs of Table Mountain, where there are many groves of it, shining like real silver in the setting sunlight. It grows about twenty feet high, shaped like a fir-tree, with its flowers like balls of gold filigree at the ends of the branches. Every bit of it is lovely, but the most fascinating part is the cone when it opens, and the seeds come out with their four feathered wings, to which the seed hangs by a fine thread half an inch long.

While she was at the Cape, Sir Hercules Robinson offered to send Miss North in a war-ship to look for the Welwitschia, 1,000 miles away. She thought acceptance of this offer would be taxing Government good nature too much, and declined—and soon was sorry for declining. Thence she undertook a trip into the interior instead. The country, she delighted in, and as usual waxed enthusiastic over it. For Boers and Missionaries she had the reverse of liking; so much so, that the words Boer and boor became synonyms in her thoughts. According to her, a disgusting leaven of cant and cruelty, scripture and greed, pervaded every Dutch farmstead she made acquaintance with. Missionaries, she deemed more sanctimonious than saintly. And then, had they not all, in coward sort, turned tail on that delightful conversationalist and amateur landscape gardener, Bishop Colenso, who had planted every tree on the hill on which his many gabled house was built? And he, that *rara avis*, a gentleman. It seemed "quite a dream of old days to meet such a thorough gentleman again." For a' that—on second thought—he left on her the impression of being both weak and vain, and very susceptible to flattery. By which suasion, we are left to infer, his two elder daughters managed him. Both were crazy on Zuluism. "The dear natives were incapable of harm, the whites incapable of good. They would, I believe, have heard cheerfully, that all the whites had been 'eaten up,' and Cetewayo proclaimed King of Natal. His portrait was all over the house, and they mentioned him in a hushed voice, as a kind of holy martyr." Miss North returned to England from South Africa by way of Amsterdam and its exhibition.

The next wandering was to the Seychelles Islands, where the Madagascar 'ordeal plant' was loaded with waxy flowers,

CRITICAL NOTICES.

pink and white criniums grew like weeds along the coast, poncianias dropped their scarlet stars in heaps on the ground, and centipedes were the only evil things.

At Christmas and New Year the whole population got mad drunk. All the black and brown people began by going from house to house, wishing *banana* or *bonne année*, and in return got a glass of rum, or money to buy it. At night we heard singing and raving all round; it was like the Island of Lunatics, and we barred all the windows well before going to bed: to sleep was impossible. Mrs. S. asked the Judge and the O's to dinner on New Year's night. The Judge (or some one for him) sent word that he was too drunk to come, and poor Mrs. O. said she feared it would be impossible to get her husband sober enough to walk there. The Judge, afterwards, had to put off the sessions for three days, because he was too drunk to hold them! There was only one man in Mahe who did not drink: the American consul—a queer, wooden old bachelor, who was allowed £300 a year by the United States for doing nothing there, and who filled up his time by retailing gossip in a true Yankee drawl, with a thin seasoning of native humour and never a smile.

At the Seychelles this indomitable woman's nerves gave way, and she fell a victim to melancholia, induced, the doctors said, by insufficient food and overwork. To the Seychelles chapter, this sad note is appended by her sister, Mrs. Symonds:—

Her health was breaking down, her nerves partly destroyed, but the old spirit was still there; and till she had finished the last bit of the task she had set herself, and painted on the spot the strange forest-growth of Western South America, she would not allow herself to rest. Just before she started on this last long journey, a great pleasure came to her in the following letter:

OSBORNE,
28th August 1884.

MADAM—The Queen has been informed of your generous conduct in presenting to the nation, at Kew, your valuable collection of Botanical paintings, in a gallery erected by yourself for the purpose of containing them.

The Queen regrets to learn from her Ministers that Her Majesty's Government have no power of recommending to the Queen any mode of publicly recognising your liberality. Her Majesty is desirous of marking, in a personal manner, her sense of your generosity, and in commanding me to convey the Queen's thanks to you. I am to ask your acceptance of the accompanying photograph of Her Majesty, to which the Queen has appended her signature.—I have the honour to be, Madam, your obedient Servant,

HENRY F. PONSONBY.

MISS MARIANNE NORTH.

Not even a Cashmere shawl to spare.

After a scamper through Chili, Miss North's wanderings ended where they had first begun—in Jamaica. One thing had altered for the worse since her former visit to the Island:

The grass ticks had crossed the mountains—they were never known on that side thirteen years before. It was generally supposed that the mongoose, which had been introduced from India by Sir J. P. Grant, to eat the rats in the sugar-cane, had preferred chickens, and

found there were more on the Government side, so came over and brought the little vicious ticks with it. These put a stop to all walking in the forest or grass, while the mongeese (*sic*) were so bold, that they used to run into the houses and carry away any food that was on the table. But I thought the island was even more lovely than before. The *Phajus Tankervillei* and the white *hedychium*, though both really natives of Asia, were growing wild in great luxuriance, and some wonderful wild bromeliads were flowering on the trees near.

In 1816, the wanderer returned to England, and settled down, and crossed the seas no more. She rented at Adderley, in Gloucestershire, a charming, old fashioned gray stone house, with fields, orchards, and a garden attached to it, and that sleepy hollow in the West country was soon astonished by her energy :

Out of the dead level of the lawn-tennis ground, she planned a terraced garden, sloping steeply to a pond and rockery, which were to be stocked with rare plants from all corners of the globe. A little walled yard full of currant bushes, she turned into a lovely rose-garden, sheltered by the old gray stable with its lichen-covered stone roof. The whole place had the rare charm for an artist of having been let alone for many years. Both trees and buildings were old, and all the trees had grown luxuriantly in that kindly West-country air. A few fine old Scotch firs gave picturesqueness and shelter to her immediate surroundings; beyond were orchards and a clear stream, which, after turning many mills, gradually led down to the wider landscape of great Severn valley.

At Adderley she died on the 30th August 1890. For the advancement of those worthy aims to which her life was devoted, she had done much, and done it in despite of such stress of ill health as would have debarred many a brave, less patient man (less patient because a man) from successful achievement. As Don Quixote said in his speech at the inn—
“Verily, gentlemen, great and unheard of things do they, who profess the order of Knight Errantry.” That old order is not dead. Latter day renderings of it, swear fealty to science instead of devoir to all ladies. We adventure belief that none of those who read Marianne North’s two volumes of *Recollections*, will begrudge her the style and blazon of a valiant and true knight.

Queen Elizabeth. By EDWARD SPENCER BEESLY. London : Macmillan and Co. and New York 1892.

ONLY hypercritics will find cause for cavil at the inclusion of a woman in Macmillan’s *Statesman* series. Of Queen Elizabeth, Professor Beesly, in this compendious review of a fateful and famous chapter in English history, furnishes a character study that gains in incisiveness owing to the limits of space imposed on him, and is catholic in breadth of view and eloquent of verisimilitude. Reading his searching analysis of Elizabeth’s character, and remembering that she was the grand

daughter of the cool, calculating, thrifty Henry the Seventh, one gains assurance of the fidelity of the portrait drawn; feels, too, that author and tradition are right in according to her commanding personality credit for the prudent conduct of affairs, the toleration, the fostering of material progress, that were the leading characteristics of her long reign.

There have been disparaging critics enough to urge that the adoption of such initiations of liberal policy as were possible to the England of three hundred years ago, was due to the influence of Cecil, Burleigh, Walsingham, and other long-headed Councillors of State; that they, and not the Queen, created those "spacious times of Great Elizabeth" of which the memory is still green, the heritage not yet dissipated. To that school Mr. Beesly does not belong: he knows that the central figure of his picture might have said, with more truth than Louis the 14th of France did in an after time, *L'Etat, c'est moi*. A woman strong-minded, self contained, equal to every fate and all occasions; vulnerable only inasmuch as she was a woman—and Ann Boleyn's daughter, ergo, fond of admiration, not averse to adulation was Elizabeth. So much of femininity she had. For the rest, she ought to have been a man, and was, by some oversight, or some freak of Nature's, born into the world a woman. Like her father, she took pleasure in the sight of a man and his goodly proportions; but, *chronique scandaleuse* about Leicester, Essex and others notwithstanding, posterity has no valid ground for presumption that she ever subordinated weighty concerns of State to a fondness prompted by love of flirtation, or that Mary Stuart fell a victim to jealousy of her superior charms. "With Elizabeth the heart never spoke, and if the senses did, she had them under perfect control." Besides her habit of imperiousness, Sir Walter Scott only got grasp of a very subordinate and ephemeral side of her character. The mischief is that, in these days of too many books to read, and depreciation of the faculty of thinking for oneself, too many people derive their concept of Queen Elizabeth's character, and its mark on the England of the 16th century, from "Kenilworth," and subsequently published circulating library novels that blindly follow Sir Walter's lead.

Professor Beesly's estimate of the Queen's character, policy, statecraft, is, it goes without saying, based on surer foundations: on Privy Council archives, State papers of sorts, and letters passing between friends, that were the newspapers of the day. The only fault we can find with his treatment of his subject, is an inclination towards optimist points of regard, that occasionally strikes one as overdone. Even so, that is a fault on the right side in these pessimism-adoring times. The leading impression left by the work on the mind is, that Elizabeth's poli-

cy was—of fixed design, and steadfast purpose—one of masterly inactivity ; shillyshallying, or temporising, some people might stigmatise it. In a great crisis, such for instance as that of the threatened invasion by the Spanish Armada, she could, and did, act promptly and decisively enough. In her conduct of her Home Office, her Foreign Office business,—as to the latter particularly, in her attitude towards Protestant revolts in the Netherlands and France,—she always preferred compromises and waitings on opportunity, secret subsidisings and non-committal encouragements, to taking bulls by the horns. She had sense enough to know that, in such unequal encounters, all the chances of the fight are in the bull's favour. Her conception of the statesmanship suited to the times was sound, narrow though it was. The times were narrow (" spacious " is a poetical license ; no more), and she adjusted her policy to suit their orbit. In her toleration, in the early part of her reign, of dissents from the State Church as by her Ordinance established, she was—whenever high political considerations did not contravene,—as in other matters which she deemed of more importance, likeminded with the culture of her day and generation. It was culture sceptical as to God and his providences ; looking askance at the legend of an omnipotent Supreme Will, and Almighty governance of the world ; seeing rather in the Deity the attributes of a transcendently artful man, for ever scheming and plotting to work out his ends—a more or less transfigured statesman of the 16th century, in short. It was, from another point of regard, a culture not yet emancipated from belief in the divine potentialities attaching to the State, and acts of Kings and Queens by right divine. It is curious, James Stephen observes in his *Horæ Sabbaticæ*, " that neither in Louis the Eleventh himself, nor in his great antagonist, Charles the Bold, nor in their philosophical and moralizing critic, de Comines, is there any glimmer of an idea that politics can have any other object than personal aggrandisement, or that promotion of the public happiness and improvement of public institutions can form part of a ruler's aspirations." Henry the Eighth's revolt from Papal supremacy, that gave him the plunder of many rich abbeys and their endowments, shows that, in a much later time than that of which de Comines wrote, kings, presuming on their divine right to become a moral law to themselves, thought more of personal aggrandisement than of popular feeling, or national weal. The popular dissatisfaction at Lady Jane Grey's usurpation of the crown, on Edward the Sixth's death, and the acclaim of satisfaction with which the rightful heir to that crown was welcomed,—bigoted Roman Catholic as Mary was known to be,—show equally that the *principles* underlying the Reformation

had not, at that time, got to the heart of the English people. Legitimacy was, as a matter of course, recognised as possessing a superior claim. At the same time, the Reformation's widely ramified fruitings had unsettled men's minds, and given sundry shrewd fillips to citizen's ideas on the subjects of freedom of thought and liberty of action. The Reformation and its consequences, by the time Elizabeth came to her throne, had quickened dead bones of thought to life; stirred up vague longings for men knew not quite what; awakened dormant energies here and there to wishfulness for relief from the burden of not yet quite obsolete feudal trammels and traditions. When the conflicting ferments of the time are taken into consideration, one sees that it was no easy position to which the princess Elizabeth found herself called, when Feria, the Spanish Ambassador, paid her a ceremonial visit at Hatfield (where she was living at the time a prisoner in all but the name), announced that Mary was dying, and informed her that his august master had exerted his influence on her behalf with the Queen and the Council, and had secured her succession to the throne. The woman of five-and-twenty, who had had abundant leisure during her frequent imprisonments to study problems of life and principles of government (as well as to flirt in her teens with the Lord Admiral Seymour), was not in such wise to be cozened into gratitude for favours to come, and plumply declined to be patronized. The nobility and the people of England, she told King Philip's emissary, were already on her side: her right to the succession stood in no need of foreign support.

During her sister's lifetime Elizabeth conformed to the dominant catholic creed and ritual.

Two years after her accession, Elizabeth told the Spanish ambassador, De Quadra, that her belief was the belief of all the Catholics in the realm; and on his asking her how then she could have altered religion in 1559, she said she had been compelled to act as she did, and that, if he knew how she had been driven to it, she was sure he would excuse her. Seven years later she made the same statement to De Silva. Elizabeth was habitually so regardless of truth, that her assertions can be allowed little weight when they are improbable. No doubt, as a matter of taste and feeling, she preferred the Catholic worship. She was not pious. She was not troubled with a tender conscience or tormented by a sense of sin. She did not care to cultivate close personal relations with her God. A religion of form and ceremony suited her better. But her training had been such as to free her from all superstitious fear or prejudice, and her religious convictions were determined by her sense of what was most reasonable and convenient. There is not the least evidence that she was a reluctant agent in the adoption of Protestantism in 1559. Who was there to coerce her? The Protestants could not have set up a Protestant competitor. The great nobles, though opposed to persecution and desirous of minimising the Pope's authority, would have preferred to leave worship as it was. But upon one thing Elizabeth

was determined. She would resume the full ecclesiastical supremacy which her father had annexed to the Crown. She judged, and she probably judged rightly, that the only way to assure this, was to make the breach with the old religion complete.

From the point of view of her relations with foreign powers, Elizabeth's reversion to Protestantism, after her accession to the throne, does not, at first sight, appear a prudent step. But Elizabeth and her advisers were able to look ahead and beyond the immediate present, and to see that any disadvantages it might entail over seas, would be more than counterbalanced by gains at home. For the Catholic party in England, although numerically and influentially the strongest, was yet a declining party, impregnated with the seeds of decay. The future was with the Protestants. All the young and aspiring spirits of her time were against the straitness of the old order ecclesiastical, and with the new-found liberties of the new. Wherefore, although the young Queen personally preferred Rome to Geneva, and although she absolutely disliked obscurantist Calvinism and sectarian bigotries, she did not hesitate about espousing the Protestant side. One reason for this was her determination to be Queen of England in her own right, and independently of Papal dictation, or priestly interference. Cecil supported his mistress in this resolve, he having Protestant predilections—such as they were. A good deal over and above that soulless, lukewarm preference, he was disposed to belief that, as to the State's connection with religion, "whatever is best administered is best," whether labelled Catholic or Protestant, Calvinism or Deism. He acquiesced in the Protestant Queen's politic whim of having herself crowned, according to the ancient usage and ritual, by a Roman Catholic Bishop. The Catholic interest was powerful. If it could be conciliated by compliment to its ceremonial and rubrics—why, so much the better. No one could be offended at a mere ceremonial. It sufficed for Cecil to know that he was appointed one of Her Majesty's Secretaries of State, that two earnest Catholics were, as soon as was consistent with seemliness, removed from the Council, that he was authorised to "recommend" to the constituencies Protestant candidates for election to the Queen's first Parliament. The Government of the fresh national church was settled by the Act of Supremacy of April 1559, in which Her Majesty was styled Supreme Governor of the Church instead of Supreme Head, and the penalties imposed by Henry the Eighth for refusal to recognise this supremacy, were relaxed. The form of worship to be practised was based on the rubric of the second, the more Protestant, prayer-book of Edward the Sixth—with differences.

A deprecation in the Litany of "the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities," and a rubric which declared that,

by kneeling at the Communion, no adoration was intended to any real and essential presence of Christ, were expunged. The words of administration in the present Communion Service consist of two sentences. The first sentence, implying real presence, belonged to Edward's first Prayer-book; the second, implying mere commemoration, belonged to his second Prayer-book. The Prayer-book of 1559 simply pieced the two together, with a view to satisfy both Catholics and Protestants. Lastly, the vestments prescribed in Edward's first Prayer-book were retained till further notice. These alterations of Edward's second Prayer-book, all of them designed to propitiate the Catholics, were dictated by Elizabeth herself. In all this legislation, Convocation was entirely ignored. Both its Houses showed themselves strongly Catholic. But their opinion was not asked, and no notice was taken of their remonstrances.

The Church of England was intended to be thenceforth a distinctively national Church. There was, "for a long time," difficulty about finding clergymen to officiate in the parish churches according to the regulations of the new dispensation. But Mr. Beesly does not doubt that a large majority of the clergy stuck to their livings, remaining Catholics at heart, and avoiding, where they could, and as long as they could, compliance with the new rules. "It must not be supposed that the enactment of religious changes by Parliament was equivalent, as it would be at the present day, to their immediate enforcement throughout the country; especially in the North, where the great proprietors and justices did not carry out the law." Not a few contumacious, and Campion and some other Jesuits, falsely accused of "compassing and imagining the Queen's death," were punished with imprisonment. There is no denying that this was persecution, but good Queen Bess's apologist pleads that, "according to the ideas of that time, it was a very mild kind of persecution." Campion, after having been tortured, was offered a pardon if he would once attend service in a Reformed Church. On his refusal, he was racked again till his limbs were dislocated. When he had partially recovered he was put on his trial.

Being unable to hold up his hand to plead Not Guilty, "two of his companions raised it for him, first kissing the broken joints." According to Mendoza (whom on other occasions we are invited to accept as a witness of truth), his nails had been torn from his fingers. Apart from his religious belief, nothing treasonable was proved against him in deed or word. He acknowledged Elizabeth for his rightful sovereign, as the new interpretation of the Papal Bull permitted him to do, but he declined to give any opinion about the Pope's right to depose princes. This was enough for the judge and jury, and he was found guilty. At the place of execution he was again offered his pardon if he would deny the Papal right of deposition, or even hear a Protestant sermon. He wished the Queen a long and quiet reign and all prosperity, but more he would not say. At the quartering, "a drop of blood spirted on the clothes of a youth named Henry Walpole, to whom it came as a divine command. Walpole, converted on the spot, became a Jesuit, and soon after met the same fate on the same spot."

Campion was tried and punished under the ordinary statute of Edward III—"such a horror had the Burghleys and Walsinghams of anything like religious persecution!" and so hypocritical were the spacious times of great Elizabeth!

In her relations with foreign powers, Elizabeth dexterously played off Spanish interests against French, and *vice versa*, and was always ready to pose as a champion of oppressed Protestant nationalities or factions, provided they did not make heavy demands on her purse. Her Scotch policy is adjudged not to have been always as prompt and as firm in execution as could have been desired; much of it as irresolute and even vacillating. Indeed, "this defect appears throughout Elizabeth's career, though it will always be ignored—as it ought to be ignored—by those who reserve their attention for what is worth observing in the course of human affairs." For all that, Professor Beesly is of opinion, that, in her intellectual grasp of European politics as a whole, and of the interests of her own kingdom in particular, Elizabeth was probably superior to any of her Councillors. No one could, better than she, think out the general idea of a political campaign. Being a woman, her sex obliged her to leave this wide field of execution to others, and "the abler she was, the more disposed to make her will felt, the less steadiness and consistency in action were to be expected from her." So it is written: we must confess our inability to follow this paradoxical line of thought. With womanly insight into a woman's motives, that long while virtual ruler of France, Catherine de Medici, understood, perhaps, and to some extent profited by, the unsteadiness. An account of Elizabeth's unwilling Protectorate of the Netherlands is given in Chapter VIII. Of the honour and glory she won thereby, we are told, "the most industrious disparagement will never rob her of it. But the sober student will be of opinion that her reputation as a statesman has a more solid basis in the skill and firmness with which, during so many years, she staved off the necessity for decisive action."

Our historian considers that her selection of Leicester to command the forces in the campaign in the Low Countries, when it had to be entered on, has been improperly censured, since Leicester was marked out by public opinion as the fittest person for the work, and her choice was heartily approved by all the Ministers, especially Walsingham.

The story told of the trial and doing to death of Mary Queen of Scots shows that it was a justifiable act of State policy, as policy was understood, *temp.* 1586, as well as a just retribution for incitations to murder and rebellion. Elizabeth is, in this monograph, acquitted of a desire to compass Mary's death. Henry the Eighth's daughter, it is maintained, if not

of a generous disposition, had no animosity against her enemies, lacked gall, was never in a hurry to punish the disaffected, or even to weed them out of her service. She prided herself rather on employing them about her own person. For cogent reasons of State, and not otherwise, she consented to Mary's death—and then wept crocodile tears and tried to shift all the blame for it on to her Council. Her letter of condolence to James on the occasion is pronounced an insult to his understanding:—

The strange thing is, that Elizabeth not only expected her transparent falsehoods to be formally accepted as satisfactory, but hoped that they would be really believed. Her letter to James was an insult to his understanding. "I would you knew (though not felt) the extreme dolour that overwhelms my mind, for that miserable accident which (far contrary to my meaning) hath befallen. . . . I beseech you that, as God and many more know how innocent I am in this case, so you will believe me that if I had bid [bidden] ought, I would have bid [abided] by it. . . . Thus assuring yourself of me, that as I know this [the execution] was deserved, yet if I had meant it, I would never lay it on others' shoulders, no more will I not damnify myself that thought it not."

James did not care what fate befel his mother, so that he was duly subsidised. He never got coin enough from Elizabeth to satisfy his greed; but he got enough to keep him quiet. The kings of France, and France were very much more solicitous to obtain satisfaction for the murder of one of God's anointed; only they did not see how to go about it with any chance of success. Here is our author's view of the situation:—

It cannot be seriously maintained that, because Mary was not an English subject, she could not be lawfully tried and punished for crimes committed in England. Those, if any there now be, who adopt their own contention that, being an anointed Queen, she was not amenable to any earthly tribunal, but to God alone, are beyond the reach of earthly argument. The English Government had a right to detain her as a dangerous public enemy. She, on the other hand, had a right to resist such restraint if she could, and she might have carried conspiracy very far without incurring our blame. But for good reasons we draw a line at conspiracy to murder. No Government ever did, or will, let it pass unpunished. If Napoleon at St. Helena had engaged in conspiracies for seizing the island, no one could have blamed him, even though they might have involved bloodshed. But if he had been convicted of plotting the assassination of Sir Hudson Lowe, he would assuredly have been hanged.

The story of the war with Spain, and the rout of the great Armada is well told: it has been so often told that it does not demand fuller notice at our hands here. It is noteworthy that, in the thirty years preceding the Armada, the Queen had applied to Parliament for only eight subsidies, and of one of these, a portion was remitted—although it was not until the 24th year of her reign that she managed, in spite of

frugalities and economy,—to pay off the last of her father's debts: up to that time she had been paying interest on it. She took after her grandfather Henry the Seventh in the matter of thrift, and by practice of that virtue was enabled to make taxation light for her subjects. Bacon's famous outburst in 1593 about gentlemen having to sell their plate, and farmers their brass pots, to pay a Spanish war tax was "all claptrap." The nation was, relatively to former times, rolling in wealth. But the old belief had still considerable strength—that, Government being the affair of the king, not of his subjects, *he* should provide for its expenses out of his hereditary income, just as they paid *their* private expenses out of theirs. Elizabeth's private expenditure was on a very modest scale. Her great nobles built palaces and pleasure grounds for themselves, but that besetting sin and temptation of princes, if it ever existed for her, was never allowed play. Personally, her tastes were simple. Her only extravagance, and that only in her younger days, was dress, just enough of a weakness for frills and furbelows, to show that, in spite of her masculine mind, she was yet a woman. Her hoard of jewels she ungrudgingly converted into money to help to pay for the war with Spain. And "modern writers who so airily blame her for not subsidizing more liberally her Scotch, Dutch and French allies, would find it difficult, if they condescended to particulars, to explain how she was able to give them as much money as she did."

Of the renaissance of letters in England in Queen Elizabeth's time, Professor Beesly takes no note; probably exigencies of space denied him the opportunity. A pity: for some estimate of the influence of literature on the life and thought of the times is indispensably necessary in order to a right understanding of their evolution and bearing on the larger history of the world.

Rulers of India. Ranjīt Singh. By SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I. Oxford at the Clarendon Press: 1892.

FOR the last two or three years Ranjīt Singh has been a fashion with book-making artists, who have all begun their delineation of the life and doings of the Punjab lion by comparing his character and career with the similar conduct and fortunes in life of some European notability or other. The one chosen by Sir Lepel Griffin for the compliment, is Napoleon Bonaparte. The parallel is not more far fetched than its predecessors. As to its environment of circumstance and action, though we must confess our inability to see affinities between Sikh-Puritanism and political outcomes thereof, and the scepticism and struggles after liberty of the French encyclopædists

and their revolutionary corollaries, we can yet discern somewhat more of approach to affinity in such instance, than when similitude is claimed as subsisting between Ranjit Singh and Sikh theocracy and Oliver Cromwell and his Fifth Monarchy men.

In the excursus into history now before us, the author *The Rájás of the Punjab* poses as a Royalist of antique type. Whatever other moderns may say of the divine right of Kings, Sir Lepel is for his part sure that "stars in their courses fight on their behalf; that something of divinity hedges them about; that they are the objects of a respect and love which is worth more to them than armies in battle array." Ranjit Singh and Napoleon Bonaparte neglected to provide themselves with kingly ancestors: that is why the Thrones and Dominions they vainly imagined they had established, might not endure. Dynasties are for the ancient of days. Primeval-world-derived lines of rulers, such as those who sit on the guddee at Chamba, Mandi, and Suket, will, it is prophesied (page 13), be still securely reigning over their ancient principalities when the conquest of India by England will be taught as ancient history in the Board schools of a distant future. The heirs and assigns of self-made men have no chance in the providential scheme of royal successions. That accounts for the fact that the kingdom won for himself by Ranjit Singh, lost homogeneity and crumbled away when he died. The collapse of monarchy among the Sikhs after Ranjit Singh's death, Sir Lepel Griffin elsewhere, in a less transcendental mood, attributes to the fact that his authority was altogether personal, and drew no part of its strength from the inherent respect of the people for an ancient house.

Our thanks are due to Sir Lepel Griffin for not padding his opening chapters with a bird's eye view of the history of Hindustan from Vedic times onwards. He grapples at once with the subject he has in hand, although he does not always stick close to it. Definitions elucidatory of the story to be told have not, however, been lost sight of. To begin with, a Jât ancestry, Rajput having been merged in Jât, is imposed on all but a negligible minority of the Sikh people. They are divided roughly into two great classes, Mángha and Málwá. The first mentioned label includes all those who, at the time of the final dissolution of Mahomedan power, were resident to the North of the river Sutlej. The second denotes inhabitants of the country immediately to the South of the said river stretching towards Delhi and Bikanir. These Málwá Sikhs are defined as "original settlers, and not mere invaders or immigrants." In what respects a settler specially differs from an immigrant is not stated. The forefathers of the Málwá Sikhs

were possibly, as they claim to be, of Rajput extraction ; what is more certain is, that their speciality of caste, whatever it originally was, in time got inextricably mixed up by inter-marriage with the greater energy and business capacity of Jât settlers, or mere invaders, or whatever designation is fittest for them. It is only for the sake of gauging the value and co-gency of heredities that it is worth while to enquire into the derivation of the clans that were merged in the Sikh Khalsa ; for, integrally, the Sikh represents not a race but a creed. It concerns history most to know that, whether its origin was Rajput or Jât—fighting men to that cult born, or robbers of the Rob Roy type educated by their business up to efficiency as men at arms—Ranjît Singh found ready to his hand, when he wanted it, promising material for such warfare as he desired to enter on. It was about the beginning of the 18th century that the Málwá Chiefs abandoned Brahmanism for the reformed faith then being preached by Govind Guru. For the next hundred years of anarchy, the Sikhs, year by year, a few square miles at a time, won to themselves, at the expense of their nominal masters at Delhi, accretions of territory, and possessed their souls with strength to hold fast to them when once won, aided in that resolve by the satisfactions attendant on possession of power. Consolidation of that power had, in the early years of this century, become a needful roofing-in of conquests. As sometimes happens in real history as well as in fairy tales, the hour brought the man. Ranjît Singh gradually reduced to vassalage, or exterminated, all the Chiefs around and about the neighbourhood of the petty State that was his patrimony, and then deemed the time ripe, and made preparations, for the subjugation of all the country South of the Sutlej, and as far as the Jumna : a design he would in all probability have carried to a successful end, but for English intervention.

By it his ambition was nipped in the bud ; but, meanwhile he had, by dint of discipline and cunning, and imperviousness to such scruples of conscience or honour as might have stayed the hands of less deliberate sinners, carved out for himself, from the property of his neighbours, a compact and advantageously situated kingdom. A lucky instinct led him at this time, as always, and more decidedly in the after time, to shun conflict with the English. In that affair he appeased his appetite for fresh territory by the conquest of Multan and Cashmere, both then beyond the sphere of English influence.

on the part of the East India Company.
Sir Lepel Griffin cites approvingly the estimate of Ranjît Singh. It is worth

- In person he is short and stout, and distinguished himself by his great

being thought worthy of observation. Without exaggeration I must call him the most ugly and unprepossessing man I saw throughout the Punjab. His left eye, which is quite closed, disfigures him less than the other, which is always rolling about wide open, and is much distorted by disease. The scars of the small-pox on his face do not run into one another, but form so many dark pits in his greyish-brown skin; his short straight nose is swollen at the tip; the skinny lips are stretched tight over his teeth which are still good; his grizzled beard, very thin on the cheeks and upper lip, meets under the chin in matted confusion, and his head, which is sunk very much on his broad shoulders, is too large for his height, and does not seem to move easily. He has a thick muscular neck, thin arms and legs, the left foot and left arm drooping, and small well-formed hands. He will sometimes hold a stranger's hand fast within his own for half-an-hour, and the nervous irritation of his mind is shown by the continual pressure on one's fingers. His costume always contributes to increase his ugliness, being in winter the colour of gamboge from the Pagri (the turban or Sikh cloth) down to his very socks and slippers. When he seats himself in a common English chair with his feet drawn under him, the position is one particularly unfavourable to him, but as soon as he mounts his horse and his black shield at his back puts him on his mettle, his whole form seems animated by the spirit within, and assumes a certain grace of which nobody could believe it susceptible. In spite of the paralysis affecting one side, he manages his horse with the utmost ease.

Sir Lepel considers that his hero was endowed with some of the most conspicuous and undoubted signs and characteristics of greatness, and that, "judged from a common-place ethical standpoint," he had no moral character at all. He was selfish, false, and avaricious; grossly superstitious, shamelessly, openly drunken and debauched. In the respectable virtues he had no part, but in their default he was still great. A born ruler of men, with a natural genius for command, in due proportion with great political sagacity. Just the sort of paradoxical character, in short, which it delights Sir Lepel to trot out and show the paces of, moralizing *more suo* the while. In this book of his there is as much of moral essay writing as of history. Take this passage from Chapter V by way of instance:—

Although it would be to violate the truth of history to conceal or disguise the many faults and vices of Ranjít Singh, yet it would be trivial to judge him or them without full consideration of the manners of the society in which he lived. Every age and people have their own standard of virtue; and what is to-day held to be atrocious or disreputable may a hundred years hence, be the fashion. The vices of civilization are not purer than those of barbarism; they are only more disguised, when it is considered worth while to practise them. It is declared to be the tribute which vice pays to virtue. The Georges, our ancestors drank as much as the Sirdárs of the Lahore Court. Ranjít Singh, which very fairly expressed the feeling of England in the eighteenth century. Men drink less or more secretly, in the sexes, the morality of the times has had the excuse that the

position of women was a degraded one ; and, as education and sentiment had never placed her, as in Western Europe, upon an elevated pedestal, there was no reason to expect from her, or from men, any lofty ideas of purity. But if we accept contemporary literature as sufficient evidence, the society of Paris to day is fully as corrupt as that of the Punjab in 1830 ; and the bazaars of Lahore, while Ranjit Singh was celebrating the festival of the Holi, were not so shameless as Piccadilly at night in 1892.

So with the political methods of Ranjit Singh. Violence, fraud and rapacity were the very breath of the nostrils of every Sikh Chief. They were the arms and the defence of men who, in a demoralized and disintegrated society, had to be ready to resist attack and protect their lives and property. It would be as reasonable to reproach the lion for the use of his teeth and claws, as to regard the force or fraud which made up the military and political history of the Mahārāja and the Chiefs of his Court as more than the ordinary and necessary result of their life and surroundings. To-day, the ruler of Afghanistan conducts his administration on principles very similar to those of Ranjit Singh ; yet the British Government, with whom he is in subordinate and feudatory alliance, does not offer a remonstrance, because it understands that savage races require drastic treatment, and that where one people can be governed by syllogisms, another only understands the argument of the headsman's sword and the gallows. These considerations must have full and emphatic weight allowed to them when estimating the character of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh.

Rulers of India. Lord William Bentinck. By DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER, Author of 'the History of China,' etc., Oxford; at the Clarendon Press : 1892.

IN 1853 Sir Charles Metcalfe, in his evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, said, "To Lord William Bentinck belongs the great praise of having placed our dominion in India on its proper foundation, in the recognition of the great principle that India is to be governed for the benefit of the Indians." That theory is much exalted in the memoir before us. The objective of Mr. Boulger's study of Lord William Bentinck's career is, he informs us in his first chapter, not biographical, but depiction of the 'historical metamorphosis' attendant on the formal assumption by the East India Company of its obligation to govern the millions of India on Anglo-Saxon lines, instead of merely regarding them as milch cows, appropriated to the yield of handsome dividends for the said Company. Nevertheless, the 208 pages of his book, are, from first page to last, a labourer's pean of praise to his hero. Some measure of concession to the nascent gospel of Free Trade having been wrung from the Board of Directors of the Company, in the shape of the abrogation of their monopoly of trade with China—the most profitable part of their business operations—, Lord William Bentinck was sent out as Governor-General, with strict injunctions that were to override every other consideration, to enforce

rigid economy in all Departments, to cut down supererogatory establishments, to reduce salaries, *per fas aut nefas*, to—make money. The policy of rigid economy for which his biographer gives their nominee all the credit, was in reality determined on before the appointment was offered to his lordship, and fealty to that policy was insisted on, as a cardinal, an indispensable condition of appointment. As a sop to Parliament and a modicum of influential public feeling, it was also impressed on him that profits and dividends were considerations thenceforth to be subordinated to good government on Whig lines. Gentlemen in the Honourable Company's service were to be made clearly to understand that they were no longer factors and collectors of revenue, but provincial Satraps, Judges, Magistrates, &c. There was a deal of cant in this: they had ceased to be merely the one, and had become the other, long before Lord William Bentinck pushed himself into place and power. To him, however, according to his trumpeter in this issue of the *Rules of India* series, belongs all the credit of the "historical metamorphosis," as well as of every other reform effected in India, during his predecessor's tenure of office and his own.

Like the late Governor of Bombay, Lord William Bentinck was of Dutch extraction. Second son of the third Duke of Portland, he was born in September 1774, and commenced the active business of life seventeen years afterwards as an ensign in the Coldstream Guards. What amount, what sort of school education or other, he had had previously, we are not told. Knowing what his record in public life was, and knowing, too, how education was neglected and looked down on by the port-wine-imbibing Squire-Western-like living aristocracy of the period, we feel that we are warranted * in concluding that he got very little real schooling of any description. It is a matter worth noticing, because lack of mental and moral discipline in his youth would go far to account for the egregious vanity, the absence of self control, the wrongheadedness of the man. Rapid promotion helped, too, to spoil him. Two years after joining his regiment, the ensign was a Lieutenant-Colonel. Six years afterwards, he was nominated Governor of Madras—"perhaps the youngest Governor ever sent from these shores to rule an Eastern dependency." At Madras he soon managed to make enemies of all his colleagues in Council, and to quarrel with the Chief Justice, Sir Henry Gwillim. Nor did his conduct of affairs please the Directors of the India Company any better than the local bearers of the

* At the India Office, in 1827, he told James Mill, "I must confess to you that what I have ever read amounts to very little, and that it is not without pain that I can read any thing." To Mill he appeared 'a well intentioned, but not a very well instructed man.'

authority. They made his course of action with regard to the Vellore Mutiny occasion for censure and recall.

In the early years of the century, years before the bouleversements of the first Reform Bill were thought of, save by a few illuminati, and when they were by them considered as a millennial dream rather than a possibility, territorial magnates like the Duke of Portland wielded much parliamentary influence : and the power to do so was accepted as a corollary of the landlord power. And so, eighteen years after their uncompromising censure* of his Madras tenure of office, they (as Mr. Boulger puts it) "atoned for this harshness" by appointing him Governor-General of India.

In the interim, as ~~Commandant of an Anglo-Italian force in~~ Sicily, he had occupied himself congenially in contracting a close friendship with that Philistian windbag, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, and in disobeying Lord Wellington's orders, and disarranging that great Captain's plans for an effective campaign in Eastern Spain. Even Lord William's apologist, although he has not a word of censure for his hero's contumacy, is fain to write, as to his manifestation at such a critical time of an innate and irrepressible proclivity to prefer glitter to gold :—"Instead, therefore, of conforming to his instructions, which were dictated out of consideration for the natural expectations of Austria and the Bourbons, he called on the Tuscans to effect the liberation of Italy, and after the capture of Genoa, he not only declared Italy free, but he restored the constitution which had formerly prevailed there." What ground he had for meddling with affairs that were no concern of his, or even of the country he may have arrogated to himself a right to represent, is not apparent. His biographer is judiciously silent as to the length of time for which his paper "constitution" endured, and does not tell us how his vain glorious precipitancy helped, *inter alia*, in the near future, to rivet stronger bonds on Italy, to render her political bondage even less tolerable than it had been before.

In 1822, when the return of the Marquis of Hastings from Bengal was announced, the ex-Governor of Madras, as usual, put forward his claims to the succession ; but Lord Liverpool, then premier, not seeing things through Bentinckian spectacles, Lord Amherst got the appointment. The Portland interest, however, was by no means a negligible quantity in politics, and by the 14th, 1828, the persistent suitor for office found himself installed in the position he had so long coveted.

The formal proceeding attached to the assumption of responsibility for the government of India was then of the simplest and least

* Never, in spite of frequent appeals, and practical condonation eighteen years afterwards, formally rescinded or modified.

striking character. It consisted of a notice formally recorded among the minutes of Government, that 'the Governor-General acknowledged to have received an extract from a Public General Letter from the Court of Directors, dated April 5, 1793, and expressed his acquiescence thereto.'

The abolition of the time honoured privilege of *Batta* was the first giant the new Governor-General grappled with, under strict orders from his Directors. Growls and curses over the forfeiture had not ceased when he left the country seven years afterwards, although he had in the meantime gagged the press, and enforced a veto upon comments on the unpopular edict. Mr. Boulger does not satisfactorily explain away this departure from those liberal principles for ~~profession of which his hero is held up to admiration~~. After all the fuss made over stoppage of *Batta*, the saving brought about by it was only two lakhs of rupees a year, and to effect that, an amazing amount (to this generation) of bad blood and dissatisfaction with the Service was engendered. For economy's sake, Lord William Bentinck adopted Sir Charles Metcalfe's suggestion for a much larger employment of natives in magisterial and judicial work. Lord William gets all the praise for the new departure. Similarly, Sir William Sleeman initiated and carried to a successful issue, measures for the suppression of Thuggee. Credit for the achievement is given to Lord William Bentinck. "The knell of *Sati*," Mr. Boulger writes, "had struck when Lord William Bentinck reached India." As a matter of fact, it had struck long before; English officials all over the Mofussil had sounded it, the Judges of the Nizamat Adalat had placed on record their expression of opinion that suppression of the barbarous and *illegal* rite was desirable; the soldiery (already a bugbear) took no interest in a subject in which they had no personal immediate concern; reformers like Rajah Rammohan Roy and Dwarkanauth Tagore had for years striven strenuously to discountenance and do away with the respectable and tolerated habit of murder in their Hindu Society. Whatever might have been the name of the Governor-General coming to bear rule in India at that time, it would have devolved on him to decree *Sati* abolished: the time for that was ripe to rottenness. Yet, praise for the well-doing is made a monopoly for Lord William Bentinck. Mr. Shore, it may be added, wrote in his *Notes on Indian Affairs*, "Regarding the *Suttee* question, Lord William Bentinck did not go far enough. In addition to abolishing that horrible rite, he should have enacted some rule to provide for the maintenance of widows." No less than 100 pages of this little book are devoted to the reproduction, in small type, of Lord William Bentinck's prolix, priggish, and unedifying Minute on *Sati*.

Here are some pithy figures in connection with Indian Finances, *temp.* Lord William and his immediate predecessors: also a few words of commentary in which we concur:—

From 1823-4 to 1828-9 the average annual deficit was not less than £2,878,000, and taking the longer period of 1814-5 to 1828-9, we find that the total deficiency was £19,400,000. These figures were the result of considering the Indian revenues as the sole financial resource of the East India Company, and testify to the fact, that the Indian revenues alone were at that time unequal to the charge of governing the country by means of an European administration. The serious deficit proved to arise from the government of India had been met by a considerable allocation of the profits of trade to the task of administration, and by public loans guaranteed by the Company. It was not an unfair or unexpected demand for the East India Company to ask, before accepting the political direction of India, for some guarantee as to the funds required for the accompanying expense.

Figures and commentary are introduced into the book before us, however, merely as a peg on which to hang praises of its author as a financial genius of the first water, evidenced, it would seem, by his manipulation of the Malwa Opium revenue, which we are asked to believe converted a deficit of one million into a surplus of two.

In the chapter headed "Internal affairs," we are told that one of the new Governor-General's earliest measures was the issue of a Government Resolution forbidding receipt of official or other presents by the servants of the Company. It is tacitly assumed that this Resolution bore fruit, that intention and outcome were in perfect accord. That is a fashion followed all through the memoir. My Lord willed—it boots not to say that it was done: that was a matter of course. By this policy of strict non-intervention in Native States, Lord William Bentinck succeeded in creating in India as many mischievous complications as, forty years afterwards, Lord Lawrence and Mr. Wyllie did in Kabul, with their "masterly inactivity" nostrum, bolstered up with subsidies, presents of Enfield rifles, &c. As Mr. Boulger diplomatically puts it, "The application of the policy, rather than the policy itself, proved unfortunate, and entailed, in most cases, a more active intervention than would have been the case if it ('slight checks' on administration to wit) had never been withdrawn. But for this, responsibility did not rest with Lord William Bentinck." According to his panegyrist, responsibility never did rest with him when things went wrong, though he is always credited all the credit of every success. The man's very business, fidgetiness and restlessness, are belauded as evidencing a healthy "desire to see things for himself." Perhaps we shall be asked to believe next, that it was for this reason he took upon himself the charge of army affairs, and constituted himself

Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in addition to his Governor-Generalship, on the retirement of Sir Edward Barnes.

Supersession of Orientalism in favour of English education is another triumph claimed for this glutton of kudos, Macaulay, Metcalfe, and all other pioneers being relegated to a back seat in the coach. Similarly, he is credited with invention of the overland route before Waghorn had thought of it. In a word, between March 1828 and March 1835 in India, nothing of any importance was done, no event of any moment occurred, save on the initiation; and under the immediate personal direction, of Lord William Bentinck. Incidentally, Lord William is shown to have been a prig of large dimensions, but throughout the book one gets no glimpse at the Exeter Hall side of his character. "Paint me warts, and all" said Oliver Cromwell.

The Barren Ground of Northern Canada. By WARBURTON PIKE. London: Macmillan and Co., and New York 1892.

MR. Warburton Pike's reduction of a diary that memoirises for him a grind of uneventful forced marches through a barren land, strikes us as barren reading on the whole. His merits as author of a book of travel are freedom from affectation and statistical padding, imperturbable good humour, and a faculty for optimism that it would be scarcely an exaggeration to characterise as a talent. It is but fair to him to mention the excuse he advances for adventuring on publication, *viz.* that his subject is a reasonably new one, and deals with a branch of sport that has never before been described—hunting the musk-ox to wit. The plea, though ingenuous in seeming, is not altogether so, for of the 276 pages of his diary, not more than ten or twelve can, strictly speaking, be said to relate to *shikar*. His notes, by the way, could not well have been less than common-place, since the traveller environment throughout, intellectual as well as physical, was such. Mr. Pike saw it all through the eyes of his soul:—

To the man who is not a lover of Nature in all her moods, the Barren Ground must always be a howling desolate wilderness; but, for my part, I can understand the feeling that prompted Saltath's answer to the worthy priest, who was explaining to him the beauties of Heaven. 'My father, you have spoken well; you have told me that Heaven is very beautiful; tell me now one thing more. Is it more beautiful than the country of the musk-ox in summer, when sometimes the mist blows over the lakes, and sometimes the water is blue, and the loons cry very often? That is beautiful; and if Heaven is still more beautiful, my heart will be glad, and I shall be content to rest there till I am very old.'

There does not appear to be any difficulty about shooting the musk-ox, if any one desirous of doing so thinks it worth while to toil uncomfortably over hundreds of miles of desert country to achieve a pot at him. Half-breed Canadian notions on the subject of the sport are illustrative of the manner of it:—

When the hunt was over, I inquired the meaning of the shouting that had been kept up so continually throughout the drive, and was informed that this was necessary to let the musk ox know which way to run. At starting they had shouted : ' Oh, musk-ox, there is a barrier planted for you down there, where the river joins the little lake ; when you reach it, take to the water, there are men with guns on both sides, and so we shall kill you all ' ; when the men are out of breath, they shout to the musk-ox to stop. and, after they have rested, to go on again. These animals are said to understand every word of the Yellow Knife language, though it seems strange that they do not make use of the information they receive to avoid danger instead of obeying orders. The partial failure of the hunt was attributed to the fact that Moise had called across the river to me in French, and the musk-ox had not been able to understand this strange language.

Some possibly useful remarks are scattered abroad in *The Barren Ground*. One of these, which reads as follows, we commend to the consideration of teetotal bigots :—

At the present day the Prohibition Act orders that even the white men of the North-West territories must be temperate, thereby causing whisky to be dear and bad, but plentiful withal, and it is surprising how such a law exists in a country where nine men out of ten not only want to drink, but do drink in open defiance of the commands of a motherly Government.

Here is another extract—of wider applicability than Mr. Washington Pike gives it :—

Like all other Indians who live the wild life that they were intended to live, the Yellow Knives are dirty to the last degree. They are careful about combing and greasing their hair, and are lavish in the use of soap, if they can get it, for face and hands, but their bodies are a sanctuary for the disgusting vermin that always infest them ; they seem to have no idea of getting rid of these objectionable insects, but talk about its being a good or bad season for them in the same way that they speak of mosquitos.

From every point of view, then, the Indian of the Great Slave Lake is not a pleasant companion, nor a man to be relied upon in case of emergency. Nobody has yet discovered the right way to manage him. His mind runs on different principles from that of a white man, and till the science of thought-reading is much more fully developed, the working of his brain will always be a mystery to the fur-trader and traveller.

Studies in Mohammedanism, Historical and Doctrinal, with a Chapter on Islam in England. By JOHN J. POOL (late of Calcutta) author of "Woman's Influence in the East" and "A Life of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, for Indian Readers." Westminster: Archibald Constable and Company, 14 Parliament Street, S. W. 1892.

THESE studies in Mahomedanism are avowedly intended as a counterblast to the crescentade on a pettifogging scale that is being attempted by Mr. William Quilliam and his family in Liverpool. If Mr. Pool is assured that it pays to use argumentative steam hammers of 413 page power to crush diminutive fads with, that is none of our business ; but we will take leave to suggest to him that, in exalting a tem-

porary aberration of mind on the part of a few sensation-mongering English gobemouches to the position of a heresy formidable to Protestant orthodoxy, he does but play into the hands of the puny antagonists before whom he throws down his glove. Mahomedanism is no more likely to gain a footing among Englishmen and Englishwomen of to-day, than Shakerism, or Miss Colenso's worship of the Zulu—or, any other of those numerous petty, denationalizing cults that, here and there in the world, now and again crop up. Mr. Pool does not think thus, and he is very much in earnest about his steam hammering, albeit studious to act up to his ideal of moderation and fair play.

Mr. Pool's manner of treating his subject is excursive, his style in writing simple. Whatever his message to the public may be, he delivers it in staid, easily understood English, whether he is discoursing of paradise, the crusades, women, miracles, or any similar or dissimilar outcomes of Islam. He is platitudinarian on purpose, and so has no sympathy with Arabian philosophies or Persian mysticism, and dismisses Sufism in less than half a dozen lines, when it has to be referred to in a chapter specially devoted to Mahomedan literature. Of Omar Khayyam, and the influences he diffused, he does not seem to have even heard. He accounts for his neglect of Persian poetry as a factor in Mahomedan civilization—or, as he puts it, European distaste for Persian poetry—by declaring that its subject matter is often trivial, sometimes foolish, and not seldom inclined to wantonness. Severely orthodox Christian as he is, it might be edifying to know what is his private opinion with regard to the inclusion of the Songs of Solomon among the canonical books of the Bible. As to the position of women in Islam, Mr. Pool, "late of Calcutta," takes the conventional view generally adopted by stay-at-home middle class society in England. Indeed, throughout these professedly impartial *studies*, a muffled Philistinism is the really dominant note.

Essays upon Some Controverted Questions. By THOMAS H. HUXLEY, F.R.S. London: Macmillan and Co., and New York, 1892.

WE have here collected together those trenchant essays on science, morals, and natural and unnatural religion, that for the last seven years Professor Huxley has been contributing to the *Nineteenth Century* and the *Fortnightly Review*. Most of the men whose eye this notice catches, whether they are of his school, or not, will probably have read the essays already—and will, as probably, be glad of the opportunity to digest them, and keep them by them in book form. It

would be an impertinence on our part, in the necessarily small space allotted to this notice, to attempt anything like a review of the genially pugnacious savant's teachings in ethics and natural philosophy. More profitable for all concerned will be the advisement contained in the following extract from a Prologue that is racy of its author, and challenges attention :—

Of polemical writing, as of other kinds of warfare, I think it may be said, that it is often useful, sometimes necessary, and always more or less of an evil. It is useful, when it attracts attention to topics which might otherwise be neglected; and when, as does sometimes happen, those who come to see a contest, remain to think. It is necessary, when the interests of truth and of justice are at stake. It is an evil, in so far as controversy always tends to degenerate into quarrelling, to swerve from the great issue of what is right and what is wrong, to the very small question of who is right and who is wrong. I venture to hope that the useful and the necessary were more conspicuous than the evil attributes of literary militancy, when these papers were first published; but I have had some hesitation about reprinting them. If I may judge by my own taste, few literary dishes are less appetising than cold controversy; moreover, there is an air of unfairness about the presentation of only one side of a discussion, and a flavour of unkindness in the reproduction of "winged words" which, however appropriate at the time of their utterance, would find a still more appropriate place in oblivion. Yet, since I could hardly ask those who have honoured me by their polemical attentions to confer lustre on this collection, by permitting me to present their lucubrations along with my own; and since it would be a manifest wrong to them to deprive their, by no means rare, vivacities of language of such justification as they may derive from similar freedoms on my part; I came to the conclusion that my best course was to leave the essays just as they were written;* assuring my honourable adversaries that any heat of which signs may remain was generated, in accordance with the law of the conservation of energy, by the force of their own blows, and has long since been dissipated into space.

But, however the polemical concomitants of these discussions may be regarded—or better, disregarded—there is no doubt either about the importance of the topics of which they treat, or as to the public interest in the "Controverted Questions" with which they deal. Or rather, the Controverted Question; for, disconnected as these pieces may, perhaps, appear to be, they are, in fact, concerned only with different aspects of a single problem with which thinking men have been occupied ever since they began seriously to consider the wonderful frame of things in which their lives are set, and to seek for trustworthy guidance among its intricacies.

English Men of Letters. Thomas Carlyle. By JOHN NICHOL LL.D., M.A., BALLIOL, OXON. Emeritus Professor of English Literature in the University of Glasgow. London, Macmillan and Co., and New York, 1892.

CARLYLE was a great man, but a great man spoiled, that is largely soured. He was never a Timon; but

* With a few exceptions, which are duly noted when they amount to more than verbal corrections.

while at best a Stoic, he was at worst a Cynic, emulous though disdainful, trying all men by his own standard, and impatient of a rival on the throne." Such is the virtual summing up of an appraisal of the conduct in life of the un-Timoniæal Chelsea Timon presented by the latest of his many biographers. Beyond question, a faithful and fair minded one, weaknesses not extenuating, nought setting down in malice. As a Scotchman, and consequently imbued with innate belief that Burns was a genius, and no whit of Walter Scott's mediocrism stucco, Dr. John Nichol vouchsafes to Carlyle the honour of bracketing him with those two national worthies. We, for our part, incline to rate the sage and moralist of the 19th century considerably higher. The time is not ripe yet for a final determination of Carlyle's rank in the literary hierarchy, of his day. Meanwhile, we may say of Professor Nichol's admirably condensed memoir, that it is brightly as well as instructively put together, and likely to be more popular than tomes written by men with less talent for compressing much literary material into small space. Although based to a great extent on Froude's *quasi* official work on the same subject, the monograph before us is throughout stamped with a distinctive individuality that makes its interpretations of character and conduct worthy of regard. Presumably, too, a conscientious and clever Scotchman is a better interpreter of the workings of a mind intrinsically Scotch in all its workings, than an unaffiliated Southron, howsoever capable otherwise, could be.

The following extract embraces in a brief space many cardinal points in relation to Carlyle's temperament and work, and, as it were, adumbrates the tragedy that shrouded his later years in gloom and reproach.

He was a model son and brother, and his conjugal fidelity has been much appraised, but he was as unfit, and for some of the same reasons, to make "a happy fireside clime" as was Jonathan Swift; and less even than Byron had he a share of the mutual forbearance which is essential to the closest of all relations.

"Napoleon," says Emerson, "to achieve his ends, risked everything and spared nothing, neither ammunition, nor money, nor troops, nor generals, nor himself." With a slight change of phrase, the same may be said of Carlyle's devotion to his work. There is no more prevailing refrain in his writing, public and private, than his denunciation of literature as a profession, nor any wiser words than those in which the veteran warns the young men, whose questions he answers with touching solicitude, against its adoption. "It should be," he declares, "the wine, not the food of life, the ardent spirits of thought and fancy without the bread of action parches up nature and makes strong souls like Byron dangerous, the weak despicable. But it was nevertheless the profession of his deliberate choice, and he soon found himself bound to it as Ixion to his wheel. The most thorough worker on record, he found nothing easy that was great, and he would do nothing little. In his determination to pluck out the heart of the mystery, be it of himself, as in *Sartor*; of Germany, as in his Goethes and Richters; the state of England, as in *Chartism* and *Past and Present*; of *Cromwell* or of *Friedrich*, he faced all

obstacles and overthrew them. Dauntless and ruthless, he allowed nothing to divert or to mar his designs, least of all domestic cares or even duties. "Selfish he was,"—I again quote from his biographer,—“if it be selfish to be ready to sacrifice every person dependent on him as completely as he sacrificed himself.” What such a man wanted was a housekeeper and a nurse, not a wife, and when we consider that he had chosen for the latter companionship, a woman almost as ambitious as himself, whose conversation was only less brilliant than his own, of delicate health and dainty ways, loyal to death, but, according to Mr. Froude, “in some respects “as hard as flint,” with “dangerous sparks of fire,” whose quick temper found vent in sarcasms that blistered, and words like swords, who could declare during the time of the engagement to which, in spite of warnings manifold, she clung, “I will not marry to live on less than my natural and artificial wants;” who, ridiculing his accent to his face and before his friends, could write, “apply your talents to gild over the inequality of our births;” and who found herself obliged to live sixteen miles from the nearest neighbour, to milk a cow, scour floors and mend shoes—when we consider all this, we are constrained to admit that the 17th October 1826 was a *dies nefastus*, nor wonder that, thirty years later, Mrs. Carlyle wrote, “I married for ambition, Carlyle has exceeded all that my wildest hopes ever imagined of him, and I am miserable,”—and to a young friend, “My dear, whatever you do, never marry a man of genius.”

In one part of his book Professor Nichol summarises Carlyle's essential political preachment in the formula, “Might is Right,” and characterises that imputation of motive as “one of the few strings on which, with all the variations of a political Paginini, he played through life.” This seems to us unhandsome on Professor Nichol's part; a result of stringing isolated passages together without due regard to their subjectivity to an essential harmony of much wider scope. To our thinking, Carlyle was so aggressive a lover of truth, so steadfast a believer in the worshipfulness of justice—*etiam si ruat cælum*—that the accusation strikes us as rooted in misapprehension. Carlyle, at any rate, never bowed the knee, fashionable as it has been for the last fifty years to do so, to the growing Might of Mobocracy. Apropos of that abstinence, and his faculty of insight into character, consider the subtle analysis underlying the two short sentences that follow: “There never was such a conscience as Mr. Gladstone's. He bows down to it, and obeys it, as if it were the very voice of God himself. But, eh Sir, he has the most marvellous faculty in the world for making that conscience say exactly what he wants.”

Christian Ethics. By Newman Smyth, D. D., Author of “Old Faiths in New Light,” “The Reality of Faith,” &c. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38, George Street, 1892.

IN 23 verses of the 6th Chapter of the Gospel according to St. Luke may be found the system of Christian Ethics which Christ laid down for the guidance of Christians. Dr. Newman Smyth, pastor of a Congregational Church in Connecticut, has felt it incumbent on him to improve on the clear-cut directness of the Sermon on the Mount, by the publication

of 494 pages quarto in elaboration of this, to him uncongenial, simplicity. His fondness for oratory and a metaphysical cloud of words derives *imprimatur* from an "International" Theological Syndicate, the head quarters of which are New York and Aberdeen. The work before us, published in Edinburgh, and No. 2 of a promised series, is entitled *Christian Ethics*; Rothe's definition of which is accepted—to wit, "a history; statistics and politics of the kingdom of God." These statistics are empowered to comprehend such abstractions as metaphysic, and we are advised that an attempt to construct an ethical theory without any well-considered metaphysical basis is apt to issue in "an ethic which becomes confused in philosophical doubts." Pedants who like confused philosophical doubts better than the plain sailing of Gospel truth may as well waste their time over Dr. Newman Smyth's guesses as to how many angels can dance on a needle point as upon any other vain imagining.

The book is at any rate common place enough not to be bewildering, and some of its chapters deal with practical questions of the day in a spirit of ethical impracticality that is refreshing in its childlike blandness, *e.g.*, in a chapter on *The Social Problem and Christian Duties*, we are introduced to the subject in this wise:—

There has always been a labour question since the day when Adam and Eve were obliged to make clothes for themselves, and to work in order to support themselves and their children. There always will be an industrial problem until paradise shall be regained. Whenever two or more individuals are thrown together and must live in the same locality, the social question will arise. How shall they possess themselves of the means of life without destroying one another in gaining and using them? How shall they bring their lives to the utmost possible mutual efficiency? This may be a comparatively simple question for a single family, or for a nomadic tribe, or for a community which has possessed itself of a common field large enough for its own sustenance, and which is strong enough to prevent any other tribe from dispossessing it. It becomes a complicated question for a crowded city at the centre of a network of communications with the whole world. The present urgency of these problems is the natural consequence of a high and complex social development, with its fine differentiations of social structure, and the greatly-multiplied functions that must be harmonized in the efficient maintenance of the social body.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Sāmājika Prabandha. By Bhudev Mukherjea. Printed at the Budhodaya Press, Hughly, 1299 B. E.

THIS is a large work devoted to the discussion of some of the most important problems affecting native Indian Society. The book is divided into six long chapters. The first chapter treats of the question whether the feeling of Hindu nationality could be restored and established on a sure basis; the second discusses the constitution of Society and the principal European theories of social amelioration; the third is a long dissertation on the effects of the advent of the English in India; the fourth expatiates on the relationship between the rulers and the ruled in this country; the fifth is an elaborate attempt towards forecasting the social, moral, religious and economic future of India under British rule, and the sixth points out the ways to carry on the work of social reformation on national lines and after a national model.

The author, Babu Bhudev Mukherjea, C. I. E., is a veteran Bengali writer, who, with the late Pundit I. C. Vidyasagar and Baboo Akhoy Kumar Dutt, gave shape and form and direction to modern Bengali prose literature, and whose influence was markedly felt, till the rise of Baboo Bunkim Chunder Chatterjea, who may be said to occupy at present the chair of the President of the Republic of Letters in Bengal. Whatever comes from the pen of Baboo Bhudev Mukherjea is sure to command the best and most respectful attention of the Bengali reading public; and his *Sāmājika Prabandha*, besides its authorship, possesses an additional attraction by reason of the momentous character of the questions treated of in it.

We agree with the author in many of his views and opinions, but in respect of many others we find strong reasons to differ from him; and we deem it necessary to notice briefly here a few important points to the author's conclusions regarding which we take serious exception.

It has been long a vexed question of Indian social life, whether there can ever be any true union between Hindus and Mahomedans. Baboo Bhudev Mukherjea has formed a definite opinion on the subject. He expresses his firm conviction that the Mahomedans in India will gradually be merged into the great body of Hindus. He deduces his conclusion from the facts that the Mahomedans are showing a tendency to identify themselves with the Hindus in political

matters, that Hindu manners and customs are being adopted by many of them, and that Mahomedans, in some places, are found to join in Hindu religious ceremonies, to invite Hindus to their marriage parties, and to show respect to Brahmins in various ways. We do not question these facts, but we contend that they only illustrate the attitude of individual Mahomedans of a kindly and conciliating disposition, and do not apply to the general body of that community. The intercourse existing between the two communities is only of a superficial character. The vast body of Indian Mahomedans, as a matter of fact, remain aloof from the Hindus, whom they have not yet ceased to look upon as *Kafirs*. Fanaticism, and immovably fixed in their convictions as they are, they can never overstep the boundaries of their religious ordinances. Cow-killing is a part of their religion, which, to the Hindu, is a sin and a sacrilege. The Mahomedans can never cease to kill cows. How, then, can Hindus recognise them as their friends, or as belonging to their community. The barrier thus raised between the two races by this and other religious and social differences, has well nigh proved to be insurmountable. The Mahomedans have been living in India for about nine centuries, without making any distinct advance towards the incorporation of their community with the Hindus. On the contrary, they have been of late affording repeated proofs of their alienation from their Hindu brethren, by wantonly hurting their religious feelings by cow-killing and fomenting quarrels in other ways. The light thrown on the subject by the experience of nine centuries is not to be slighted, and we may say, without fear of contradiction, that there has already been a fair trial of the possibilities for the amalgamation of the Indian Mahomedans into the Hindu nationality, and it has been demonstrated that there is little hope of that event ever coming to pass, unless, however, the Hindus become the rulers of the country. The idea of the absorption of the Mahomedans by the Hindus is great, as an ideal from the author's standpoint, and worthy of a warm-hearted and patriotic Hindu like Baboo Bhudev Mukherjee, but to us it is nothing more than the baseless fabric of a vision. If we have studied aright the history of the long connection between Hindus and Mahomedans in India, we shall be constrained to look upon all hopes for the merging of the latter into the former, as imaginary, and all that we can be justified in hoping for is that, with the spread of English education among the Mahomedan population, and after long-continued efforts of their influential men and of leading Hindus of liberal principles, a feeling of friendliness may gradually become much commoner between the members of the two races,

riots and quarrels between them may cease, and they may unite in advancing such of their political interests as they deem to be common to them, keeping intact their inalienable characteristic differences in religious beliefs and principles, in social aims and ideals, and in manners and customs.

The caste system of the Hindus is built on principles antagonistic to the doctrine of equality of men, and the author, who extols the system, poohpoohs the theory of equality, as unsound in principle and impossible to be carried into practice. He seems to us to have not taken a rational view of the doctrine of equality, which is that race and birth should be no bar to a man being admitted to the privileges to which, by reason of his individual intellectual and moral worth, he is justly entitled.* The Hindu caste system, which deprives the lower castes of the right and opportunity possessed by the Brahmins, for intellectual culture, and for that moral and spiritual growth and elevation which so usually follow in the wake of the development of the mental powers, is but the absolute negation of the doctrine of equality in its best and unobjectionable sense. The caste system, we admit, has not been without its beneficial consequences in India, but, as it ignores the doctrine of human equality, which is based on truth and justice, it requires, and must in time undergo, modification.

The author attempts a justification of early marriage in an ingenious way. He proves by statistics that in India the average marriageable age bears the same ratio to the average life of the people, as it does in the European countries. As the average life of the people in India is lower than in Europe, the marriageable age is also lower, and this, the author contends, has been a natural arrangement which man has instinctively adopted in all civilised countries, and which must be taken as consistent with a scientific view of the case. We would accept the author's argument only to show that he is caught in his own net. He shows that the average life of the people in India is only twenty-five, and the marriageable age thirteen. Now, we would ask, is it not most regrettable that the average life of the Indians should be so low as twenty-five, and is it not most desirable that means should be adopted for its increase? The author will, no doubt, reply in the affirmative. Well, then, one of the great causes that have contributed to lower the average life of the people, is undoubtedly the drain to which the body is subjected by marriage at an early age. Both physiological science and human experience go to testify to the truth of the fact, that marriage at an age when one is in the vigour of youth is most favorable, in every country and under every climate, to the health and longevity of the married couple and their children. It therefore follows

that, if child-marriage is replaced by youth marriage, the health and longevity of the people, by the operation of the unyielding and subtle law of hereditary transmission of qualities, will receive an impetus which must culminate in a steady rise of the average duration of life of the people. Thus, since the average duration of life in India will rise, the people, according to the author's own argument, will be fully justified in increasing their age of marriage, so that the ratio then between the average marriageable age and the average duration of life may be the same as the author shows it to be at present.

India shows a larger number of births every year than England, yet the rate of increase in the population is much less than in England. This fact leads to the inevitable conclusion that the proportion of deaths to births is higher in India than in England. Babu Bhudev Mukherjee attributes this unnatural state of things solely to the poverty of the Indian population. To prove that poverty is the only cause thereof, it must be shown that it is only among the poorer classes in India that the proportion of deaths to births is larger than among those in England, and that the proportion is the same among the higher and well-to-do classes in both countries. But the author has not demonstrated the truth of his assertion by any such irrefutable evidence. If, however, we survey the general state of things both here and in England, we shall be forced to the conclusion, that it is not alone the comparative poverty of the Indian population, but also other causes, that are answerable for the difference in the rate of mortality, and therefore in the rate of increase of the population of the two countries. It is notorious that there is an enormous infant mortality in India, and a majority of deaths among Indian infants is due to the insanitary condition of the indigenous lying-in-room, and the violation of many of the rules imperatively necessary to be followed to bring them up in health and strength. It is impossible to contradict the scientific conclusion that many infants here are ushered into existence with a very small stock of health and vitality, born as they are of child-parents, and are consequently short-lived. Then, among the wealthy and moneyed classes here, early deaths are common—probably much commoner than in England—owing to their unrestrained enervating indulgences. We must further take into account the epidemics of malarious fevers raging in various parts of India, which constantly carry off large numbers at an early age. Moreover, the people in India, of all of classes, with the exception of a very limited number, having no strict regard for health and sanitation, and labouring under the disadvantage of ignorance of their laws, lead a life which is, in fact, a sport to disease and death. It will thus

be seen that it is not at all right to conclude that in India poverty is the only cause of the lower rate of increase in its population, in spite of a larger number of births than is the case in England.

It is simply astonishing to us how any close student of the Indian and the English peoples like the author, could maintain that the modern Hindu has nothing to learn of the Englishman except his practicalness.

We can hardly believe that he is serious when he delivers himself of this opinion. We would ask him whether the Hindus possess that ardent patriotism which Englishmen display ; whether they can boast of that deep sense of self-respect and dignified independence which are part and parcel of the English character ; whether they are distinguished for that noble spirit of self-help and self-reliance which have so markedly contributed to the greatness of the English nation ; whether they are endowed with that scientific turn of mind which is so necessary to keep one's self free from prejudices and superstitious notions, and with that enthusiastic love for knowledge and truth without which there could be no individual or national advancement ; whether they have that brave spirit of enterprise and adventure which characterises the English race, and whether they can show examples of that strong resolution and untiring perseverance which are the secret of the success that always attends an Englishman's practicality.

Babu Bhudev Mukerjee is a Hindu who has received a finished English education, but in thought he is a Hindu of Hindus, and a refined Hindu spirit, which at times takes the form of the Brahminical spirit, runs as an under-current through the book. It is this spirit that has moulded the principal aim of the book, which is to make the Indian an Indian *par excellence*, in whom all the virtues of the Indian character are to be sublimated and perfected. But if we are to weigh the probabilities, keeping an eye wide open on the influence of English education, English character, and English institutions on the people of this country, we shall see in the ideal Indian of the future, a personality in which all that is high and pure and noble in the Indian and the English humanity has been harmoniously blended.

Although we have taken serious exception to some of the author's views, we are not blind to the intrinsic excellence and the high value of the work, considered as a whole. We have found it, in the main, exceedingly interesting, thoughtful and suggestive. We deem the book to be by far the most valuable contribution yet made in Bengali to the discussion of many of the great questions that are attracting the earnest attention of the educated Indian community. We do not know of another work in the Bengali language which affords

proofs so unmistakable of varied knowledge, vast experience, and a rare power of thinking, so ably and industriously applied to the demonstration and attempts after the solution of problems affecting the social, moral, political and religious life of the Indian races. The production will be prized by the author's countrymen not so much for its literary worth as for the food for thought it will afford them, and the influence it will exert on their endeavours after national advancement. The *Sāmājika Prabandha* will, we are sure, prove an invaluable *vade mecum* for the Indian social and religious reformers, thinkers, politicians, and journalists, whom it will inform, enlighten, instruct, and furnish with materials for serious reflection.

Etā Kon Yuga, or "What Age is this?" By Sakharām Ganesha Deuskar. Printed at the Adi Brahmo Samāj Press, Calcutta, 1299 B. E.

IS a brochure treating of a subject of antiquarian interest. The first thing noticeable in this pamphlet is its authorship. Baboo Sakharām Gonesh Deuskar is not a Bengali, but a Maharatta, born and naturalized in Bengal. There are not a few good foreign writers in English, and this fact may be taken as indirect evidence of the excellence of the English language, and the highly developed state of English literature. There can certainly be no comparison between the Bengali and English language and literature, but that Bengali has reached a higher stage of development than any other Indian language, may be freely conceded. And this is one of the chief reasons why there are beginning to be found authors and writers in Bengali who belong to other Indian nationalities. There is another Maharatta writer, Bengali who has, from time to time, contributed pieces of poetry of some beauty and charm to a Bengali monthly. There are Oorians who write good Bengali. Among the Mahomedans there is a rising good Bengali author, whose productions may be found to have a permanent value, and may, in all likelihood, endure. There are newspapers in Bengali, written by Mahomedans, and a Bengali Magazine has lately been started, the editor and contributors of which are all Mahomedans.

The pamphlet under notice discusses a question concerning the Hindu system of chronology which must prove interesting, not only to Hindus, but to all those who have the insight to discern the light which is thrown on universal history by the elucidation of questions concerning the mythology, the religion, the philosophy and the sociology of the great people who inhabited Ancient India, and have left us a priceless legacy—a literature vast enough to supply food for thought, and materials

for research and investigation to honest seekers of truth for generations to come.

We happen to differ from the writer of the pamphlet in his main contention, the originality of which demands that we should discuss the question at some length.

The Hindu system of chronology divides time into four *Yugas* or ages, called *Satya*, *Tretā*, *Dwāpara*, and *Kali*, respectively, having different characteristics, and succeeding each other in endless rotation. According to a text in the *Manu Sanhita*, the *Kali Yuga*, which is the present age, consists of only 1200 years, but the Hindu almanacs state that 4993 years of the *Kali Yuga* have already elapsed. The discrepancy is attributable to the fact, that the almanacs depend for their calculation on *Kulluk-Bhatta*, the famous commentator of Manu, who holds that the duration of the *Yugas* must be computed by *Daiva Varsa*, or years of the gods, one of which is equal to 360 years of men. The *Kali Yuga*, according to *Kulluk Bhatta*, therefore, lasts for (360×1200) 432000 years. The author of the pamphlet under notice questions the reasonableness of the assumption of *Kulluk Bhatta*, and argues that as the *Yugas* concern man and the earth he dwells upon, and not the gods and heaven, a year of the *Yugas* cannot be taken as equal to a year of the gods. He further contends that, as Manu speaks of the duration of human life in the several *Yugas* in the same breath with the duration of the *Yugas* themselves, the great lawgiver clearly means that a year of the *Yugas* is equal to a year of men. *Kulluk Bhatta*, therefore, according to the writer, lays himself open to the charge of inconsistency by computing the duration of the *Yugas* by divine years, and the duration of human life by human years. The author also urges that the unjustifiability of the assumption of *Kulluk Bhatta* is proved by the dictum of the *Mahabharata* and the *Haribansa*, which unite in laying down definitely that the *Kali Yuga* has the duration of 1200 years of men. *Babu Sakharam* would, therefore, have his readers believe, that, if the current year be the 4994th of the *Kali Yuga*, according to *Kulluk Bhatta*'s assumption, it is in reality the $(4994 - 1200)$ 3794th year after the expiration of the *Kali Yuga*. Hence his query, "What *Yuga* is this?"

Without entering into the controversy in its antiquarian aspect, we feel no hesitation in maintaining that *Kulluk Bhatta* had a very strong ground for laying down that the years of the *Yugas* should be computed by what the *Shastras* call "divine years." Time is endless, and any attempt to make imaginary divisions of it, need not be unduly circumscribed. In dividing time, which is eternal, with the object of inventing or modifying a rational system of chronology, one feels fully justified in making

each division as conveniently large as possible. It was quite natural for Kulluk Bhatta, as the responsible commentator of the Manu Sanhita, to regard the duration of the several Yugas as specified by Manu as too short, and, as he could not expect to command general assent to any arbitrary augmentation that he might make, he took advantage of the existence in Hindu chronology of *Daiva varsa*, or the divine year, which is equal to 360 calendar years, and ingeniously laid down that a year of the *Yugas* was to be taken as equal to a divine year. We are of opinion that Kulluk Bhatta, by making this remarkable modification, gave evidence of greater common sense and of a higher conception of the underlying principles of the Hindu system of chronology than Manu himself. It was, indeed, an improvement upon Manu's own simple system, and, it seems to us, of its sound reasonableness there can be no question.

The charge of inconsistency made by the author of the pamphlet against Kulluk Bhatta for computing the duration of the *Yugas* by years of the gods, and that of human life by human years, is untenable. For is it not perfectly legitimate to make a difference between a calculation that relates to *endless* time, and another that concerns the life of man, which is doomed to come to an end?

It must not be supposed that we participate in the superstitious notion obtaining among Hindus that there is a divine law which divides time into four definite ages, following each other in interminable rotation, with the regularity which distinguishes the return of the seasons, or the rising and the setting of the sun. If we appear to have discussed the subject with ardour, it was only to substantiate the comparative reasonableness of the interpretation given by Kulluk Bhatta of material point in the established system of Hindu chronology.

We cannot conclude our notice of this interesting brochure without adding that it shows research, and gives proof of the writer's respect for facts, and freedom from prejudice, qualities so essential in an antiquarian.

Hindur Samudra Yātrā, or Sea Voyages by Hindus. By Devendra Nath Mookherjea. Published by Mati Lal Halder, B.A., B.L., Valmiki Press. Calcutta, 1299, B. E.

THE imperative necessity of Hindus travelling and making voyages to foreign countries, has begun to be so deeply felt by the advanced minds of that community, that they have found it expedient to set on foot a movement to make voyages to distant lands across the seas, and residence therein, possible to Hindus without the loss of caste. The orthodox Hindu notion is strongly opposed to sea-voyages on three chief grounds; first, because some Hindu Shastras are believed

to forbid the crossing of the *Kālābani*, or the black waters of the ocean, during the *Kālī Yuga*, which is the present age; secondly, because a person is compelled to subsist on articles of food interdicted by Hindu custom, while on board the ship, or residing in foreign countries, and thirdly, because the conditions of life in European countries are not favorable to the observance of many Hindu religious customs and rites.* The best energies of the promoters of the sea-voyage movement are directed to proving that the highest Shastric authorities unite in sanctioning sea-voyage for such beneficial purposes as carrying on trade with foreign lands, and improving knowledge by intercourse with more advanced nations, and by the cultivation of arts and sciences taught among them. The chief object of the movement, however, is to make such arrangements for the voyage of orthodox Hindus to, and their residence in, England, as will remove all their objections with regard to food, and the due observance of customs and performance of religious duties. Some will, perhaps, be led to accuse the movement of pandering to the popular Hindu superstition about sea-voyages. But the fact must be borne in mind that Hindus are an extremely conservative people, and any reform of their customs and superstitious notions must be accomplished by gradual means and moderate methods.

The book under notice is a highly intelligent and most sober and unprejudiced discussion of the whole question of sea-voyage by Hindus, from the standpoint of the reformers. Babu Debendra Nath Mukerjee has done full justice to his subject, and it would be impossible for any impartial minded Hindu to rise from a careful perusal of the treatise, without being thoroughly convinced of the utter hollowness of the objections made by the Revivalists against sea-voyages on Shastric grounds, and on the strength of the hypocritical plea that it is impracticable to do the thing after the most approved orthodox Hindu fashion.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

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profiting by those who; not contented with stale receipts
and set forth new positions to the world: and, were
and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may
and brighten the armoury of truth; even for that respect they were no
ly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 192.—APRIL, 1893.

ART. I.—OLD PLACES IN MURSHIDABAD.

No. III.

I THOUGHT that I had seen all the antiquities of Murshidabad, but in September last Moulvi Fazl Rabbi, the ~~Diwan~~ Diwan of the Nawab Bahadur, showed me what is, perhaps, the greatest curiosity in the district. This is the masnad, or throne, used by the Viceroys of Bengal from the days of Sultan Sujah, the second son of Shah Jahan. It is a round table of black stone (hornblende), six feet in diameter and eighteen inches high, the whole, including the four thick pedestals, having been hewn out of one block. The edge or rim is cut into sixteen facets, and on one of them is the following inscription:—

تیار شد تخت مبارک به تاریخ بیست و هفتم شهر شعبان المعظم
۱۰۵۲ بانام کمترین بندها خواجہ نزر بخاری فی مقام منگیر
من صوبہ بہار *

"This auspicious throne was made at Monghyr in Bihar by the humblest of slaves, Khwajah Nazar, of Bokhara, on 27th Shabán, 1052* (11th November, 1641.)" It belongs, therefore, to Sultan Sujah's first viceroyalty (1639-47) and must originally have been kept at Rajmahal, or Akbarnagar, as the Muhammadans called it, and afterwards taken to Dacca and to Murshidabad. It now stands, exposed to wind and weather, on the terrace of a bungalow near Murshidabad, and on the right hand side of the road from Berhampore. The place is a garden of the Nawab and is called the Mubarak-Munzil, but it is also known in the neighbourhood by the name of Fendal, or Findal, Bagh. This is probably after a John Fendall who was a Judge of the Sadr Diwani in 1817-19. In 1819 he was Chief Judge, and he remained so until the following year, when he became Member of Council.

* The last figure is doubtful, and may be a 4 or a 5 as well as a 2.

I presume that he was formerly a Judge of the Provincial Court of Murshidabad, though I cannot find his name in the Records of the District Judge's Court. The Provincial Court used to be held in Fendalbagh, and a building there is still called the Cutcherry.

There are some holes near the edge of the throne for the insertion of the supports of a canopy. The stone may be compared with the so-called black marble throne of Jahangir, which stands on the terrace of Shah Jahan's palace at Agra, and has been described by Mr. Carlleyle.* The latter is rectangular and much the larger of the two, it being 10 feet 7½ inches by 9 feet 10 inches, so that it is nearly a square. It is sixteen inches high, and I have been told that the whole is cut out of one block. There is a long inscription running round the four sides, and the date there given has been read as 1011, or 1603. But I think there must be some mistake, for the inscription speaks of king (Shah) Selim and of his adoption of the title of Jahangir. But his accession to the throne did not take place till 1014, or 1605. Both stones have reddish stains on them, due to the presence of iron, and the Murshidabad one sometimes sweats so much, that the water trickles over the edge. Then the stone is weeping, according to the natives, for the passing away of the glory of the Subahdari!

The Diwan also showed me, in some jungle at Chunakhali, the tomb of Masnad Auliya, and near it a stone, lying on the ground, with a Taghra inscription, which unfortunately we have not yet been able to decipher.† It, however, certainly contains the name of Abul Muzaffar Feroz Sultan, which was the title of one of the kings of Gaur.

I am also indebted to the Diwan for rubbings of the inscription on a cannon in the Palace Armoury. The language turns out to be Bengali. The inscription has been deciphered by Babu Soshi Sikhar Dutt, Deputy Magistrate. It gives the names of the smith, the engraver, and makes mention of Krishna Chandra Rai, the Maharajah of Krishnagar.

GHERIA.—Gheria, properly Giriah,‡ has been the scene of two decisive battles. This points to a similarity of position

* Archaeological Reports, IV, 131-5.

† The inscription has since been read. The date is 2 Maharam 896, = 15 November 1490.

‡ Possibly the English called it Gheria from a recollection of the stronghold of the pirate Angria. But there, too, the "h" was probably wrong, for the name is seemingly derived from *giri*, a mountain, and I observe that Ives spells it Geriah. Col. Malleon remarks, apropos of the spelling, Monghyr, that the superfluous introduction of the letter h is a common failing with certain classes of Englishmen. But the insertion of the letter h in the cases in question has nothing to do with cockneyism. It is put in in order to mark that the letter 'g' is hard.

between it and Panipat. Both were extensive plains on the northern approach to a capital.

The first battle was fought near the end of April, 1740, between Aliverdi Khan Mahabat Jung, and Sarfaraz Khan, and ended in the defeat and death of the latter. The second was fought on 2nd August, 1763, between the English under Major Adams, and the troops of Mir Qasim, commanded by Sumroo and Marcar, the Armenian. Mir Qasim's troops were defeated and took refuge at Udwa Nála* in the Sonthal Pergunnas, where they were again defeated on the 5th September.

But though the two battles have the same name, they were not fought on the same spot. Sarfaraz's battle took place two or three miles to the east of the second one, and on a different side of the river. The place has now been washed away, but it was near the hamlets of Mamintola and Sib Narainpur on the east, or left, bank of the Bhagirathi. Ghaus Khan's tomb, or dargah, used to be in Chandpur, on the east of the river; but both tomb and hamlet were washed away some thirty years ago. The tomb, however, has been re-erected on the west side of the river, in what is also called Chandpur village. Near it there is a new Mamintola. An old man, a descendant of the original Khadim, is in charge of the tomb, and points out three mounds as representing the graves of Ghaus Khan and his two sons, Kutab and Babar. He is aware of the story that Ghaus Khan's body was removed to Bhagalpur, but he says that the bodies of the sons were not removed.†

Major Adams' victory was gained on the right bank of the Bhagirathi, near the mouth of the Banslai. Properly speaking, therefore, it did not occur in Giriah, for that village seems now to have been on the east bank. It is true that some describes the plain of Giriah as being on the west (or right) bank of the Kassimbazar river, i. e. the Bhagirathi, and that in this he is supported by Rennell, who puts Giriah Plain, with the date 1742, on the west side, and Giriah village on the east side. But this is unlikely, and the date 1742 is wrong, if the reference be to Sarfaraz's battle: Tieffen-

* The Statistical Account of Bengal describes Giriah as the last pitched battle fought in Bengal Proper. But Udwa is also in Bengal Proper, being south of Rajmahal and South-East of the passes of Sakragali and Teliagarhi. Perhaps, however, the writer does not regard this as a pitched battle, and it was, in fact a surprise.

† I am indebted for this and other information about Giriah to Babu Nabu Kumar Chakravarti, the Sub-divisional officer of Jangipur. He explains the discrepancies about the position of Giriah, by showing that there are two Giriahs; the village of that name, on the east bank, and Taraf Giriah, which is a tract of country in pargana Shamaskhali, and includes nine villages, of which six are on the east or left bank, and three on the west or right bank.

thaler puts Giriah on the east side only. Orme's authority is not of much weight, for he describes Giriah as being about five miles to the north of Murshidabad, whereas it is nearly thirty miles away. Adams' victory should more properly be called the battle of Suti, and it is so designated in the *Siyar*. The battle has been described by Captain Broome and Colonel Malleeson, and from their accounts it appears that it was fought in the angle formed by the left bank of the Banslai* and the right bank of the Bhagirathi. Mir Quasim's troops abandoned their strong position at Suti and came out on the plain to fight the English. It strikes one as a curious instance of supineness on their part, that they allowed Major Adams to throw a bridge over the Banslai.† Perhaps they were confident of victory, and only wanted to catch the English in a place from which they could not retreat. But after Plassey no native General should have had reliance on mere superiority in numbers.

The Survey Map marks the site of the battle as on the left bank of the Bhagirathi, at a place called Lal Khar. There has been so much diluviation and re-formation, that identification may possibly be correct, but if so, the site has shifted from one side of the river to the other, for the Banslai must always have been on the right bank of the Bhagirathi. Major Adams crossed the Bhagirathi near Murshidabad on 27th July § and marched up the right bank, just as Clive did when he made his wonderful chase of Law in the rains of 1757.

The battle of 1740 is described at great length in the "Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal," || translated by Gladwin, and in the *Riyz-us-Salatin*, which in this place appears to be merely a copy of Gladwin's Persian original. Neither of them gives the date, and the omission is not supplied by the *Siyar*, which merely says that Sarfaraz fought at Khamrah on 22 Moharam (9th April), and that the battle was fought about a couple of days before the middle of Safar: this gives the 27th, or 28th, April as the approximate date of the battle. Local tradition says the battle was fought on a Tuesday morning.¶ Sarfaraz was slow to believe that Aliverdi had any hostile intentions, and he did not bestir himself till the news came to Murshidabad that Aliverdi had passed through the defiles of Teliyagarhi** and Sakragali, and had

* Also called the Phálgu or Phaggu. Tieffenthaler calls it the Pahar.

† Broome, 377.

‡ Babu N. K. Chakravarti informs me that the mouth of the Banslai was 1½ miles to the east of its present embouchure.

§ Broome, 375. || Calcutta, 1787.

¶ This gives the date as 26 April.

** As Aliverdi was Governor of Behar, and had no concern with Bengal, Teliyagarhi was to him what the Rubicon was to Cæsar. It was fortified, as well as Sakragali, but both places were probably more important as gates and boundary marks than as obstacles to invaders. They could always be turned by marching a little way inland, and they could hardly stop the passage of boats—at least, not during the night.

arrived at Rajmahal. He thereupon dispatched some troops under Ghaus Khan and Sharafuddin to check Aliverdi's further progress, and marched out with his main army a few days afterwards. He went by the north road, and his first encampment was at Bamania, his second at Diwan Serai, and his third at Khamrah Serai.* Here he discovered, it is said, that Aliverdi's elder brother, Haji Ahmed, and the Haji's relative, Shahriar, who was darogah, or commander of the artillery, had substituted bricks and clods for cannon-balls. The Haji had been released before this, and had gone to join his brother at Rajmahal,† but Shahriar was superseded, and the charge of the artillery given to Panchu Feringhi, a son of Antony, a Portuguese physician. Meanwhile Aliverdi had advanced as far as Suti‡ and his camp extended from Aurangabad to Charka Belghatta. §

According to Gladwin's Persian author, and his copyist the author of the Riyaz, Sarfaraz made an attack on Aliverdi four days after his leaving Murshidabad, the day and [redacted] pronounced favourable by his astrologers. It is said, too, that the attack would have been successful, but for the treacherous advice of the Rai Rayan, Alam Chand, who recommended that the troops should be retired, as they were becoming exhausted by the heat of the sun. The Siyar, however, says nothing about this preliminary battle, and it is likely enough that the story is apocryphal.

The delay in giving battle was due to negotiations for peace. By what seems an extraordinary blunder, Sarfaraz released Haji Ahmed and sent him to his brother. Haji Ahmed had undertaken to make his brother return to Rajmahal, and according to one account, he satisfied his conscience and his father's, by making the latter turn his elephant's head and march a few yards towards Rajmahal. Aliverdi, too, is said to have misled Sarfaraz and his ambassadors, by saying that he had no wish to fight. He even affected to swear on the Koran

* This is an old place and is marked as "Camera" in Broucke's map circiter 1661.

† Sayar I, 359.

‡ The Mohanna Suti of some writers, being so called, because it used to be the place where the Bhagirathi emerged from the Padma. The Riyaz, p. 311, notices that Suti contains the tomb of Shah Martaza, and in the Itinerary from Bengal to Lassa of Father Georgi, quoted in Tieffenthaler III, 204, &c., we find at p. 206 Mortousahanadi (a) put down as the station, instead of Suti. I presume that Suti is connected with Sota, a stream.

§ Perhaps this is Balighata, marked on the map about five miles west of Suti Police Station. There is, however, a village of Charka marked on the map south of Jangipur, and Balighatta is the name of the northern extremity of Raghunathganj.

(a) Apparently a corruption of the full name Shah Martazanand.

that he would come next day and throw himself at Sarfaraz's feet and beg for forgiveness. But, with a petty fraud, which may remind us of the alleged duplicity of Harold, he substituted* for the Koran, or the glorious volume, as the author of the Siyar calls it, a brick wrapped up in cloth of gold. Sarfaraz we are told, was completely deceived, and ordered his Bakawal, or clerk of the kitchen, to prepare a banquet for the following day. By this time he had left Khamrah and was encamped at Giriah on the banks of the Bhagirathi, while his advance guard, under Mahommed Ghaus Khan and Mir Sharafuddin, was encamped on the further, or western, side, † *i. e.* the same side as Suti, where Aliverdi was encamped. In the night time Ghaus Khan and Sharafuddin came to know that Aliverdi was preparing for battle, and they repaired to Sarfaraz's tent and informed him. But he would not believe them, and dismissed them with harsh words, accusing them of trying to prejudice him against Aliverdi, whom he called his well-wisher. Aliverdi moved out of his camp at about midnight, and divided his forces into two bodies. One he sent to Nanda Lal to oppose Ghaus Khan and Mir Sharafuddin in order to deceive them, he left with it his standard, and his kettledrum. He then, with his Afghan and other choice troops, marched across the Bhagirathi to attack Sarfaraz. They were guided by the harkaras (spies) of Ramkant, the Zamindar of Rajshahye (of the Nattore family). Sarfaraz was at his prayers when Aliverdi approached him, but he immediately jumped up on his elephant, taking, it is said, his Koran in his hand, and advanced against the enemy. He went on with great courage, and discharged a quiverful of arrows against the foe. But his General, Mardan Ali Khan, and the bulk of his troops gave way; and there were none left except a few personal servants and some Abyssinians. ‡ The mahout saw that the day was lost, and offered to take his master across the Bhagirathi to Badi-az-Zaman ||, the Zamindar

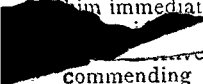
* A similar story is told of Hyder Ali.—*Beveridge's History of India*, II, 251.

† Gladwin and the Riyaz speak of the Giriah Nala, but this seems to be merely another name for the Bhagirathi, which must at that season have contained very little water, and been nearly fordable. See the account in the Siyar. Possibly however the Gobra Khal is meant, as this is marked in Rennell's map of Cossimbazar island, as flowing between Khamrah and Giriah, and falling into the Bhagirathi.

‡ I stated in a previous article that Jangipur is a corruption of Jahangirpur. But it has been suggested to me that the name is really Zangipur, *i. e.* city of Zangis, or Abyssinians. The common pronunciation of the name as Zangipur is in favour of this view, and so also is the fact that it spelt Zangipur in Tieffenthaler, II, 524.

|| There is an account of this family in Appendix D and F to Hunter's Rural Annals of Bengal. It is curious that the author of the Siyar calls

of Birbhum. Sarfaraz replied by striking him on the neck, and saying: "I shall never show my back to those dogs." The mahout therefore advanced still further, and Sarfaraz soon received a bullet in his forehead and was killed. Meanwhile Ghaus Khan and Sharafuddin had been successful against Nanda Lal and had killed him. They then turned to attack Aliverdi, but they were overpowered, and Ghaus Khan and his two sons, Mahammed Kutab and Mahammed Pir,* were slain. The accounts differ about Panchu Feringhi. According to the Riyaz, he was slain on the field, and according to Gladwin, he escaped to Murshidabad. One touching incident occurred at the close of the fight:—

"Bijai Singh, a Rajput, who commanded the rear of Sarfaraz Khan's army, was encamped at Khamrah. When he heard from the fugitives the fate of the battle, he galloped on with only a few horse-men, and penetrating the ranks of the enemy, aimed a spear at Aliverdi Khan. But Diwan Ali, the darogah of the artillery, shot him immediately with a matchlock. Zalim Singh, his son, who was  years old, placed himself over the corpse with his drawn sword. Aliverdi Khan was highly pleased with the boy, and after commending his valour and piety, ordered that his father's body should be burned, according to the custom of their religion."

The Riyaz adds the picturesque touch, that the artillery colonels (hazarian) carried off the boy on their shoulders. Alam Chand, the Rai Rayan, was wounded in the right hand by a bullet and flung himself into the river. He was taken out and conveyed to Murshidabad; but there, it is said, he committed suicide by swallowing diamond dust.†

The Statistical Account of Bengal ends its description of the battle by saying that "an Urdu poem celebrates the victory, in which the result of the fight is mainly attributed to the miraculous valour of Ghias Khan, the General of Aliverdi, who lost his life on the field. Aliverdi built a *dargah* over his valiant soldier's tomb, and the spot is still known as Ghias Khan's Dargah."

This is an unfortunate passage. The General's name was Ghaus, or Ghose, and not Ghias, and he fought against Aliverdi, and not for him. A dargah was built, but it is not very likely that Aliverdi erected it. According to the Siyar, it did not long contain the bodies of Ghaus Khan and his two sons. One Shah Haidar, a saint and a collateral ancestor of Gholam Hossein, the author of the Siyar, was a great friend of Ghaus

Badi-az-Zaman's wife by the title of Rani, and that his translator explains this by saying that the family was originally Hindu and of the Rajput caste. Siyar, II, 157. In Hunter, Appendix F, they are styled Rajahs.

* The Riyaz calls him Babar.

† This story is almost certainly false, for diamond dust is not poisonous except from its mechanical action. In the Baroda case the diamond dust was mixed with arsenic.

Khan and had converted him to Shiism. When he heard of his friend's death he went to Murshidabad and loaded Ali-verdi with reproaches, "which he bore patiently, nor did there come any word from that prince's mouth, but such as savoured humility and submission." Shah Haidar then went to Giriah and dug up the bodies of Ghaus Khan and his sons and companions, and took them to Bhagalpur, where he re-interred them.* Nor does there appear to be any Urdu poem in celebration of the victory. I have received from Babu Nabu Kumar Chakrabarti, the Sub-divisional officer of Jangipur, a Bengali song about the battle which used to be chaunted on the days before Muhammedans became Ferazis and consequently puritanical. It celebrates Ghaus Khan's solitary prowess against Aliverdi. I give the first five lines.

হায় গো আল্লা বারিতালা খোয়াব দিল রেতে ।

গোয়ান খাঁর হবে লড়াই আলিবর্দির সাথে ।

হাতি পরে তুলতুলিতে ঘোড়া পরে রণে ।

আচক মাইর পরিল এসে গিরিয়ার ময়দানে ।

একেলা গৌস খাঁ লড়ে আলিবর্দির সনে ।

It appears from the Siyar† that Ghaus Khan's widow was worthy of him, for when, two or three years afterwards, the Mahrattas were plundering Bhagalpur, she defended her house against them, and so impressed the Mahratta General, Balaji Rao, that he, *mirabile dictu*, protected her from insult and did not allow her to be plundered.

"He was astonished to find so much daringness in a woman; and not content with praising her resolution, he sent her a kind message which he accompanied with a present of some curious stuffs of the Deccan, and some curious brocades. And to put her house and quarter out of all danger, he sent a detachment of his bodyguard to take charge of it, with orders not to stir from thence, until the whole army should be gone and far off. He added that they would answer to him for any insult that she might suffer. After giving this order he continued his route by the hilly country, and the guards having strictly executed their orders, took a respectful leave of the heroine and joined their main body."‡

Sarfaraz's faithful mahout conveyed his body to Murshidabad, and there it was buried darkly and at dead of night in the palace at Nakhtahali. The grave is still there amidst the jungle, but there is no tomb, and the spot is only known to a few. † Aliverdi did not immediately enter the city. He halted at Gobrah, and sent his brother in advance.

* Siyar, I, 701.

† Syar I. 454.

‡ It is about 150 yards south of his mother's mosque and in a deserted garden. The date on the mosque is 1136 (1724).

Such was the end of Sarfaraz, and of the line of Murshid Quli ! There is no reason to regret his fate, for he was an incompetent ruler, and could never have made head against the Mahrattas in the way that Aliverdi did. Aliverdi's character was by no means perfect. His revolt against Sarfaraz, and his treacherous massacre of the Mahratta Generals at Mankara, cannot be excused, even if we suggest that the latter might be a sort of retaliation for the murder of Afzal Khan by Sivaji in the previous century. But he was the best ruler, perhaps, that Bengal ever had, and there was at times a delicacy and chivalry about him, which was, perhaps, hardly to be expected in one who was by birth a Tartar. His conduct to Sarfaraz's family, and to the wife and daughters of Shamsheer Khan, even after he had been cruelly wronged by that Afghan General, are memorable instances of these qualities. None the less it must be admitted that his biography exhibits the weakness of personal government. Like King David and Edward III., he fell a dotage near the end of his life, and chose Sirajuh-ud-daulah for his successor, after having spoiled him by excessive indulgence. On a small scale the mistake was of as evil consequence as that committed by Marcus Aurelius when he left the Roman world to the mercy of Commodus. And it was perhaps less excusable, for Aliverdi Khan knew his grandson's viciousness, while perhaps Marcus Aurelius did not know Commodus' faults. This example, as well as others, shows how little regarded was the fine Muhammedan maxim, that "whoever appoints a person to the discharge of any office, whilst there is another among his subjects more qualified for the same than the person so appointed, does surely commit an injury with respect to the rights of God, the Prophet, and the Musalmans." J. S. Mill quotes* this as occurring in the Koran, but I suspect that it does not occur there. He probably got the quotation from his father's history, and there † it is given as coming from the Hidaya.

Sarfaraz, or more properly Sarafraz, *i. e.* of sublime or exalted head, was the grandson of Murshid Quli Khan by his daughter Zinat-an-Nissa Begam. ‡ Another name of Sarfaraz was Mirza Asad-daula. His grandfather, foreseeing that there might be a difficulty about the succession, and knowing that, according to the custom of the Empire, his savings were liable to confiscation at his death, and that, as the Persian writer expresses it, not even a winding sheet might be left to him, re-

* Essay on Liberty.

† I. 643.

‡ The Siyar calls her in one place Nafisah Begam, but it appears that Nafisah Begam, or Khanam, was really her daughter and the sister of Sarfaraz. After her brother's death she was received into the family of the benevolent Nowazish Ahmed, the eldest son of Haji Ahmed. She adopted him as her son, and superintended his household, and was treated by him with great respect.

solved to make a provision for Sarfaraz, so as to put him beyond the reach of actual want. For this purpose he bought, with the income of his own fief (*Jaghir*), the zamindari of Murshidabad in Kismat Chunakhali, parganas Kalharia, in Sarfaraz's name, from the taluqdar, and had it registered in the books of the exchequer and of the Kanungo under the description of Asadnagar. This seems to be the origin of the small pargana of Asadnagar.

Murshid Quli did not like his son-in-law Shuja-ud-daula, on account of his infidelity to Zinat-~~an~~-Nissa, and for other reasons, and so he tried to pass him over and to procure the succession to the Subahdari for Sarfaraz. But Shuja intrigued against him and was successful in obtaining the patent. Sarfaraz, who seems to have been a well-dispositioned youth, yielded to his father, and always treated him with respect. Unfortunately for himself, he had not the abilities or the force of character either of his grandfather or of his mother. The latter is described as a pattern of virtue, and of so high a rank that, when Aliverdi was nominated by her husband to the government of Bihar, she assumed the right of ratifying the appointment, sent for Aliverdi, and, presenting him with a robe of honour, conferred upon him the government as if from herself. "And it was only after this investiture, that Shuja Khan himself sent for him and presented him, on his part also, with the *khilat* of the Deputyship, or Niabut, of Azimabad (Patna)."

Shuja Khan seems to have had many good qualities, and in particular to have been very good natured, and also a lover of justice. But he marred them by his absoluteness. Perhaps the daughter of Murshid Quli was too much of a Romola to be a pleasant companion for an easy going gentleman.

It is worth noting that the two greatest Nawabs of Bengal, Murshid Quli and Aliverdi,* were strict monogamists. Qasim, who resembled them in industry and in ability for affairs, but had not their martial qualities, had, according to the Siyar, a vast number of women; but he kept them for show only, and in conformity with the custom of Indian princes. So, after the battle of Suti, "these being not for his use, and serving only to encumber his motions, were all set at liberty, with full permission to dispose of themselves," and only his chief wife, *viz.*, the daughter of Mir Jaffar, and a few other ladies, were sent to Rohtas.

Sarfaraz had 1,500† women in his haram, and Siraj-ud-daula had also a large number of concubines. It was women

* Unfortunately Aliverdi's daughters did not walk in his footsteps, and were as licentious as the daughters of Charlemagne.

† According to one version the number was 15,000!

and not wine that destroyed these young men, and that clouded the virtues of Shuja Khan. On the other hand, the Mogul princes, *e. g.* Babar and Akbar's sons and grandsons, seem to have been chiefly victims to drink. Part of this difference may have been due to climate and race, but some part, doubtless, was owing to the Bengal Nawabs being better Muhaminadans than the half-Hindu princes of Delhi. Both Sarfaraz and Sirajah-ud-Daula were pious Masalmans. Sarfaraz, says the Siyar, proved to be "only a pious man addicted to the practices of devotion, and extremely regular in his stated prayers; he fasted three full months, besides the blessed month of the Ramzan, and was scrupulous in the discharge of the several duties prescribed throughout the year; but at the same time he proved extremely deficient in that keenness of discernment, and that extent of mind, so indispensably necessary in a sovereign prince; his soul wholly engrossed by those little practices of religion, he did not pay sufficient attention to the affairs of State." This is the account given by a relative and a brother Shiah. Gladwin's Persian author, who was a Sunni, is more outspoken. He says that all that could be said in Sarfaraz's favour was that he was not a drunkard. He adds that he daily repeated the Dua Saifi, or prayers for the destruction of enemies, but, neglecting to lead a good life, the blessings he sought for were converted into curses. But, though it is clear that Sarfaraz's religion did not save him from immorality, any more than similar piety kept James II chaste, none of the native authorities, so far as I know, mentions Orme's story about the insult to Jagat Set's daughter-in-law.

► Siraj-ud-daula was also very religious and built an Imambara with a medina containing earth brought from the Karbala. ~~He used to drink, but he gave up this habit in accordance with a promise which he made to Aliverdi on his death bed.~~

Sarfaraz succeeded his father in March, 1739. At that time Nadir Shah was in possession of Delhi, and sent a letter to Shuja Khan, which arrived after his death, and was received by Sarfaraz. At the instigation, it is said, of the Rai Rayan and Haji Ahmed, Sarfaraz acknowledged Nadir Shah and struck coins in his name, and had his name mentioned in the Khutba. He also sent him tribute. Afterwards these things were made a handle of by Aliverdi and Haji Ahmed, in order to discredit Sarfaraz with Muhammad Shah.

► KASIMBAZAR RESIDENCY.—In the Hastings MSS. in the British Museum, vol. 29,209, there is a long account of the capture of the Kasimbazar Residency. It does not appear who wrote it, and the copy is by some illiterate person. There are, in the same volume, two accounts of the siege and capture

of Calcutta. The name of the author of the first one is not given, but the second account was written by Captain Grant, acting Adjutant General. I give below the narrative of the taking of Kasimbazar. I am indebted for it to my brother.

The paper begins with an account of Siraj-ud-daulah's accession, his ill treatment of his aunt, Ghasiti Begam, and his quarrel with the English. It then proceeds as follows :—

On Monday, 24 May 1756, in the afternoon, Omar Beg, a Jamadar with his forces, about 3,000 horse, came to Kasimbazar by order of the Nawab. On 25th, 200 horse and some barkandazes reinforced him in the morning, and in the evening he was joined by two elephants and another body of forces, when he endeavoured to force his way in at the factory gate. But he was prevented by the Serjeant of the Guards calling the soldiers to arms, who, fixing their bayonets, kept the gateway. The Jamadar, finding he could not get in by surprise, told them he was not come to fight. The Chief (Mr. Watts) did his utmost to provide a quantity of provisions and water, during which he met with frequent obstructions. Upon more forces advancing, orders were given to load all the great guns with grape and round shot, and to keep a good look out the whole night.

27th May. The drums and 8 o'clock gun silenced, and the gate kept shut, which before was always kept open the whole day, and upon the enemy's forces daily increasing, Dr. Forth was sent to the Jamadar to know the Nawab's intentions, which, he informed them, were to attack the factory unless Mr. Watts went to him and signed such articles as he required. The Munshi, or Persian interpreter, brought Mr. Watts the same intelligence. At this time all provisions and water were entirely stopped, of which there was a great want, particularly of the former, as there were a great number of women, children, slaves and unnecessary persons in the Factory, our complement of men consisting of 35 Europeans, and as many black soldiers, with a few lascars; Messrs. William Watts, Collet and Batson of Council, and Messrs. Sykes, H. Watts and Chambers, writers. Lieutenant Elliot commanded the artillery, as likewise the military, having his son under him as a volunteer.

As it was apprehended the Nawab had no other intent than which the former Nawabs had had, viz., to stop the Company's business till his demands were complied with, by extorting a sum of money, letters were addressed him, wrote in the most submissive terms, to desire to know in what particulars the English had given him offence. But no other reply was sent than that they must pull down their fortifications, newly built at Perrin's* and the octagon summer house of Mr. Kelsall, (which he had also took for a fortification by a parcel of shells having been proved there from time to time,) both places adjoining and within a league of Calcutta.

By this time there was near 50,000 men round the factory, and 70 or 80 pieces of cannon planted against it on the opposite side the river, but not near enough to do any execution.

1st June.—Radhaballabh † came to speak with Mr. Watts, and brought with him three Jamadars, who all advised him to go to the Nawab himself, and that everything might be very easily accommodated. Upon which, he was weak enough to inform them, that if the

* The fortification called Perring's Point, and which was situated at what is now the mouth of the Baliaghatta, or Circular Canal, in Chitpore.

† Orme calls him Rai Dulub. He was the Diwan.

Nawab would send him a Beetle* as a token for his safety and security, he would very willingly, and with pleasure, wait on him. Whereupon Radhaballabh took leave and went away, and soon after brought him a Beetle on a silver dish from the Nawab (at least, as he informed him) and in the evening (of) 2nd June, Mr. Watts and Dr. Forth went to the Nawab in company with Hakim Beg's son, though the Military for a long time endeavoured to persuade him to the contrary, nay, even refused to let him go out of the factory. Upon Mr. Watts' going before the Nawab with his hands across, and a handkerchief wrapt round his wrists, signifying himself his slave and prisoner (this he was persuaded to do by Hakim Beg, Radhaballabh and others, who assured him it might be a means of pacifying the Nawab, his appearing before him in abject submissive manner), he abused him very much and ordered him to be taken out of his sight. But Hakim Beg's son telling the Nawab he was a good sort of a man and intending on hearing of his arrival from Rajmahal to have come and embraced his footsteps (bath bandh ke sahib ka qadambos karna), he ordered him to Hakim Beg's tent, where he signed a Mochalka, and (was) made to send for Messrs. Collet and Batson for the same purpose. But on their arrival they were all three confined. The purport of the Mochalka was nearly as follows, viz.

To destroy the Redoubt, &c., newly built at Perrin's near Calcutta.

To deliver up any of his subjects that should fly to us for protection (to evade justice) on his demanding such subject.

To give an account of the dastaks for several years past, and to pay a sum of money that should be agreed on, for the bad use made of them, to the great prejudice of his revenues.

And lastly, to put a stop to the Zamindar's † extensive power, to the great prejudice of his subjects.

The 4th June.—Mr. Collet was sent back to Kasimbazar to deliver up the factory to the Nawab, which was punctually put in execution with all the guns, arms and ammunition, notwithstanding the soldiers were against it, and congratulated his return with the respect due only to a Chief, by drawing up in two lines for him to pass through.

June 5th.—Mr. Batson was sent back to Kasimbazar and Mr. Collet demanded, when Mr. Watts and he were informed they must get ready to go with the Nawab to Calcutta. This morning upon opening the factory gates, the enemy immediately entered in great numbers and demanded the keys of the godowns, both public and private. They no sooner took possession of the arms and ammunition, but they behaved in a most insolent manner, threatening the gentlemen to cut off their ears, slit their noses, chabuck them, with other punishments, in order to extort confession and compliance from them. This behaviour of theirs lasted till the 8th, when Lieutenant Elliot, having secreted a pair of pistols, shot himself through the head. The gentlemen's surprise was so great, that they instantly sent and informed the Diwan of what had passed, thinking by that means to procure themselves better treatment. He was then searching and examining the soldiers' boxes and chests in order to return to them their clothes and apparel. But on hearing this news, he ordered all the Europeans out of the factory, and put them under a strong guard at Mr. Collet's house, where they all remained that night, except Messrs. Sykes and Batson, who happily found means to make their escape and get to the French factory.

The 9th.—All the prisoners were sent to Muxadavad Cutcherry

* This is not a scarabæus, but a pân or bîra (Piper bétel).

† This must mean the Zemindar of Calcutta, viz., Mr. Holwell.

and put in irons, where they remained ; except (that) after 15 days confinement, Messrs. H. Watts and Chambers were permitted to go to either the French or Dutch factories, provided those gentlemen would give a receipt for them, to be responsible for their appearance when demanded by the Nawab.

The 10th July.—The military were set at liberty. As for the two gentlemen* who were sent to the Aurangs from Kasimbazar, they were also released about the same time, but plundered, as those at the factory were, of everything they had.

The factory is situated close to the river side, and consists of four bastions† mounting each 10 guns, nine and six pounders, also two eighteen pounders to defend the gateway, and a line of 22 guns, mostly field pieces, towards the water side. Some time before Kasimbazar was attacked (but preparations only making for it) Mr. Watts acquainted the Governor and Council that he was told from the Darbar, by order of the Nawab, that he had great reason to be dissatisfied with the late conduct of the English in general. Besides he had heard they were building new fortifications near Calcutta without ever applying to him or consulting him about it, which he by no means approved of, for he looked upon us only as a Set of Merchants, and therefore if we chose to reside in his dominions under that denomination we were extremely welcome, but as Prince of the Country he forthwith insisted on the demolition of all those new buildings we had made. The Nawab at the same time sent to the President and Council, Fucker Tougur‡ with a message much to the same purport, which as they did not intend to comply with, looking upon it as a most unprecedented demand, treated the messenger with a great deal of ignominy and turned him out of their bounds without any answer at all; upon which a second messenger was sent to Mr. Drake to this effect, that unless upon receipt of that order, he did not immediately begin and pull down those fortifications, he would come down himself and throw him in the river. This messenger was treated as ridiculously as the other, and an answer sent agreeable thereto, as likewise by a messenger that was sent some time before to demand the delivery up of Kissendasseat. In the meantime we received intelligence that Cossimbazar factory was surrounded with a large body of forces and a great quantity of cannon, but the Council were determined not to submit to the terms proposed, accordingly directed the Chief at Cossimbazar to make the best defence he could, and promised him succours as soon as the season would admit of it.

The 7th June.—Advice early in the morning was received at Calcutta of the loss of Cossimbazar factory, and that the Nawab was upon full march, with all his forces, for Fort William. The same day orders were sent to the Chiefs of Dacca, Jagdea and Ballasore to withdraw and quit their factories with what effects they could secure, and the Governor, by beat of drum, caused all the inhabitants of Calcutta fit to bear arms to be assembled in order to form a body of Militia, which was accordingly done.

The following remarks on the capture of Kasimbazar are from Captain Grant's paper :—

"The surrender of Kasimbazar on the 4th June by the Chief's being decoyed under many specious pretences to visit the Nawab in the

* Doubtless Hastings was one of them.

† There is a rough plan of the fort in Tieffenthaler I, 453, plate XXXI.

‡ Fakhar Tajar, (properly Fakhr-ul-Tajar), the glory of merchants, a title, I believe, of the Armenian merchant Khwaja Wajid, on account of his salt monopoly.

camp before that place, and on his being made prisoner, induced to deliver it up, you must be informed of ere now, we having despatched Patamars (couriers) as soon as we received the news on the 7th.

We may justly impute all our misfortunes to the loss of that place, as it not only supplied our enemies with artillery and ammunition of all kinds, but flushed them with hopes of making as easy a conquest of our chief settlement; not near so defensible in its then circumstances. Kasimbazar is an irregular square with solid bastions, each mounting 10 guns, mostly nine and six lbs., with a saluting battery on the curtain to the riverside of 24 guns, from 2 to 4 lbs., and their carriages, when I left the place in October last, in pretty good order. Besides, 8 Cohorn mortars, 4 and 5 inches, with a store of shells and grenades. Their garrison consisted of 50 military under the command of Lieutenant Elliot, a Serjeant, Corporal and 3 Matrossy (sic) of the artillery and 20 good lascars. The ramparts are seen by two houses which lay within 20 yards of the walls, but as each is commanded by 5 guns from the bastions, the enemy could hardly keep possession of them."

The above account is fuller and more accurate than that given by Orme. No doubt the surrender of Kasimbazar was a great blow. The news reached Calcutta on 7th June, and on the 16th idem, the Nawab made his attack on Perring's redoubt. It is worth while remarking that Captain Grant, who seems to write rather severely about the surrender of Kasimbazar, deserted Calcutta, along with Drake, the Governor, and Minchin, the commandant.

Now that I have written so much about old Murshidabad, I should like to finish by saying a few words about the modern district. Sir William Hunter has remarked that Murshidabad forms one of the few examples of a district which has declined in opulence and importance under British rule.

The old greatness of Murshidabad was of a factitious character, and nothing can restore it. It was the accident of a quarrel between Aurangzeb's grandson, Azim-us-Shan and Murshid Quli Khan, which made Murshidabad a capital. There was nothing in the nature of things to entitle it to the honour, and it does not say much for Murshid Quli's foresight or local knowledge, that he selected, for the seat of his government, the bank of a decayed river. The Bhagirathi may have been once the great Ganges, but this was many centuries ago. In the Portuguese map of 1540, we see the main stream, that is, the Padma, flowing eastward as it does now. We see the same thing in Blaeu's map of 1650, and still more distinctly in Broucke's map of about 1661. In January 1666, as Major Sherwill has pointed out, Bernier had to proceed from Donapur* to Kasimbazar by land, on account of a sand bank near "Soutiqui" (Suti).

* Perhaps the same as Dulabpur. Tavernier's distances are very incorrect. He speaks of Donapur as being six coss from Rajmahal, but the

Murshid Quli, therefore, could be under no mistake as to the capabilities of the river. We are told that the choice of Murshidabad was the result of several days' deliberation among the Kanungoes and Zamindars. Probably they, being Hindus, thought chiefly of the sanctity of the spot. Murshid Quli would have done better to have consulted Muhammadan statesmen, and Hindu traders. Indeed, he would probably have acted wisely if he had simply gone back to Rajmahal, the capital of Sultan Sujah. I suspect that he was little more than a keen financier. He was a great hand at collecting revenue, and used to remit much money to Delhi, where it was about as much lost to the district, as if it had gone, as now perhaps it does, to the scientific frontier. One of his master-strokes was to resume the jaghirs or military fiefs of Bengal, and make the holders take equivalents in the disturbed province of Orissa.

Apparently the only thing which could make Murshidabad prosperous would be the Bagirathi's remaining open and navigable throughout the year. At present it is a fine river for about four months, and for the remaining eight, it is a depressing sight. It is melancholy to see the great Padma passing, as it were, the treasury door of the district at Nyn Sukh and Chapghatty, and hardly vouchsafing to cast in a trifle from its superfluity. That the river remains open at all, is probably due to the bandels and other constructions of the executive engineers. The bed of the Bhagirathi is said to be higher than that of the Padma, and if this is the case, real improvement is almost hopeless. There is a toll station at Jangipur, and large sums* are collected annually. It would probably be better if this money, and the work of keeping the river open, were made over to the District Board.

Silk used to be a great product of the district, but it is steadily losing ground, the result, apparently, of the competition of China, Japan and Italy. Indigo, too, has much fallen off.

Looking to my own department, *viz.*, judicial work, I should say that much might be done by making civil and

distance must be nearer sixteen coss. Abul Fazl and Badaoni, writing of 1579, speak of the Ganges as flowing between Gaur and Tanda, but I suspect all that is meant is the little Ganges or Bhagirathi. I doubt if Tanda city was ever on the west side of the river. There was hardly room between it and Gaur for the great Ganges. Abul Fazl mentions the Padma as flowing eastward. He names Kazihattah as being near the point of divergence. This village seems to have now disappeared, but it is marked in Broucke's map as Hasiar or Kasiarhati. It was in Sarkar Barbakabad. Mr. Price, the Collector of Rajshaye, informs me that there is a village called Kazihatta, in pargana Goverhat, but that it is not on the bank of the Ganges.

* They average about Rs. 30,000 a year.

criminal justice cheaper and more rapid. The eastern part of the district is in want of a sub-division. On the great Chars of the Ganges there is no adequate protection for life or property.

In conclusion, it would be unjust not to notice the improvement that has been made by the draining of Berhampore. This is due, I believe, to Mr. Wickes, and has made the station much healthier. We no longer see the sepoy's parade ground and the race course covered with water, as in Mrs. Sherwood's time.

H. BEVERIDGE.

ART. II.—NATIONS IN ARMS.

A Review of the Development of the Modern National and Territorial Systems of Army Organisation.

WAR is the sport of kings, the trade of soldiers, and, to the rest of mankind, a necessary evil, to be endured as best may be. But it was not always so. When we study the records of history, war appears to us to have been the earliest general employment of the human race. The first traces of the occupation of this earth by man are found in spear-heads and arrow-heads shaped from flint or bone. It is impossible even to conjecture at what period, long anterior to the dawn of history, the primitive ancestors of the Aryan and Semitic races contended with rival tribes for the possession of water-springs and pasture-lands.

The earliest literature of all nations make us familiar with their familiarity with war : the Iliad tells us of the war between Greeks and Trojans, the Maha-Bharata celebrates the strife of the Pandyas with the Kauravas : the oldest of the Hebrew Scriptures tells us of the battle of the four kings against five : the hieroglyphics of ancient Egypt, and the cuneiform inscriptions on Assyrian ruins, are, for the most part, records of conquests, expeditions, sieges, campaigns. War must have commenced simultaneously with the commencement of separate tribal and national existence, and it will probably end only when such separate existence is merged in one great universal human brotherhood, if such a desirable consummation should ever happen to be brought about. Meanwhile we may congratulate ourselves that our modern civilisation has, at all events, diminished the frequency of wars. Nations in an early, or imperfect, stage of civilisation, like the Red Indians, the New Zealanders, the Afghan and Bedouin Arab tribes, spend most of their time in war, and look on it as their normal state of existence. Nor is this to be wondered at, for a state of nature seems to be also a state of strife : warring elements pervade inanimate nature, while animated nature presents the appearance of a continual battle-field, in which the weak and timid become the prey of the brave and the strong.

Among the civilised nations of Europe war has ceased to be the chief aim and end of life : but it is still one of the greatest of human industries. The latest inventions and discoveries of science are pressed into its service : and the new departure by which every citizen of a nation must become a trained soldier and serve his time in the ranks, brings war home to the hearths

of all without exception; and cannot fail to have a far-reaching effect on the future social and political developments of the human race. It is of this new departure, whereby a civilised nation and a disciplined army have become, at the present day, synonymous, or convertible terms, that we propose to treat, and to review the origin, and examine the results, of this new development of military organisation.

It is a trite saying that history repeats itself, and it is curious that, after four thousand years of history, the civilised nations of Europe should have returned to the earliest principles of military service, when every able-bodied man of the tribe or nation bore arms in the common cause.

In the Pentateuch we find the children of Israel reckoned by the number of men that drew the sword: every grown male member of the congregation was girt with sword on his thigh, and was counted a warrior of the host of the Lord. Similarly, among the Gallic and German nations, we find the whole tribe turning out to battle, and only the women and children left in the camp, or with the waggons. In the Grecian and Roman Republics every free citizen owed and rendered military service to the State. Some of these States had organisations almost as thorough and as complex as those of modern times. The Spartans were associated in permanent squads and companies, which were lodged and fed together in time of peace, as well as war.

The wealthy Romans served as *equites* or horsemen: the poorer citizens served on foot, taking their place, according to their age, in the tactical divisions of the Legion, as either *Hastati*, *Principes*, or *Triarii*; a distribution curiously paralleled in the present day by the division of a modern national army into Active Army, Landwehr, and Landsturm (Turkey, Nizam, Redif, and Mustahafiz). But, with the spread of commerce, the increase of wealth and luxury, and the growth of civilisation, the employment of mercenary troops came into fashion, the rôle of the soldier was gradually separated from that of the civilian, and the profession of arms became a particular calling. The overthrow of the Roman Empire, and the partial extinction of its civilisation by the Northern barbarians, caused this whole process to be gone through over again.

In the feudal system of mediæval Europe, service in the wars constituted the universal bond between the vassal and his lord, between the client and his patron. Every able-bodied man must serve his master in war, as in peace. The profession of arms was the only career open to men of noble or gentle birth. Every knight was a warrior by profession; but the establishment of Orders of knighthood, especially

of the monastic Orders, such as those of the Templars and Hospitallers in the time of the Crusades, once more formed organised bodies of professional soldiers : and these were imitated in the Free Companies, bodies of men who embraced the soldier's career for a livelihood, selling their services to the king or republics who bid the highest for them. Soon the training and supply of mercenaries became a regular trade ; and soldiers of fortune like the Captal de Buche, Sir John Hawksworth, and the Constable Bourbon, swarmed over Europe, ready to sell their services to the highest bidder ; while the Holy Roman Emperor and the Most Christian King, engaged Italian *condottieri*, German *Lanzknechts*, or Swiss mercenaries, to fight their battles, as more effective and more trustworthy than the feudal levies of peasants taken from the plough-tail, and shepherds taken from the fold. The professional soldiers studied the art of war, and their marked superiority to the raw feudal levies, led by degrees to their continuous employment, and the era of standing armies had begun. The invention of fire-arms was a most potent factor in accomplishing this revolution. The hand-gun was a weapon to manage which a special training was required ; and it was an expensive and complicated machine, which could not be easily provided by anyone, like a pike or a longbow. The earliest mercenary soldiers we read of in English history, as employed in England, are the German hackbut-men, or arquebusiers, whom Edward the Fourth brought back from the Continent with him, to fight at Barnet and Tewkesbury.

Warlike monarchs like Charles the Fifth and Francis the First soon appreciated the advantage of having these trained bodies of troops, who were always ready to march and to fight, and they also soon discovered that it would be both cheap and safer to raise and pay an army of their own, than to hire it on a contract system from an independent Captain. The formidable Spanish army of Charles the Fifth was the first notable example of a real national standing army in Europe : the Catholic League raised a fine army for the suppression of the Protestant religion in Germany : and the Emperor Ferdinand was so jealous of it, that he commissioned the celebrated Wallenstein to raise another army for his own service—the famous Imperialist Army of the Thirty Years' War.

The attempt of Wallenstein to use this formidable army against his Imperial master, which resulted in his own death, was a flagrant warning against the dangers of the contract system, in which the mercenary army owed a divided allegiance to the Captain who had raised it, and to the Sovereign who employed it ; and, by the end of the great war, most of

the kingdoms of Europe owned royal standing armies, which were gradually raised to a high pitch of efficiency. The Swedish army, trained by the king Gustavus Adolphus, the Lion of the North, remained the model for all European armies, till it was vainly sacrificed by Charles the Twelfth in undertaking enterprises beyond even its power to accomplish : and it perished, overtaken by its own exertion, and overwhelmed by the numbers of its foes. The French and the Imperialist armies were the largest in Europe: England first possessed a standing army under the Commonwealth, which Cromwell brought to as high a perfection of drill, discipline, and equipment as was at that time possible.

This army was disbanded after his death ; but Charles the Second brought over some Rôyalist regiments with him from the Continent at the Restoration, which formed a nucleus for the present British Army. One of these regiments was Dunbarton's, composed of Scotchmen, raised on the contract system for king Gustavus Adolphus, to fight in defence of the Protestant religion in the Thirty Years' War. After the king's death in the battle of Lutzen, the Scotsmen passed into the service of the King of France, who was a better paymaster than the Swedes : and King Louis made a present of their services to his friend Charles the Second at his Restoration. The regiment now called the Lothian, or Royal Scots regiment, is now the first of the English Line, and is supposed to be the oldest corporate body of regular troops in the world. Another of the regiments was composed of Englishmen, and had been raised in England for the service of Prince Maurice of Nassau, who was heading the insurrection of the Dutch Protestants against the Catholic Spaniards. It is now the Buffs, or East Kent regiment, the third of the English Line. The second and fourth regiments of foot were raised to garrison Tangier, part of the dowry of Queen Catherine of Braganza, who at the same time brought Bombay to the English Crown ; and the second regiment still bears the device of the Paschal Lamb on its colours, the emblem of its Christian service against the infidels of Morocco.

Poland was the only nation of Europe which never succeeded in establishing a standing army : and its failure to do so was owing to the general disorganisation which led, a hundred years later, to the dismemberment of that unhappy kingdom. Wealthy States, with small resources in the way of population, like the republics of Holland and Venice, continued to employ foreign mercenaries : Venice contracted with the Elector of Hanover, the father of our King George the First, for a whole army of German soldiers, General included, to fight the Turks in the Levant.

Strange as it now seems, the Ottoman Turks were the first nation to introduce a standing army into Europe. Their Sipahis (cavalry), Janissaries (infantry) and Topjis (artillery) were the first example of soldiers always kept on foot, lodged in barracks, and regularly paid, clothed, and rationed by the State. The first companies of Janissaries were formed in 1336, two hundred years before the establishment of the Spanish royal army of Charles the Fifth. The institution of this formidable standing army is unique in Oriental annals : no similar instance has ever been seen in any Eastern nation.

It contributed powerfully to the rapidity and permanence of Ottoman conquest ; and its superiority to the feudal levies of the Christian nations which opposed it, is a frequent theme of the chroniclers of the time. It is possible that its example may have been the cause of the institution of standing armies in Europe : it is certain that many of the customs in force in our European armies at this day, may be traced back to practices and regulations in force in the corps of Janissaries.

But in the seventeenth century this once formidable army had greatly deteriorated : its discipline had become relaxed, and its efficiency impaired from many causes which we need not here enumerate : and one result of the establishment of standing armies by the Christian Powers, was the complete reversal of the balance of military power between the East and the West. The Turks were driven clean out of Hungary, in which country they had held their ground for two hundred years. Bernier, the French physician and traveller, reviewing the countless hosts of the Grand Mogul, Aurangzeb, observed that "a few battalions led by a Condé or a Turenne would probably soon put all these masses of men to the rout ;" a forecast which was fulfilled half a century later, when the bayonet charge of a single French battalion scattered the Army of the Nawab of Arcot, "unaccustomed to such hardy and precipitate onsets," and showed that the Empire of India was a prize to the arms of Europe.

Another result of the establishment of standing armies was an immense increase in the Royal power and prerogative. Cardinal Ximenes awed the turbulent Spanish nobility by pointing to the battalions drawn up in the Palace courtyard ; "With these," he said proudly, "I govern Castile." An armed nation was practically powerless against a comparatively small body of professional soldiers. The first use Charles the Fifth made of his standing army was to destroy the liberties of Spain by suppressing its Parliaments. The ancient free institutions of the Spanish Netherlands, and of the kingdom of Bohemia, were trampled under foot in the same way, and there is no saying what might have been the course of English

history, had Charles the First already possessed the standing Army which Lord Strafford proposed to raise for him at the outbreak of the dispute between the Crown and the Parliament.

The opinion of the age identified the institution of a standing army with despotism; and the experience of Cromwell's military rule in England intensified that opinion. After the Restoration of the Stuart dynasty, all political parties in England united in offering the most obstinate opposition to the establishment of a standing army. The Whigs hated it, because it menaced the liberties of the nation: the Tories hated it, because they remembered the tyranny of the soldiery under the usurper Cromwell. One disliked it because it might make the monarch all powerful: the other because it might be the means of overthrowing the dynasty. Every speech made in the House of Commons against this dangerous innovation, during the reigns of Charles and James the Second, is pointed by an allusion to the Turkish Janissaries, who, "being now grown proud and lazie, as is the manner of men living in continual pay, with arms in their hands, doubt not to do whatsoever unto themselves seemeth best, be it never so foule or unreasonable." But these apprehensions did not turn out to be well grounded. King James the Second increased the army by a number of regiments; but he tried in vain to make it subservient to his unpopular policy. Reviewing the Twelfth Regiment of foot, the King proclaimed that such officers and soldiers as objected to receive Catholics into the ranks, should lay down their arms. The whole battalion grounded arms as one man. The mortified Monarch was constrained to tell them to take them up again: but he muttered aside: "It shall be the worse for them;" an unfortunate remark, unfortunately overheard, which stood him in no good stead when the army was called on to choose between him and William of Orange. Under the latter sovereign the British Army became finally and firmly established: for as soon as we were at war with France, which already possessed a large standing army, even the members of the Country Party in the House of Commons, recognised that of two evils the maintenance of a standing army was to be chosen, rather than the endurance of defeat, loss, humiliation, and, perhaps, national ruin.

All these standing armies were recruited, like the Free Companies and mercenary bands that had preceded them, by voluntary enlistment. The soldier enlisted for life, and knew no other trade. Standing armies were still comparatively small, and they could be thus kept up without much trouble. At a pinch, crimps and press-gangs were employed, without risk of startling the public opinion of the time. In time of war, kings

and ministers were often at their wits' end to devise means of keeping their armies up to full strength. In England criminals were given their choice of going to gaol, or into the army. In Germany the petty princes who swarmed in that country, still exacted feudal service from their subjects, who were formed into squadrons and battalions, and dressed and drilled into the semblance of some monstrous mechanical toy, which was forthwith sold at a handsome profit to the Republic of Venice to fight the Turks, or to the King of England to coerce the unruly colonists of North America. In Russia, when recruits ran short, nobles and landholders were indented on for a wholesale supply of serfs. In Prussia, which kept up an army quite out of all proportion to the population, crimping and kidnapping was freely resorted to, and the Prussian recruiting agents became perfect pests in all the neighbouring countries. As armies grew larger and larger, the discipline severer, the duty harder, and the pay no higher, it became more and more difficult to fill the ranks by voluntary enlistment. In the days of the Thirty Years' War, there was no lack of recruits: armies were still small, so pay was good; discipline was slack; plundering was allowed, or prize money was distributed to the troops to ransom a town from sack. Compared with other trades, that of a soldier was a fairly lucrative one. The free and jovial life that tempted bold spirits into the army in those days, is vividly portrayed by Schiller in his drama of *Wallenstein's Lager*, in which the trooper sings—

"Who looks on Death's face with a fearless brow,
The soldier alone, is the freeman now.

"'Tis from heaven his jovial lot has birth,
He needs not to strive nor to toil;
The peasant may grope in the bowels of earth,
And for treasure may greedily moil;
He gropes and he grubs thro' life for the pelf
He gropes and he grubs out a grave for himself."

And again he sings of the soldier—

"With the troubles of life he ne'er bothers his pate
And he knows neither care nor sorrow;
But he boldly rides onward to meet with his fate;
He may meet it to-day or to-morrow.
It may come to-morrow; then let us to-day
To the dregs drain the goblet of life while we may!"

But these merry times did not last. When plundering was prohibited, as subversive of discipline, prize-money paid into the military chest, and sobriety under arms and punctuality in the performance of duty were enforced by the unsparing application of the stick, the soldier's life was not a happy one. It became more and more difficult to obtain willing recruits, and fraud and force were freely resorted to by the recruiting officers and ser-

geants to entrap the unwary. Frederick the Great was forced to have recourse to crimping and kidnapping on a grand scale, to augment the famous army with which Prussia faced Europe in arms. When he made prisoners from the enemy, he used to enlist them forthwith into his own service *nolens volens*, and send them off by whole battalions to relieve the Prussian garrisons in the remotest corner of his dominions. However, he made an exception against Frenchmen, against whom he had conceived a prejudice, and had forbidden their enlistment into his army ; but one of his Colonels, hard up for recruits to fill his ranks, had taken a handsome and stalwart young Frenchman who offered himself as a recruit. The old king was, one day, inspecting the battalion, the chief business and pleasure of his life. As he constantly asked questions of the soldiers during his inspections, the Colonel had coached the young Frenchman, who was not much of a German scholar, in the answers that he was to make to His Majesty. He was made to repeat in German the answers to the questions as to how long he had served ; how old he was ; and whether he was satisfied with his pay and rations which were the usual queries put by the king, until he was perfect in his lesson. The appearance of the young Frenchman at once attracted the notice of the old king, who asked him how long he had served. The recruit replied "Five and twenty years : " the astonished monarch asked him how old he was : "six months" replied the Frenchman innocently. "Are you an idiot, or do you take me for one ?" roared the king : "Both, your Majesty," replied the soldier imperturbably ; which obliged the Colonel to come forward and confess to his breach of the enlistment regulations.

This prejudice of the old king against Frenchmen was the cause of the desertion of Angereau, afterwards a Marshal of France under the Emperor Napoleon, and who was at one time a private in the Prussian army. Twenty years afterwards, in the total rout of the Prussian army at Jena and Auerstadt, the very regiment in which Angereau had served as a private, was captured by the troops which he now commanded as a Marshal of France ; and it gives one some idea of the unchanging character of armies in those days of long service and enlistment for life, when we hear that Marshal Angereau found in his old Prussian company the same Captain, the same Serjeant-Major, and many of the same men, with whom he had served twenty years before.

At that epoch no one suspected what a splendid human harvest lay all around, ready to the recruiting officer's sickle. When soldiers were enlisted for life, a king who had exacted universal compulsory service from his subjects would have depopulated his country. He was content to accept the service

of the needy and the ne'er-do-well, and to leave the thrifty tradesman and the patient husbandman to follow the calling of their fathers. But, just as the institution of standing armies in France and Germany had forced England and other nations to undertake their maintenance in their own self-defence, so the adoption, first of conscription, and then of universal compulsory service by one nation, forced the acceptance of these measures as an imperative necessity on all the other nations of the Continent of Europe, as we shall proceed to relate.

The raising of troops by conscription had been common in Germany and in Russia during the eighteenth century, and it was gradually replacing the system of recruiting by voluntary enlistment, when the French Revolution broke out, and at once plunged the nations of Europe into universal war. The defence of the soil of the young Republic, when France found herself menaced on all her frontiers at once by the hosts of the confederated monarchs of Europe, necessitated a continuous supply of recruits to supplement the numbers of the hundred and fifty thousand old soldiers of the Bourbon monarchy who had taken service under the Tricolor; but the supply of volunteers proved quite unequal to meet the demand for more fighting men. The nation which had just newly discovered liberty and equality, was the first to legalise and systematise forced military service anew. The Republican War Minister, Carnot, one of those men born with a genius for organisation like the Vazir Ala-ud-Din, the founder of the Janissaries, or General Booth of the Salvation Army, introduced a regular system of military conscription into France, under which every department and commune was rated to find a certain number of recruits annually in proportion to its population. The able-bodied men of the nation being still many more than were required to fill the gaps of the largest army till then dreamt of, the selection was made by lot, or ballot: exceptions were numerous, and the purchase of substitutes was allowed.

Under Carnot's direction such a stream of conscripts joined the colours, that first the Directory, and afterwards Napoleon, was able to meet at all points with superior numbers the combined forces of the great military Powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. In a few years the strength of the French armies in the field became doubled and trebled in numbers by this means. It was this system of Carnot's devising, which provided Napoleon with the means of putting into action the extravagant plans framed by his boundless ambition, and, like a reckless speculator, he discounted his resources in advance, calling out the quotas of men for the conscription, one, two, and even three years before they were due. All the States of Europe now found themselves under the necessity of adopting

a similar system, in order to enable their armies to meet the French on anything like equal terms. Voluntary enlistment almost disappeared altogether, and also the less-to-be-regretted crimps and pressgangs. Still, the liability of the citizen to military service was regulated by the number of men whom the treasury could afford to keep under arms, as well as by the needs of the hour, and by the ability to provide a substitute. Voluntary service had given place to compulsory, but no one as yet dreamt of making the latter of universal application. It was not long, however, before the scheme of Carnot was, under the stress of circumstances, carried out to its logical conclusion: and, once again, necessity proved the mother of invention.

The overthrow of the Prussian army in one day by Napoleon and his Marshals at Jena and Auerstadt, laid the monarchy at the feet of the conqueror, and he was able to impose his own terms of peace. One of the stipulations, designed to effectually cripple the vanquished nation, and to guard against the danger of its revenge, was that the Prussian army should for the future never exceed the number of forty thousand men. The Prussian king and cabinet were not deterred by their acquiescence in this stipulation, from harbouring designs of revenge, and the patriotic ministers Von Stein and Von Scharnhorst, deliberately set themselves to find the means of evading it. Von Scharnhorst, who was a soldier and the Minister for War, found the means in short service. Directly forty thousand men had been thoroughly trained as soldiers, they were dismissed to their homes, and forty thousand fresh conscripts drawn to replace them. This was conveniently and quietly managed by a system of annual drafts, about one-third of the army being replaced every year, the Government retaining a lien on the services of the men who were dismissed to their homes.

Scharnhorst also invented the method of dividing the men of various ages into the three classes, or Bands, of Regulars, Landwehr (Militia) and Landsturm (Fencibles). Consequently, when Prussia joined Russia against Napoleon in 1813, after the disastrous retreat of the French from Moscow, she was able to put an army of two hundred thousand seasoned soldiers into the field at once, who, by sheer physical strength, overthrew, on the fields of the Katzbach, and at Kulm, the gallant but immature striplings with whom Napoleon was fain to fill up the gaps in his first line. His incessant campaigns had exhausted the resources of the population in France, and, during his later wars, the conscription was carried on by discounting the drafts which were not due for several years more; and the large army with which he took the field in 1813, was principally composed (much to his own disgust) of lads, only half

trained, and physically unfit, besides, to support the toils and privations of a campaign.

After the overthrow of Napoleon and the general peace, the system of Scharnhorst was still maintained in Prussia; and, though it was not very rigorously enforced, it enabled Prussia to keep up a much larger army proportionally than any other Power in Europe, considering the amount of her resources and population. But, during the reign of King Frederick William the Fourth, his brother, the late Emperor William, was at the head of the army. He took great pains to improve and consolidate the system of Scharnhorst; and, on his accession to the throne, with the assistance, and under the guidance of his able co-adjutors, the statesman Von Bismarck and the soldier Von Moltke, he perfected the system of universal compulsory service, whereby every able-bodied Prussian became liable to serve the State as a soldier from his twentieth to his fortieth year. The whole kingdom was mapped out into recruiting districts corresponding to the battalions, regiments, brigades, divisions, and army corps of an army.

Every year, all the young men who attained the age of twenty, were collected by the recruiting officers, and drafted into the cavalry, artillery, engineers, infantry, train or military departmental service, according to their physical fitness and other qualifications. Few exceptions were allowed; only those were exempted who were physically unfit, or were the only bread winners of a family, or were candidates for Holy Orders. The recruits had to serve three years with the colours, living in barracks, and paid, fed, and clothed by the State. Young men of means were allowed the privilege of maintaining themselves, and of messing apart from the common herd, as "*Einjahr Freiwilliger*," or one year volunteers. In consideration of their paying all their own expenses, they were dismissed to their homes on furlough after a year's service, if reported thoroughly proficient. The rest of the soldiers were dismissed to their homes on furlough on the completion of their third year of service, coming up again once every year to take part in the annual autumn manoeuvres. At the end of three years more, the soldier on furlough quitted his line regiment, and was transferred to the Landwehr regiment of the same district. He still had to turn out for a fortnight, or a month, of annual training in camp or barracks. After six years service in the Landwehr, he was transferred to the ranks of the Landsturm, and was no more troubled with training, but was liable to be called up for service at any time.

After forty years of age he was left to himself as a civilian. All the equipments of these furlough-men, Landwehr and Landsturm, were kept ready in store at the head quarters of their

regiments. Absolutely nothing was wanting. Even money in hard cash was safely stored away in the treasure vaults of the fortresses, so that the sinews of war might be forthcoming on the spur of the moment, without application to the Treasury or reference to Parliament. The words "Krieg Mobil" had only to be telegraphed from the war office at Berlin to the headquarters of the different army corps, and within a week every Prussian liable to service would be standing on parade in his proper place, shoulder to shoulder with his tried comrades, all clothed, armed, and fully equipped for war.

The attempt to evade the obligation of military service was made a criminal offence, and visited with the heaviest penalties. These measures did not pass into law in Prussia without loud protest and vigorous opposition from the Liberal party; but the King and Bismarck were enabled to carry them through with the support of the majority of the nation, who recognised that their grand scheme for uniting Germany into one empire under the hegemony of Prussia could be carried out only by an absolute preponderance of military force. And this preponderance was obtained—numerically by the system which we have just described, and tactically and morally by the perfection of the training and equipment of the troops, in which the theories of Von Moltke were worked out by practical soldiers like the King and the Princes of the Royal House of Prussia. It has been cleverly said that there are two institutions of human origin, and only two, in which the means are perfectly adapted to the end sought to be attained: and these are the Roman Church and the German Army.

The Prussian soldiers had been armed with the breech-loader for twelve years before the incontestable proof of its superiority on the battlefields in Bohemia drove all the other nations of Europe to adopt it in panic haste. And, similarly, the re-organisation of their army on the new national and territorial lines had attracted little notice, and invited no imitation, until the signal and decisive triumph of the Prussian arms over Austria and the confederated minor German States in the Seven Weeks' War. The eyes of alarmed Europe were now widely opened to the chief secret of their success, which was nothing less than the system of universal compulsory military service. As the other European nations had already borrowed the conscription from France, so they set themselves now to borrow universal liability to service and the Reserve System from Prussia; and everyone of them, almost without exception, proceeded to saddle itself with this grievous burden. Autocratic Russia and Republican France, Austria, Italy, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland, even Greece and Roumania, all followed suit, and huge national territorial armies, minutely

organised and detailed, and thoroughly munitioned and equipped, have succeeded to the standing armies which took the place of the old feudal levies. The one exception is Great Britain. Grace to her insular position, she alone stands aloof from the new movement. She was long ago forced, however ungraciously, to acknowledge the necessity for a standing army; and of that army in time she grew fond and proud; but she has succeeded in keeping herself free from the burden of conscription when all her rivals and allies have found themselves forced to bow their necks beneath its yoke. We shall presently consider whether this fortunate exemption is likely to endure.

Under the conscription system of Carnot, the strength of armies was doubled and trebled, but, under the new Prussian system, it has again been multiplied six or eight times. A century ago, the French army under the Bourbon Monarchy—then one of the largest in Europe—numbered a hundred and fifty thousand men:—under Napoleon it rose to half a million; to-day it musters three-and-a-half millions! Germany has even more. Russia reaches the enormous total of five millions, while the Austrian Empire and the kingdom of Italy come something short of three millions each. As the emulation is still keen, even these numbers are being continually augmented; and this is done in two ways: by lengthening the period of liability to service, as the French have done lately by extending it from 20 to 25 years, and by gathering in the overplus men; for in every annual conscription there are a certain number of men left over for whom there is no room in the army, the *cadres* being all filled full; and these men form what is called in Prussia the Ersatz Reserve; men liable to service, but untrained. The German Emperor has just elaborated a scheme for making room for these men in the ranks of the army, by reducing the period of service with the colours from three to two years.

It is computed that there are altogether over twenty-eight millions of Europeans, all in the prime of manhood, trained as soldiers, and liable to be called out in the event of war. The annual cost of these national armies is about a hundred and twenty millions sterling annually. It must be remembered that, of all these hosts, only a quarter of the number are actually under arms and drawing pay and rations. Three fourths of them, all the reserve forces, receive nothing from the State as pay or maintenance, except when they are actually called out for training. The strength of the armies has been thus enormously increased at very little additional cost; and the system may therefore be described as an economical, and not an extravagant, one, the cheap defence of nations. Still the provision of war *matériel* grows continually more expensive,

owing to the improvements of science ; and the provision of complete equipment, to enable all these millions of men to take the field, forms no trifling addition to the military budget.

The burden is felt by wealthy countries like France and Germany ; while poor countries like Russia and Italy are gradually drifting into bankruptcy from the drain on their financial resources, and their people are taxed to the uttermost limit.

But if the burden be found unbearable, assuredly it need not be borne. What man, or what class, shall impose an adverse will upon an armed nation ? Hitherto monarchs and aristocracies have overawed and overruled an unarmed nation by means of a trained army, which formed a class apart, a separate caste, the interests and privileges of which were bound up with the maintenance of the existing government. But now the nation is the army, and army is the nation in arms.

It is evident that the new departure must immensely strengthen the cause of democracy, a result the last that its inventors and improvers would have looked or hoped for. It might, for the future, be impossible for a ruler to carry out any policy opposed to the national sentiment : impossible for him to rule at all, but by the will of the nation. Fortunately for the rulers, perhaps, the nations have not yet awaked to the full consciousness of their increased and irresistible strength.

Nor are the social consequences of the new departure as yet clearly developed. We find the most opposite and most contradictory opinions on this subject expressed by able and experienced men who have made it their special study. One school affirms that the discipline of military training is most beneficial to the manhood of a nation. It inculcates habits of self-restraint, punctuality, promptitude, and method. It unites different classes together, gives them a common interest and occupation, welds them into a harmonious national whole, teaches them to subordinate all other considerations to the call of duty. Another school maintains that it demoralises the manhood of a nation ; withdraws the youth from regular industry ; introduces him to the loose and vicious habits of life common to celibate communities or warriors ; habituates him, if not to the practice, at all events to the familiar contemplation, of drunkenness and debauchery, and returns him to civil life a worse man than it found him.

With regard to its effect on industry and production, there is a similar singular discrepancy of opinion. Some hold that it cripples the industry of a nation, withdrawing a number of labourers and artisans from the task of production : others maintain that it is a real benefit to an industrial community, by the relief it affords to a labour-market

congested by over-population, as in the case of our own and most other European countries. But, as the number of men actually serving with the colours, and withdrawn from labour for the time being, is not much greater now than under the old system; and as the whole population is equally and impartially affected, we imagine that very little economical change in the matter of production and labour can have been effected by the new departure.

The British Empire is now the only civilised Power in the world (excepting the United States of America) which does not make military service, in some sort or another, obligatory on its citizens. We have seen how the recruiting of soldiers has gone round in a circle, from the obligation of every free citizen of the ancient Grecian and Roman Republics to stand forth in arms when summoned to defend the Commonwealth, through all the changes of mercenary service, feudal service, standing armies of professional soldiers, armies recruited by conscription, back to universal liability to military service again. But England, isolated by the silver streak, and heedless of the anger of the Lords of Legions, has remained content with her standing army which superseded the National Militia that fought her battles under the feudal system. The militia still remained as the constitutional force, and into its ranks, when it was called out, the labourer or mechanic might be forced to go, if the lot to serve fell upon him. The number of recruits required from each parish as its quota were taken from among the able-bodied inhabitants by ballot. Serjeant Kite, in his stirring appeals to the yokels to enlist, used to exhort them to take the shilling to escape the fate of being "scratched off the Church doors into the Militia." And the raising of the militia by ballot in England would be still legal, though the practice has been discontinued for the last seventy years. The service in the militia-regiments in the Channel Islands is the only instance in the British Empire in which compulsory service is actually enforced.

The question is, whether England will be able to retain her position as a great Power without resorting to compulsory military service. It is not an increase of our army that is needed; our present army is quite large enough for our requirements in peace time: but it is the power of increasing it when an increase is needed that we do not possess. The two years war in the Crimea, besides lowering the physical standard of our recruits considerably, forced us to have resort to enlisting foreigners on the Continent: a source of supply that would certainly not be open to us in the future. The introduction of the new system of universal service has largely added to the numerical strength of all the armies of the

Continental Powers at a proportionately small expense. The Russian Army, for instance, when mobilised for war, has a strength four times as great as at the time of the Crimean War: while the number of men actually under arms now, and drawing pay and rations, is no greater than it was thirty years ago. Our small army is, on the contrary, incapable of expansion. It stands at a fixed strength for peace and war, and any attempt at largely increasing that strength means a corresponding deterioration of its human material.

Our attempt to reap the advantages of a Reserve System, without incurring the corresponding liabilities of compulsory service, is a failure. It reminds us of the ingenious device of the Irishman for lengthening his blanket by cutting a strip off the top and sewing it on to the bottom. The general establishment of conscription left us far behind the Continental nations in the race for military supremacy; but we could still afford, in our insular security, to laugh at their increased strength for mischief. But this universal service has distanced us entirely. Looking at the matter dispassionately, we do not see how England can maintain her present position among the nations without introducing and adopting compulsory service. All the arguments that are now used against conscription were formerly used against the establishment of a standing army in England; but, when the absolute necessity for one was seen and felt, the objections disappeared. Were our country to be engaged in a land war with any great Military Power, we believe that in six months our operations would come to a standstill absolutely for want of men.

What happened in the country where personal liberty is most scrupulously respected,—the United States of America? War had not been long carried on with the Seceded Southern States (themselves as unfit and unprepared for war as the Yankees) when the Government of the United States had to resort to conscription to fill the ranks of their army. The New York mob resisted the enforcement of the new law; and it was not till after a bloody conflict that the orders of Government could be carried out: but the draft was made, and the conscripts proved just as good soldiers as the volunteers who had preceded them. We think we are correct in saying, that most of the officers in high command in the British Army hold, that the question of the introduction of the conscription into England is only a question of time; and we believe that the territorial organisation introduced in 1881, and applied to the Infantry of the Line, Militia, and Volunteers, was intended to facilitate the introduction of a conscription, when the time for resorting to it could be no longer delayed.

The East will be perforce obliged to assimilate this latest development of Western civilization. Sultan Abdul Hamid the Second has already decreed the adoption of universal compulsory service in the Ottoman dominions. The whole lands of the Empire are, by this decree, parcelled out into seven Army Corps Districts, corresponding very nearly to the geographical districts of Albania, Macedonia, Anatolia, Armenia, Syria, Irak, and Arabia. These army corps districts are each divided into divisional districts, and each of these is subdivided in two brigade districts. Each brigade district comprises two regimental districts, and each regimental district has four battalion districts. Men specially qualified are selected from among the territorial conscripts for the engineer and artillery services, and for the cavalry regiments and sharpshooter battalions of each division. The scheme closely follows the German lines of organisation, and it has been introduced into Turkey by a staff of Prussian officers, whose services were lent for the purpose by the Emperor to the Sultan.

Under this scheme every Musalman subject of the Padishah is liable to service from the age of twenty to that of forty years. From twenty to twenty-six years of age inclusive, he has to serve in the Nizam (active army), four years under arms with the colours, and two years in the reserve (Ihtiat): the next four years he serves in the first ban of the Militia, or Landwehr (Redif-i-Mukaddam), and the four years after that in the second ban (Redif-i Tâli). The next six years, making a total of twenty, he serves in the Landsturm (Mustahafiz). The system is complete and admirable on paper, but in practice it fails in an essential point. The millions of men commanded by the French, German and Russian Governments are all, or almost all, trained soldiers, human automatons who have been through the military mill. In Turkey most of the Redif and Mustahafiz are untrained men, and would be of no more value than an armed mob of peasants. About a hundred and twenty thousand Musalmans become annually liable to military service in the Ottoman Empire: but, owing to the poverty of the exchequer, not more than fifty thousand recruits are taken for the Nizam, and the rest are passed into the Reserves without training. Owing to the same cause, arms and uniforms are wanting for some of the Redif, and for all the Mustahafiz: and the absolute want of capable officers is also a fatal blot. With her utmost efforts, Turkey could muster, at the present moment, no more than seven hundred thousand men under arms; while her old rivals, Austria and Russia, who not very long ago contended with her on equal terms, now reckon up their muster-rolls by millions.

Russia, too, has already familiarised the East with conscription, by introducing it among the Oriental races who have been conquered by her arms. Owing to the objection of the Tartars and Circassians to bear arms under the flag of the Cross, and for a Christian master, they were at first allowed to commute their military service for a money payment, and care was taken to make this indulgence sufficiently burdensome to cause a short term of service with the colours to be enjoyed as a relief. As the Musalman population becomes accustomed to regard military service as a necessary evil (and Orientals soon reconcile themselves to the inevitable), the exemptions are gradually narrowed, and very soon none will be allowed. East of the Caspian, the Russians have not yet ventured to introduce forced military service among a Muhammadan population, not yet well accustomed or reconciled to their rule.

In Bosnia, the Austrians have introduced forced service among the Musalman Slaves, who revolted against Sultan Mahmud fifty years ago, because they were expected to wear cross-belts with the new Nizam uniforms. Every consideration is paid to their religious prejudices, and they are allowed to wear the red Turkish cap, instead of the Austrian kepi. Consequently the service has become fairly popular among them, though, owing to their Slavonic sympathies, they will probably some day prove but a broken reed under the hand of their German masters.

The French have not ventured on introducing their conscription among their Arab subjects in North Africa. Their regiments of Sipahis and Turcos are recruited by voluntary enlistment, and they find no lack of eligible recruits. The Sipahis are Moors, and were employed by the Turks as auxiliary cavalry before the French conquered the country. They were easily persuaded to transfer their services to their new masters. The Turcos (Tirailleurs Indigènes) are mostly recruited from Kuloghliis, a half-breed race, the offspring of the Turkish corsairs of Algiers by the European women captured in their cruises and slave-raids on the coasts. The Kuloghliis were employed as soldiers under the Turks, and still follow with alacrity the calling of their fathers.

As in Algiers, so in India, we have no lack of voluntary recruits. But their continuous supply depends largely on our prestige and our fortune. We have luckily hitherto been always on the winning side; but an unsuccessful campaign, a threatened reverse, an unforeseen disaster, might cut off our supply altogether. It is an ominous circumstance that, during the last Afghan War, in 1880, we had to offer bounties to attract native recruits into our service for the first time in the history of the Sepoy Army. If we should ever have the ill-fortune to be

engaged in war with Russia, we should find our operations in Asia seriously hampered for want of men, and our resources heavily handicapped by the extravagant expenses of a voluntary army, to whose recruits high pecuniary advantages must be offered to induce them to engage. But it is unlikely that an English Government will ever introduce compulsory military service into India, though we may be sure that there are other European nations which would not be so scrupulous.

ART. III.—“FROM THE CAVES AND JUNGLES OF HINDUSTAN.”*

(REVIEW: INDEPENDENT SECTION.)

“IT is not necessary to be a Theosophist,” says the *Times*, in a lengthy review of this work, “to admire Mme. Blavatsky’s letters from India, first published in 1879, a translation of which from the Russian, is now published under the gorgeous title, *FROM THE CAVES AND JUNGLES OF HINDUSTAN*. The letters have only occasional reference to the doctrines of which Mme. Blavatsky was the prophetess. While they are evidence of very considerable literary power on the part of the writer, they reveal a mind already biased strongly towards oriental mysticism, and intensely susceptible of the weirder aspects of Hindu life.”

This last addition to the already long roll of Mme. Blavatsky’s books, appears to differ very considerably from such of its predecessors as we have seen. Mme. Blavatsky is here no longer the inspired prophetess, the Sybil, ranging mystic leaves in inextricable confusion, the Pythia chanting forth strange secrets of the destiny of man, or haply the Cassandra, crooning forth the doom of dynasties, that

“with fear of change

Perplexes monarchs . . .”

Mme. Blavatsky is here rather the woman of culture, the traveller and connoisseur, flavouring her pages with pithy allusions and illustrations from the masterpieces of Russian literature; casting aside the vestures of the “phrensied Delphic maid,” to don the severe garb of the Muse of History, changing cloaks now and then with her sister of Comedy, and only at the rarest intervals, reminding us that Persephone and the Eleusinian Mysteries lurk behind.

Many of the descriptions of Indian life are conceived in the happiest vein, and are full of a spicy freshness, like the breezes that, in fable only, blow from the Southern Isle of Pearls; a savour and charm that cannot fail to appeal to readers in India, and give them a fellow-feeling with this remarkable author, that, probably, they have never felt before.

Take, for instance, this picture of the Pinjara Bala at Bombay:—

“This institution would have served very well for a model of Noah’s Ark. In the first yard, however, we saw no animals, but, instead,

* Published by the “Theosophical Publication Society:” 7, Duke Street, Adelphi, London, W. C.

a few hundred human skeletons—old men, women and children. They were the remaining natives of the so-called famine districts, who had crowded into Bombay to beg their bread. Thus, while, a few yards off, the official "Vets." were busily bandaging the broken legs of jackals, pouring ointments on the backs of mangy dogs, and fitting crutches to lame storks, human beings were dying, at their very elbows, of starvation. Happily for the famine-stricken, there were at that time fewer hungry animals than usual, and so they were fed on what remained from the meals of the brute pensioners. No doubt many of these wretched sufferers would have consented to transmigrate instantly into the bodies of any of the animals who were ending so snugly their earthly careers.

But even the Pinjarapāla roses are not without thorns. The graminivorous "subjects," of course, could not wish for anything better; but I doubt very much whether the beasts of prey, such as tigers, hyenas, and wolves, are content with the rules and the forcibly prescribed diet. Jains themselves turn with disgust even from eggs and fish, and, in consequence, all the animals of which they have the care must turn vegetarians. We were present when an old tiger, wounded by an English bullet, was fed. Having sniffed at a kind of rice soup which was offered to him, he lashed his tail, snarled, showing his yellow teeth, and, with a weak roar, turned away from the food. What a look he cast askance upon his keeper, who was meekly trying to persuade him to taste his nice dinner! Only the strong bars of the cage saved the Jaina from a vigorous protest on the part of this veteran of the forest. A hyena, with a bleeding head and an ear half torn off, began by sitting in the trough filled with this Spartan sauce, and then, without any further ceremony, upset it, as if to show its utter contempt for the mess."

Then follows a charming picture of "the veritable Castor and Pollux of this institution," an old elephant with a wooden leg, and a sore-eyed ox. The elephant's first thought, as carnivora set up their howl, was, in accordance with his noble nature, one of solicitude for the welfare of his friend. He wound his trunk round the neck of the ox, and moaned dismally, as ~~who~~ should say: "A sad lot is ours, my friend!"

"Further on we were shown a *holy* man, who was feeding insects with his own blood. He lay with his eyes shut, and the scorching rays of the sun striking full upon his naked body. He was literally covered with flies, mosquitoes, ants and bugs.

"All these are our brothers," mildly observed the keeper, pointing to the hundreds of animals and insects. "How can you Europeans kill and even devour them?"

"What would you do," I asked, "if this snake were about to bite you? Is it possible you would not kill it, if you had time?"

"Not for all the world. I should cautiously catch it, and then I should carry it to some deserted place outside the town, and there set it free."

"Nevertheless; suppose it bit you?"

"Then I should recite a mantram, and, if that produced no good result, I should be fain to consider it as the finger of Fate, and quietly leave this body for another."

These were the words of a man who was educated to a certain extent, and very well read. When we pointed out that no gift of Nature is aimless, and that the human teeth are all devouring, he answered

by quoting whole chapters of Darwin's *Theory of Natural Selection* and *Origin of Species*. "It is not true," argued he, "that the first men were born with canine teeth. It was only in course of time, with the degradation of humanity—only when the appetite for flesh food began to develop,—that the jaws changed their first shape under the influence of new necessities."

I could not help asking myself, *Où la science va-t-elle se fourrer ?*"

The author of the "Caves and Jungles," seems to have taken Darwin into her special favour. It turns up again a little later on in her book, this time under Hindu auspices. The circumstances are these. The author, and a character in her dramatic story, who appears to represent her most famous American colleague, were staying at the house of a worthy Brahman, named Sham Rao, one of whose relations had had the misfortune to come to an untimely end, and to transmigrate incontinent into the body of a flying fox or vampire bat.

The said bat dwelt in a kind of outpost of the house in which the author's American friend was to pass the night; and, as ill-luck would have it, the old and new occupants of the said outpost did not hit it off very well:

"This is how it happened. Noiselessly hovering about the tower, the vampire from time to time alighted on the sleepers, making them shudder under the disgusting touch of his cold sticky wings. His intention clearly was to get a nice suck of European blood. They were wakened by his manipulations at least ten times, and each time frightened him away. But, as soon as they were dozing again, the wretched bat was sure to return and perch on their shoulders, heads, or legs. At last Mr. Y—, losing patience, had recourse to strong measures; he caught him and broke his neck.

Feeling perfectly innocent, the gentlemen mentioned the tragic end of the troublesome flying fox to their host, and instantly drew down on their heads all the thunderclouds of heaven."

The old mother of Sham Rao tore her hair, and shrieked lamentations in all the languages of India; for her son, as we have explained, was the "inhabitant" of the said vampire bat, and, naturally, would hardly enjoy having his, for the time being, terrestrial abode's neck broken. That was only natural. But how to patch it up—not the neck, for that was beyond all healing, but the quarrel—, was quite another matter. However, their host fortunately rose to the occasion:

He began—

"By delivering a very far-fetched, eloquent preface. He reminded us that he, personally, was an enlightened man, a man who possessed all the advantages of a Western education. He said that, owing to this, he was not quite sure that the body of the vampire was actually inhabited by his late brother. Darwin, of course, and some other great naturalists of the West, seemed to believe in the transmigration of souls, but, as far as he understood, they believe in it in an inverse sense; that is to say, if a baby had been born to his mother exactly at the moment of the vampire's death, this baby

would indubitably have had a great likeness to a vampire, owing to the decaying atoms of the vampire being so close to her.

"Is not this an exact interpretation of the Darwinian school?" he asked."

The practical upshot of it was this : if the late lamented could incarnate once in a vampire bat for his own amusement, and for sheer pleasure, why should he not—when that snug, but precarious, earthly tabernacle came to an unforeseen surcease—why should he not reincarnate in something else, to save his family from an extremely awkward position, and to shield the worthy American, who had been the involuntary cause of his "temporary change of vesture," to use the phrase of the Buddhist priests. Why not, indeed? Apparently the said late lamented was reasonable, and saw the cogency of this argument; at any rate, he seems to have settled down to a rather humdrum, but certainly sedate, and possibly more commodious, life, as the "indwelling presence" of a buffalo-calf, which was speedily purchased and presented to the disconsolate mother, who at once recognised her deceased son, doubtless by his intelligent expression, and the configuration of his ears.

The more active hero of this episode seems to have had rather a knack of getting into trying positions, if we may credit the author of the "Caves and Jungles."

This time it was among the hills near Karli :—

"A path, or rather a ledge cut along the perpendicular face of a rocky mass 200 feet high, led from the chief temple to our vihâra. A man needs good eyes, sure feet, and a very strong head to avoid sliding down the precipice at the first false step. Any help would be quite out of the question, for the ledge being only two feet wide, no one could walk side by side with another. We had to walk one by one, appealing for aid only to the whole of our personal courage. The courage of many of us was gone on an unlimited furlough. The position of our American colonel was the worst, for he was very stout and short-sighted, which defects, taken together, caused him frequent vertigos. To keep up our spirits we indulged in a choral performance of the duet from *Norma*, "*Moriam' insieme*" holding each other's hands the while, to ensure our being spared by death, or dying all four in company. But the colonel did not fail to frighten us nearly out of our lives. We were already half way up to the cave when he made a false step, staggered, lost hold of my hand, and rolled over the edge. We three, having to clutch the bushes and stones, were quite unable to help him."

But fortunately the colonel was able to catch at some bushes on the face of the precipice, and thus to slightly better his position; though he cannot have felt very comfortable for all that, perched on a ledge far below the path, with a yawning abyss beneath him.

From this unpleasant situation he was rescued by a Sadhu, a mysterious devotee, with a five legged cow,—the extra member growing erratically out of the middle of its back; the cow used

this wayward limb, "as if it were a hand and arm, hunting and killing tiresome flies, and scratching its head with its hoof." The owner of this bovine pentagram, the aforementioned Sadhu, called to the colonel to hold on, and to us to keep quiet. He patted the neck of his monstrous cow, and unwound the rope by which he was leading her. Then, with both hands, he turned her head in the direction of the path and cried to her to "chal." With a few wild-goat-like bounds, the animal reached the spot where the rest of the party were waiting; then the Sadhu descended to the ledge and helped the Colonel to climb up. When the party duly reached Karli, and camped in one of the caves for the night, a curious incident, which may now be added to the number of authentic "tiger-stories," is reported to have taken place.

The hero of it is another Sadhu, this time of the Rajput race.

"Every time I raised my eyes, heavy with fatigue, the first object upon which they fell was the gigantic figure of our mysterious friend.

Having seated himself after the Eastern fashion, with his feet drawn up and his arms round his knees, the Rajput sat on a bench cut in the rock at one end of the verandah, gazing out into the silvery atmosphere. He was so near the abyss that the least incautious movement would expose him to great danger. But the granite goddess, Bhavani herself, could not be more immovable. The light of the moon before him was so strong, that the black shadow under the rock which sheltered him was doubly impenetrable, shrouding his face in absolute darkness. From time to time the flame of the sinking fires leaping up shed its hot reflection on the dark bronze face, enabling me to distinguish its sphinx-like lineaments and its shining eyes, as unmoving as the rest of the features.

"What am I to think? Is he simply sleeping, or is he in that strange state, that temporary annihilation of bodily life? . . . Only this morning he was telling us how the initiate Raj-yogis were able to plunge into this state at will. . . . Oh, if I could only go to sleep. . . ."

Suddenly a loud prolonged hissing, quite close to my ear, made me start, trembling with indistinct reminiscences of cobras. The sound was strident, and evidently came from under the hay upon which I rested. Then it struck one! two! It was our American alarm-clock, which always travelled with me. I could not help laughing at myself, and, at the same time, feeling a little ashamed of my involuntary fright."

Then the attention of the reader is turned with wonderful skill to the dozing Sadhu, who is to play the part of *deus ex machina* in the coming tiger-scene. "Sleep fled," says the narrator,

"Further and further from my eyes. A fresh, strong wind arose before the dawn, rustling the leaves and then shaking the tops of the trees that rose above the abyss. My attention became absorbed by the group of three Rajputs before me—by the two shield-bearers and their master. I cannot tell why I was specially attracted at this moment by the sight of the long hair of the servants, which was waving in the wind, though the place they occupied was comparatively

sheltered. I turned my eyes upon their Sahib, and the blood in my veins stood still. The veil of somebody's topi, which hung beside him, tied to a pillar, was simply whirling in the wind, while the hair of the Sahib himself lay as still as if it had been glued to his shoulders, not a hair moved, nor a single fold of his light muslin garment. No statue could be more motionless.

What is this, then? I said to myself. Is it delirium? Is this a hallucination, or a wonderful, inexplicable reality? I shut my eyes, telling myself I must look no longer. But a moment later I again looked up, startled by a crackling sound from above the steps. The long, dark silhouette of some animal appeared at the entrance, clearly outlined against the pale sky. I saw it in profile. Its long tail was lashing to and fro. Both the servants rose swiftly and noiselessly and turned their heads towards Gulab-Sing, as if asking for orders. But where was Gulab-Sing? In the place which, but a moment ago, he occupied, there was no one. There lay only the topi, torn from the pillar by the wind. I sprang up: a tremendous roar deafened me, filling the vihāra, wakening the slumbering echoes, and resounding like the softened rumbling of thunder, over all the borders of the precipice. Good heavens! A tiger!

Before this thought had time to shape itself clearly in my mind, the sleepers sprang up and the men all seized their guns and revolvers, and then we heard the sound of crashing branches, and of something heavy sliding down into the precipice. The alarm was general.

"What is the matter now?" said the calm voice of Gulab-Sing, and I again saw him on the stone bench. "Why should you be so frightened?"

"A tiger! Was it not a tiger?" came, in hasty, questioning tones, from Europeans and Hindus."

Subsequent investigation showed that it was; and, as no wound was found on the animal's body, the party concluded that it had been slain by some "veil," or "Keelymotor," or some similar uncanny force wielded by the Sadhu, Gulab Lal Sing.

This book contains one or two beautiful descriptions of Indian scenery which show that the author might, under other circumstances, have become an altogether notable *belle-lettriste*.

Perhaps the finest of these is contained in the Enchanted Island:—

"As the last golden ray disappeared on the horizon, a gauze-like veil of pale lilac fell over the world. But as every moment decreased the transparency of this tropical twilight, the tint gradually lost its softness and became darker and darker. It looked as if an invisible painter, unceasingly moving his gigantic brush, swiftly laid one coat of paint over the other, ever changing the exquisite background of our islet. The phosphoric candles of the fireflies began to twinkle here and there, shining brightly against the black trunks of the trees, and lost again on the silvery background of opalescent evening sky. But in a few minutes more, thousands of these living sparks, precursors of Queen Night, played round us, pouring like a golden cascade over the trees, and dancing in the air above the grass and the dark lake.

And behold! here is the queen in person. Noiselessly descending upon earth, she reassumes her rights. With her approach, rest and peace spread over us; her cool breath calms the activities of day.

Like a fond mother, she sings a lullaby to nature, lovingly wrapping her in her soft black mantle; and, when everything is asleep, she watches over nature's dozing powers till the first streaks of dawn.

The fickle goddess was late; she kept us waiting till after ten o'clock. Just before her arrival, when the horizon began to grow perceptibly brighter, and the opposite shore to assume a milky, silvery tint, a sudden wind rose. The waves, that had gone quietly to sleep at the feet of gigantic reeds, awoke and tossed uneasily, till the reeds swayed their feathery heads and murmured to each other as if taking counsel together about something that was going to happen. . . . Suddenly, in the general stillness and silence, we heard again the same musical notes, which we had passed unheeded, when we first reached the island, as if a whole orchestra were trying their musical instruments before playing some great composition. All round us, and over our heads, vibrated strings of violins, and thrilled the separate notes of a flute. In a few moments came another gust of wind tearing through the reeds, and the whole island resounded with the strains of hundreds of Æolian harps. And suddenly there began a wild unceasing symphony. It swelled in the surrounding woods, filling the air with an indescribable melody. Sad and solemn were its prolonged strains; they resounded like the *arpeggios* of some funeral march, then, changing into a trembling thrill, they shook the air like the song of a nightingale, and died away in a long sigh. They did not quite cease, but grew louder again, ringing like hundreds of silver bells, changing from the heartrending howl of a wolf deprived of her young, to the precipitate rhythm of a gay tarantella, forgetful of every earthly sorrow; from the articulate song of a human voice, to the vague majestic accords of a violoncello, from merry child's laughter to angry sobbing. And all this repeated in every direction by mocking echo, as if hundreds of fabulous forest maidens, disturbed in their green abodes, answered the appeal of the wild musical Saturnalia."

This is, probably, the finest passage in the book, from the point of view of pure literature; but much more likely to attract general notice is the "Witch's Den," which probably equals Edgar Allan Poe, or Bulwer Lytton's best efforts at the distinctively horrible; and was, it must be remembered, written some time before the famous "She." Take the picture of the witch:

"Imagine a skeleton seven feet high, covered with brown leather, with a dead child's tiny head stuck on its bony shoulders; the eyes set so deep, and at the same time flashing such fiendish flames all through your body, that you begin to feel your brain stop working, your thoughts become entangled, and your blood freeze in your veins."

In years also, she seems not to have been far behind the redoubtable Ayesha:

"Three hundred years old! Who can tell? Judging by her appearance, we might as well conjecture her to be a thousand. We beheld a genuine living mummy, or rather a mummy endowed with motion. She seemed to have been withering since the creation. Neither time, nor the ills of life, nor the elements could ever affect this living statue of death. The all-destroying hand of time had touched her and stopped short."

Then follows a scene that we can only compare with the *Walpurgis Nacht* of Goethe :

“ As if catching the cadence of the drums, leaning all her long body forward, and writhing like an eel, she rushed round and round the blazing bonfire. A dry leaf caught in a hurricane could not fly swifter. Her bare bony feet trod noiselessly on the rocky ground. The long locks of her hair flew round her like snakes, lashing the spectators who knelt, stretching their trembling arms towards her, and writhing as if they were alive. Whoever was touched by one of this Fury's black curls, fell down on the ground, overcome with happiness, shouting thanks to the goddess, and considering himself blessed for ever. It was not human hair that touched the happy elect, it was the goddess herself, one of the seven.”

What was the upshot of this exciting scene, we must leave our readers to find out for themselves. Enough has been said to show the tone and temper of the book.

ART. IV.—HOOGHLY PAST AND PRESENT.

V.

History of the Hooghly District from its first formation to its full development.

AFTER the office of Fouzdar had been abolished, Hooghly was thrown into the back-ground, in which obscure position it continued till it was again brought to the front, by being formed into a district in 1795.* On its first formation the new district, carved, as it principally was, out of the district of Burdwan, was placed in the charge of the Hon'ble C. A. Bruce, as Judge and Magistrate, the revenue jurisdiction remaining, as before, with the Collector of Burdwan. Mr. Bruce would seem to have been much above the ordinary run of district officers, inasmuch as he corresponded direct with the Governor-General† in Council. We do not know what the exact extent of his criminal jurisdiction was, but it must have been pretty considerable, as it comprehended thirteen thanas‡ Mr. Bruce's tenure of office is not rendered notable by any event of importance. In fact, he left no mark on the district, any more than his successor Mr. Thomas Brooke, who is remembered only for a very able report which he made in 1799, || condemning

* Previous to this year, the town and some parts of the Hooghly district were within the jurisdiction of Nadia.

† Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth. Sir John distinguished himself not only in the region of politics, but also in the republic of letters. His biography of his famous friend Sir William Jones, whom he succeeded in the presidential chair of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, is an excellent production.

‡ Hooghly, Bansberia, Benipur (now Balagarh), Pandua, Dhaniakhali, Haripal, Rajbalhat (now Kristanagar), Jehanabad, Dewangunj (now Goghat), Chunderconah, Ghatal, Bagnan and Ampta. Baidyabati and Chinsura have since been added, while, on the other hand, Chunderconah and Ghatal have been transferred to Midnapur, and Bagnan and Ampta to Howrah.

|| In this year, Ward and Marshman, on being driven out of the dominions of the East India Company, took refuge in Danish Serampur, where they were joined by Carey from Malda early in the next year. Here they set up a printing press, managed by Ward, and while Carey was engaged in translating the Bible into Bengali, Marshman preached, and both he and his wife opened schools. All these undertakings prospered exceedingly well: the receipts from the schools sometimes amounted to Rs. 4,000 a month. Shortly afterwards, Carey was appointed Professor of Sanscrit in the College of Fort William in Calcutta. In 1812 they founded the Serampur College, which is still in existence. To these large-hearted pioneers of education, the inhabitants of the district owe an immense debt of gratitude.

the character of the village paiks, and recommending a more efficient safeguard against dacoities * which were unfortunately then becoming too common. Some steps were taken to arrest the rapid course of crime, but they failed to restore peace. The dacoits continued their ravages, and no man's life or property was safe. In 1808 the dacoities in the district amounted to over a hundred. In the year following, Mr. Secretary Dowdeswell drew a most harrowing picture of the heartless enormities committed by the dacoits, which was followed up by a despatch from the Governor-General to the Court of Directors describing the terrible state of affairs. The result was that a Superintendent of Police was appointed to hunt down the dacoits by means of *goindahs*.† Of all the districts of the Calcutta Division, Hooghly suffered the most from their depredations.‡

* Dacoity was not an outcome of British rule; it had been in existence long previously. But during the transition period, when peace was striving for supremacy, it stalked over the land with giant strides. The terrible famine of 1770 added much to its strength, by compelling many people to take to highway robbery. Weak as the Police was at the time, the dacoits ravaged the country with impunity, and even went to the length of attacking the red coats of the Company. Hunter, in his "Annals of Rural Bengal," says that in 1780, they burnt to ashes 15,000 houses and 200 souls in Calcutta. In fact, even Anglo-Indians lived in the utmost dread, and until they had well secured their household goods for the night, they would never unbolt their doors.

Among these dacoits was one Sham Mullick, who was the head of a very powerful gang. But though a robber by profession, his mind possessed a certain degree of nobleness, and he was much vexed that the great pundit, Jagannath Tarkapanchanan, who had got together a large amount of money, should not make a proper use of it. Accordingly one night he, with a sturdy body of followers, broke into his house at Tribeni, and, taking his seat in the outer courtyard, ordered his men at once to bring the old pundit before him, that he might reprimand him for his miserly habits. Every search was made, but the pundit was nowhere to be found, for, in the confusion which followed the first attack, he had managed to make his escape. Sham Mullick, thus disappointed of his main object, gave the signal for retirement, and the whole party, headed by their chief, walked out of the house in the same state in which they had entered it. This event took place some years before the death of Jagannath, who breathed his last in Assin 1214 B. S., corresponding to September 1807 A. D., at the patriarchal age of one hundred and thirteen years. Uma Charan Bhuttacharjee's *Life of Jagannath Tarkapanchanan*. 1880 A. D.

† This system of espionage worked remarkably well, exemplifying the good old adage, "Set a thief to catch a thief." The word "*goindah*" means an informer.

‡ About this time "Radha Dacoit" was the head of the dacoits on this side the river. By his ruinous ravages, he had introduced a "reign of terror." The Sultan of Morocco is not more tamely obeyed by his slaves than this prince of dacoits was by his fellows. He was a man of very great pluck and power, and in the course of his wild career, had performed very wonderful exploits. He might be called a hero in a certain sense

Mr. Brooke was succeeded by Mr. Ernest, who, in addition to his proper title of Judge-Magistrate, was, in 1809, also styled "Superintendent and Commissioner of Chinsura,* Chandernagore† and Serampur," ‡ these cities having in the interim, come into the hands of the English.

But though the powers of its official head were extended and enlarged, Hooghly was anything but a respectable-looking town. Early in June 1814, the Magistrate described it as "a small straggling town." In order to improve its condition, the Municipal law, as embodied in Regulation XIII of 1813, was introduced into it in the following year, and sixty Chaukidars were appointed to the two main sections, Bali and Gholeghat, into which the town was divided. The law thus introduced had its desired effect, and the Magistrate was able to report § that "since the establishment of the Chaukidars in the town of Hooghly, there have been no robberies or thefts."

Hooghly prospered under the rule of Mr. D. C. Smyth, who was appointed its Judge-Magistrate about 1816. This officer, whose name has become a household word in the land, was a very able man, and he laboured for the district with admirable zeal and energy. Not long after he had taken charge, his attention was called to the affairs of the local Imambara. The

of the term, but he died a convict's death. The hour of retribution drew nigh, and he was arrested at a harlot's house, tried by the Judge of Hooghly, and sentenced to suffer the extreme penalty of the law. The sentence was duly executed, and the corpse was carefully disposed of, lest the mother of the "great dacoit," by her marvellous powers in the black art, should, as she had boasted, conjure up such a dangerous character by muttering some mystic *mantras* over the bones.

What Radha was on this side the river, Bissonath Bagdi was on the other. Strong in men who were all desperate characters, Bissonath carried on his depredations without let or hindrance. But though he robbed the rich, he was very kind to the poor, whose wants he never failed to supply, after the manner of the well-known robber of Sherwood Forest. To distinguish him from the rest of his class, he was called "Bissonath Baboo." Baidyanath and Pitamber were only second to Bissonath. Many of the Nadia dacoits were arrested in 1808, A. D., and several of them paid dearly for their crimes on the gallows. Kartikeya Chunder Roy's *Accounts of the Nadia Raj Family*, pp 27-28.

* Chinsura was taken possession of by the English on the 28th July, 1795, and they did not restore it to the Dutch until the 20th September, 1817. It was finally ceded to them in 1824.

† Chandernagore was captured for the second time by the English in 1794, and it continued in their hands till 1815, when it was given up.

‡ Serampur was taken by the English in 1808, and it was not restored to the Danes until the Waterloo year. It was finally ceded to the English in 1845, when the Hon'ble L. Lindhard was its Governor. Serampur is held *khas* by Government, and is under the management of an officer who is called the *Khas Tehsildar*.

§ This report, it would seem, was prepared at the request of the Governor-General himself, who made a progress through some parts of the district in that year.

two Matwalis having mismanaged the trust property, Government stepped in and interfered under Regulation XIX of 1810. Syed Ali Akbar Khan was appointed, in September 1815, as "Ameen, or Controller of the funds of the Institution," and the Local Agents, of whom Mr. Smyth was the chief, were instructed to make a full and searching inquiry into the affairs of the Imambarah in concert with him. The report drawn up by Mr. Smyth in 1817 was a masterpiece of its kind, and received high commendation from the Board of Revenue. He showed, beyond doubt, that the Matwalis had misappropriated nearly fifteen thousand rupees; and the result was that, in August 1818, they were dismissed, and Ali Akbar Khan was appointed in their place. The latter continued to hold the office till 1836, when he, too, was removed for a similar offence.

Hooghly had, it is true, much improved, but there was wanting a Collector to make it a full-formed district. This want, however, was before long satisfied. In 1817 Mr. A. Ogilvie was deputed to it as Assistant Collector. He may be considered the first Sub-Divisional officer ever appointed to the district. In 1819 a further advance was made by the appointment of Mr. R. Saunders as "Collector of Government Customs and Town Duties at Hooghly," with the power of collecting the land revenue and the sayer duties in the *mehals*, then under the Assistant Collector. This state of things continued till the 1st May, 1822, when Hooghly became a full Collectorate.* The Collector, Mr. W. H. Belli, was ordered to go to Burdwan, and sort and bring away the records belonging to his charge. The land revenue of the new district was Rs. 11,23,474, and the stamp, abkari, and other revenue about Rs 76,526, making in all twelve lakhs of sicca rupees, as against thirty lakhs, which remained as the revenue of Burdwan and the Jungle Mehals.†

But although Hooghly was made a full Collectorate in 1822, still the office of Collector of Customs and Town Duties was not amalgamated with that of the Collector of land revenue. This position of affairs continued till 1827, when the two offices were joined in one and the same person. For this addition to his duties, the Collector was allowed Rs. 200 over and above

* Dr. Hunter, however, gives a different account. He writes :—"The revenue jurisdiction of the district of Hugli with Howrah was established in 1819. Prior to that year it had formed a part of the Burdwan Collectorate, although it had been created a District Magistracy some years previously. The Resolution constituting the district of Hugli is dated 26th February, 1819. Mr. R. Saunders, the first Collector, was appointed on the 1st May, 1819."—*Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 253.

† See Mr. G. Toynbee's *Administration of the Hooghly District from 1795 to 1845*, p. 32. This very useful publication has been of considerable service to me in the preparation of some portions of this article.

his pay and commission. Afterwards, on 1st May, 1836, the Customs office was abolished, and with it the allowance of Rs. 200 of which the Collector had been in receipt. Mr. Belli made a very feeling representation to Government regarding his loss, but it does not appear that his appeal was listened to.*

VI.

Interesting Events in Hooghly from 1823 to 1837.

The Dutch had made Chinsura "the cynosure of neighbouring eyes," but with the decline of their Indian trade it lost much of its former attractions. At last, matters came to such a pitiable pass, that the painful resolution was formed to part with it. Mr. D. A. Overbeck, its last Governor, gave his reluctant consent to the proposal, and negotiations were at once opened with the English for its transfer. While the terms were being settled, a serious natural calamity overtook this part of the country. This was the memorable "flood of '30," which is still talked of by "the oldest inhabitant" as an event that has no parallel in the rural annals of Bengal. The river Hooghly† rose to an unprecedented height. Dharampur, Mulla Kasim's Hât, and Bali, all in the town, were entirely submerged, and the roads rendered impassable. The portions of the town which were above water were crowded with men, women and children, who had come from the interior with their household goods and cattle. Prompt steps were taken by the Judge-Magistrate, Mr. Smyth, for their relief and protection. Temporary huts or sheds were put up for their accommodation, and food to the value of Rs 123 was distributed gratis to the ~~weakest~~, and Rs 138 was spent as wages of the able-bodied who were employed on the station roads. It was at this time that the old Mogul fort and the buildings which had been in the possession of Nabob Khan Jehan Khan up to his death, were pulled down, and the materials thereof were partly utilised and partly sold. In the flood, Pargana Mandalghat‡, which then formed a part of the district, would appear to have suffered the most. The Collector, Mr. W. H. Belli, was ordered to proceed thither and ascertain by actual inspection the amount of damage sustained by the ryots. His report disclosed a most

* Mr. Belli remained in the district for a long period. Though his name is not so much known or honoured as that of Mr. D. C. Smyth, still there is no doubt that he deserved well of its people, in whose welfare he took considerable interest. During the nearly 20 years for which he was in charge of the Collectorate, he seems to have availed himself of leave for a few months only.

† The little Ganges is more commonly called the *River Hooghly*.—Orme's *Indusian*, Vol. II.

‡ Mandalghat is now included in the district of Midnapur. It is the zamindari of the well-known Seal family of Calcutta.

lamentable state of things. But, serious as the calamity was, it was not followed by disastrous consequences. There was no famine, or even scarcity, such being the wonderful recuperative powers of the soil and the people of the district.

A few days after the flood, the sepoys mutinied at Barrackpur. In this matter, too, the Magistrate of Hooghly acted with his usual energy, and his efforts were crowned with success. He promptly sent the Police *burkundazes* to the scene, and, as good luck would have it, they succeeded in arresting forty-five mutineers, of whom twelve were executed on the spot. This had a very wonderful effect, and the mutiny, which would otherwise have assumed a very serious aspect, was at once quelled.

Regulation XIII of 1813 was introduced into the town of Hooghly early in June the following year; but defects in its working having come to light, it was amended by Regulation XXII of 1816, and this law contains the first provisions made for conservancy, lighting and other municipal purposes. In 1825 nearly Rs. 2,000 was spent on the improvement of the town, from the surplus town duties levied under Regulation X of 1810. This was followed up by a further expenditure of Rs. 4,768 in 1829. The road near the Collector's *kutchery* was widened; the large tank opposite the Civil Court buildings, the Pipalpati and some other tanks in the town were excavated; trees were planted by the road sides, and several of the roads were metalled with brick. Some conservancy "carts" were also purchased, and "a staff of scavengers" was entertained to work them.*

In 1828, the well-known Zemindar, Baboo Prankrishna Haldar, made a gift of Rs. 13,000 for a masonry bridge over the river Saraswati, at Tribeni.† The bridge was built by Mr. Goss. The donor, in recognition of his munificence, was allowed the privilege of entertaining six sepoys as sentries at the gate of his splendid dwelling-house (the present College building). In the same year a suspension bridge was also constructed at Nauseraï from money raised by public subscription "under the auspices of Mr. D. C. Smyth."

In 1829,‡ Mr. Smyth signalled his administration of the dis-

* See Mr. Toynbee's *Administration of the Hooghly District*, page 124.

† Tribeni is not the name of a place, it means the confluence of three streams. There are several such spots in India, but the most sacred of them all, in the eyes of an orthodox Hindoo, are those at Sâtgón and Allahabad. The former is called the *South Priyag*, the latter *North Priyag*:—They are the *Kings of holy places*.—See also Raghunandan's *Prayaschitta Tatwa*.

‡ In this year the Courts of Circuit were abolished, and their duties were transferred to the Commissioners of Circuit, who were likewise Commissioners of Revenue. But, this plan being found very inconvenient, the Zillah Judges in 1832, were, with few exceptions, vested with the powers of the former Courts of Circuit which they have ever since exercised in their capacity of Sessions Judges.

trict by another act of public utility, which still bears his name. We refer to the handsome masonry *ghat* near the Civil Court buildings. This *ghat*, as the tablet shows, was built from subscriptions given by some of the Zemindars, Government amlah and muktears; and the *chandni*, by Baboo Chhaku Ram Singh of Bhāstārā alone, at a cost of Rs. 3,000. The Baboo was one of the most public-spirited and enlightened land-holders in the district, and many were the acts done by him for the public good. His character stood very high, and he was kind and even indulgent to his happy tenantry. The Magistrate commended this gentleman to the special notice of Government, and asked that he might be "decorated." But it does not appear that his recommendation was complied with. However, he was known as the "Baboo" par excellence. In the same year the Raja of Burdwan gave Rs. 36,000 for the construction of a masonry bridge across the Kunti Nālā, at Magra. The bridge was probably built by Captain Vetch, and is still in existence. In consideration of his princely gift, the Raja was allowed to have badges for his peons. The old circuit-house was also built at or about the same time. It is now used as the Courts of the Joint-Magistrate and the Bench Magistrates, and some other offices.

In 1830 Hooghly witnessed the beginning of a noble undertaking which has borne good fruits—the great Trigonometrical Survey was commenced by Mr. Oliver. The operations were suspended in June 1831, and resumed in March following. In 1843 they were again carried on, the spacious roof of the Hooghly College buildings being selected as the first station. The survey parties experienced the greatest difficulties from obstruction on the part of the inhabitants, most of whom did not at all understand the laudable object which Government had in making the survey. There was, therefore, considerable delay, and as a matter of fact, the operations were not finally concluded until after 1845.

In 1832, a wholesome change was made in the mode of administration, the offices of Judge and Magistrate, which had hitherto been combined, being separated. This separation was not only desirable but necessary, as it had become almost impossible for one officer to perform the duties of both offices. Besides, it was deemed inadvisable to keep the judicial and executive powers in one and the same person. Mr. Smyth continued Judge, while another gentleman was appointed Magistrate.* This change in the administration was followed in the

* Dr. Hunter, however, places the event in the year 1829. He says that "up to 1829, a single officer exercised the powers of Judge and Magistrate throughout the entire district of Hooghly with Howrah; but owing to an increase in both departments, the offices were separated on the 26th September 1829, and Mr. H. B. Brownlow was appointed Magistrate of the district, the civil jurisdiction remaining with the Judge."—Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol III in 253.

next year by a change in the aspect of the district, which was caused by a storm* of "incredible violence," that swept over the land on the 21st May. It blew a perfect hurricane for full six hours, accompanied by heavy rain, and the damage done was immense. Almost every embankment in the district was destroyed. But the after effects were more serious still; sickness prevailed to an alarming extent, insomuch that civil and criminal business was almost brought to a stand-still.

The year 1834 is memorable for a noble act of Mr. Smyth's in the direction of education. It appears that from before 1824 Government had been supporting fourteen schools with a monthly grant of Rs. 800. These schools were situated on both sides of the river, and were the only schools available in these parts, except the Hooghly Imambara school and the Chinsura Free school. The Government, for reasons best known to itself, withdrew the grant from the 1st of November 1832, but it offered to make over the school-houses (with the furniture) and keep them in repair, should any parties be willing to carry on the schools as private institutions. Unfortunately, no one came forward to accept the offer, in spite of the efforts of Mr. Lewis Betts, the late Superintendent of the schools, in that direction. At last, Mr. Smyth, the Judge, came to the rescue and founded the present Branch School. The Government gave the site, measuring two bighas and seven cottahs, and the funds for the building and other expenses were raised by subscription among the principal zemindars of the district, the noble founder also giving his own quota.† To indicate the source from which it was established, the school was called the "Subscription School;"‡

* Like the great tempest of November 1703, which Addison, in his well-known poem of the *Campaign*, describes,—

"Such as, of late o'er pale Britainia pass'd."

† The tablet in the school hall contains the following inscription. "This school-house was erected in 1834 under the patronage of D. C. Smyth Esquire, Judge and Magistrate of Hooghly, with the funds subscribed by the following gentlemen and others :

D. C. Smyth Esquire.

Maharajah Dhiraj Mahatab Chunder Bahadoor.

Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore.

Baboo Callynath Moonshee.

Baboo Pran Chunder Roy.

Baboo Sheebnaran Chowdery.

Baboo Ramnaran Mookerjee.

Opened on the 4th December 1837 as a Branch School to the College of Mohammad Mushen.

T. A. WISE, Principle."

‡ Baboo Ishan Chunder Bannerjee, who is so well-known in the education department, was the first Head-master of this school. He afterwards became a professor in the Hooghly College, where he, with his very worthy brother, the late Baboo Mohesh Chunder Bannerjee, taught for years together. Baboo Ishan Chunder is still living, spending most of his time in reading and study.

and it continued to be so called until the 4th December 1837, when it was opened as a branch school of the College of Mohammad Mohsin. With this school was subsequently associated the Madrassa attached to the Imambara. Baboo Parvati Charan Sircar, elder brother of the well-known educationist, the late lamented Baboo Peary Charan Sircar, was the first Head-master of the Branch School. This institution flourished well under the fostering care of its founder, who is still remembered as a public benefactor, a just and humane Judge, and a true friend of the people.

In 1836 there were many brave doings in Hooghly, the first and foremost of which was the opening of the Hooghly College, established through the munificence of a wealthy Mahomedan, * who, in 1812, left his large property *in pios usus*. We have already seen that the two Matwalis were dismissed by Government in consequence of their having misappropriated trust funds to the tune of Rs. 15,000. So far from remaining satisfied with the orders of Government, they filed a civil suit to contest the legality of their dismissal. The litigation dragged its slow length along, and terminated in their total discomfiture in 1835.† It was found that, during this long period, the surplus of the Mohsin funds had accumulated to over eight lakhs of rupees. Out of this large sum, the Hooghly College was established. The splendid edifice, now occupied by the college, was built by a Frenchman named Perron,‡ in 1810. He came out to India in 1774 as a common sailor on a French frigate, and afterwards, entering the service of Scindia, rose to eminence, and amassed a fortune which was believed to have amounted to half a crore of rupees. Having retired from service, he settled down at Chinsura and built the edifice in question. There he lived like a prince. From his possession the building passed to Baboo Pran Krishna Halidar, who converted it into a palace of pleasure. When fickle fortune frowned upon Pran Krishna, Baboo Jagomohan Seal, of the same place, caused it to be sold in execution of a civil court decree, in 1834, and purchased it himself. It was from

* The stone in the College Hall bears the following inscription: "This College was established through the munificence of the late Mohammad Moshin, and was opened on the 1st August 1836."

† By the bye, I may mention that in this year, rupees were *first* issued in the name of an English King, the Company's coinage having hitherto been issued in the name of the Mogul Emperor.—See S. L. Poole's *Catalogues of Oriental Coins*.

‡ General Perron must not be confounded with the great Orientalist of that name, who was present at Chandernagore when it was captured by Clive, in March, 1757. The latter was a very learned scholar and linguist, Born 1731; died 1805. For further particulars regarding the General, see Col. G. B. Malleon's article, "Foreign Adventurers in India," in the *Calcutta Review*, 1877.

Jagomohan that it was bought for Rs. 20,000 for the new College, which was opened on the 1st August, 1836. Dr. Thomas A. Wise, the Civil Surgeon, was its first Principal, and he continued to occupy the post till 1839, when he left the district, on being appointed Secretary to the General Committee of Public Instruction in Calcutta. About ten years afterwards, the well-known Captain D. L. Richardson was appointed Principal. He was succeeded by Mr. James Kerr, and the latter by Mr. Robert Thwaytes, who held the post for a considerable period. The present incumbent is Mr. Booth, who, like his immediate predecessor, Mr. Griffiths, has the reputation of being an able mathematician.

The "Joykissen Mookerjee affair," as Mr. Toynbee calls it, also took place in 1836. The Baboo had been appointed record-keeper of the Collectorate by the Collector, Mr. Belli, who entertained a high opinion of his ability and energy. In addition to his duties as record-keeper, he had to see to the exchange of Dutch for English pattahs of the Chinsura ryots. It was in the *bonâ fide* discharge of this special duty that he got into a serious scrape. The Revenue Board's orders regarding the exchange of pattahs were extremely unpopular with the ryots, and it was only natural that Baboo Joykissen, who was very strict in carrying them out, should have become an object of dislike to them. So, when, in the cold weather of 1835-36, the Commissioner, Mr. Evelyn Gordon, visited Hooghly, they in a body went up to him with a petition charging the Baboo with taking fees for himself on the issue of English pattahs. The Commissioner sent the petition on to the Collector with a private note saying that he "believed it all." But as no specific charge was made, the latter returned it, stating that he could not proceed regularly under the provisions of Regulation XIII of 1793. The Board then ordered the Commissioner to inquire into the matter personally. He did so, and the result was that Baboo Joykissen was dismissed.* The report of the Commissioner was quite out of the ordinary run of such documents, for, instead of confining himself to condemning the character of the party accused, he made some uncalled-for reflections upon the conduct of the Collector him-

* To compare great things with small, Joykissen's dismissal from the Collectorate "Duftar," like Lord Bacon's removal from the "Marble Chair," proved a great blessing. From that date, he commenced the rôle of a patriot, and soon distinguished himself. Indeed, there was not a public movement in which he did not take a part, and his words of wisdom were always listened to with the attention they deserved. Whatever may have been his faults, they were counter balanced by his good qualities. Take him all in all, we shall not find his like again. Raja Peary Mohun Mookerjee, C. S. I., who is well-known for his public spirit, is the worthy son of such a worthy sire.

self. But Mr. Belli was not the man to pocket such an insult, and he accordingly vented his spleen in a manner which showed that he was a better master of the language of abuse than his detractor. As to the merits of the case, the Collector was perfectly justified in condemning the proceedings of the Commissioner, for a calm and impartial consideration of all the papers on the subject, shows that great injustice was done to Baboo Joykissen, who was merely the victim of a foul conspiracy on the part of the Chinsura ryots.

The year 1836 also witnessed a change in the official language of the Courts, the Bengalee superseding the Persian. This change was justly considered one of the greatest blessings that British rule had conferred upon the country. The Persian, however, was still retained for correspondence, but whenever possible, the English language was to be used. The English, were also substituted for the Bengali months, in the revenue accounts. As a necessary consequence of these changes, the ~~staff in the~~ English Department was increased.

A somewhat sensational case marks the year 1837. Three Moonsiffs made a serious complaint against the District Judge, Mr. C. R. Martin, who was thereupon suspended pending further inquiry. One Noona Bai also came forward and charged him with having received money from her under promise of bestowing Moonsiffes on certain persons named by her. At the same time, the Government pleader, Tafazzal Hosein, was suspended on a charge of taking a large amount of money from a client on the plea that it was required to be paid to the Judge, according to "dustoor," or custom, in order to win the case. A full inquiry was held under the provisions of Regulation XVII of 1813, the result of which was the vindication of the Judge's character, and the dismissal of the Government pleader, who was succeeded in the office by Baboo Prosunno Coomar Tagore. Noona Bai was prosecuted for perjury and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.* It does not appear what became of the Moonsiffs.

The Collectorate also was not without its disturbance. In it was brought to light a case of embezzlement which covered a period of five years, beginning with September 1832. It was found that no less than Rs. 16,023 had been misappropriated by the mohurrirs concerned, from sums paid to Government under the heads of fines, ferry-funds, and escheats. The defalcation was made good by the luckless treasurer. It does not clearly appear what punishment, if any, was inflicted upon the guilty parties, beyond dismissal.

The first systematic attempt at "numbering the people" was also made in 1837. The procedure adopted by the Magistrate

* See G. Toynebee's *Administration*, p. 146.

Mr. Samuells, was to send out blank forms to gomastas, village headmen, and zemindars, with orders to fill in and return them. On receipt, the papers were made over to the Police darogahs for check and scrutiny. The result of this census, if we may so call it, showed an aggregate population of 1,508,843 souls in the whole district, inclusive of 70,025 in the town.

SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY.

ART. V.—PUBLIC HEALTH AND SANITATION IN ITALY.

The Law dealing with the Protection of Public Health and Sanitation in Italy was passed on the 22nd December 1888, and the Regulation for the application of the said Law was promulgated on the 9th October 1889.*

THE SANITARY ADMINISTRATION.

THE Sanitary Administration is carried on by Prefects, Sub-Prefects and Mayors (*sindaci*),† the whole department being subordinate to the Minister of the Interior, who has under him a Central Sanitary Board. There is a Provincial Sanitary Board in every Province under the Prefect; and also a Provincial Medical Officer. There is a Sanitary Medical Officer in every commune. Communes, either singly or in unison with other communes, are bound to provide gratuitous medical assistance for the poor: and, in certain places, for animals also. They are also bound to look after sanitation.

THE CENTRAL SANITARY BOARD.

The Central Sanitary Board is composed as follows:—

Of five doctors of medicine and surgery, possessing special knowledge of public hygiene; two expert sanitary engineers; two naturalists; two chemists; a veterinary surgeon; a druggist; a lawyer, and two persons expert in administration. At least six of them must reside in the capital. They are appointed by Royal Decree, on the nomination of the Minister of the Interior, remain in office for three years, and can be re-appointed. They are paid for attendance at meetings. The following officers also form a part of the said Board: the Head of the Sanitary office of the Minister of the Interior, a medical inspector of the Military sanitary body, a medical inspector of the Maritime sanitary body, the Procurator General at the Court of Appeal in Rome, the Director General of Mercantile Marine, the Director General of Statistics, and the Director General of Agriculture. The composition of the Italian Board forms a striking contrast to the composi-

* Regulations for giving effect to laws, framing rules, determining matters of detail, and generally containing provisions for the due and proper administration of a law, are passed by the Executive Government. In India rules framed by Local Governments, Boards of Revenue, &c., have the force of law only if the power to frame such rules is given in the Act itself.

• † The *Sindaco* is the equivalent of the *Maire* of a French Commune.

tion of the Central Sanitary Board for Bengal. It is, perhaps, advisable to give the latter a legislative basis and some legal powers.

It is the duty of the Central Sanitary Board to devote its attention to facts concerning the public health and sanitation of the kingdom; to propose such measures, inquiries and scientific researches as it may deem necessary, and to give its opinion on questions referred to it by the Minister of the Interior. The latter is bound to consult it in certain matters, for instance, on hygienic questions of principle, and when appeals are preferred against the decisions of Prefects and Provincial Sanitary Boards. Half the members of the Board form a quorum; but if the Board is convened only to give an opinion urgently asked for by the Minister, it is sufficient if half the members resident in the capital are present. Ordinary meetings are held six times a year, and extraordinary meetings whenever the Minister thinks fit to convene them.

THE PROVINCIAL BOARD OF HEALTH.

The Kingdom of Italy is divided into a certain number of Provinces, and each Province has its own Board of Health. The composition of the Provincial Board of Health is as follows: two doctors of medicine and surgery, an expert in chemistry, a lawyer, a druggist, a veterinary doctor, an engineer, and a person skilled in administration. But in the province of Rome, and in those provinces which have not less than a million inhabitants, there must be four doctors and three engineers; and in provinces with not less than 500,000 inhabitants there must be three doctors and two engineers. The members of the Provincial Board are appointed by Royal Decree, on the nomination of the Minister of the Interior. They remain in office three years, and can be re-appointed. The Prefect* is President of the Board, and the Procurator of the King, attached to the Civil and Correctional Court, and the Provincial doctor are members of it.

The Board has the same duties, *quoad* the province, as the Central Board has for the kingdom, the Prefect occupying the place of the Minister of the Interior. On certain matters the Prefect is bound to consult the Provincial Board; for instance, in the matter of rules regarding rice-cultivation, the steeping of textile plants, supervision of manufacturing and agricultural industries, the annual sanitary report to the Minister of the Interior, and appeals in certain matters against the decisions of Mayors. The Board meets four times a year and also whenever called by the Prefect.

* The nearest Indian equivalent of the French or Italian Prefect is the District Magistrate.

THE PROVINCIAL DOCTOR.

The Provincial doctor is appointed by Royal Decree, and can hold, in addition to his official post, some other post of practice or teaching, provided it be in the capital of the province, where he must reside. He must have held his degree for not less than five years, be over 45 years of age, and must have gone through a special practical course in one of the State laboratories of hygiene.

The principal duties of the Provincial doctor are to correspond with the communal sanitary officials regarding the public health and sanitation, to supervise the sanitary department, sanitary institutions, and the execution of sanitary laws and regulations throughout the Province; to keep the Prefect informed of all matters relating to the public health, and to propose measures urgently called for by the prevalence of sickness or insanitation; to inspect drug shops, assisted, where necessary, by a chemist or a pharmacist; and to submit an annual report on the sanitary condition of the Province, summarizing the information and statistics submitted by communes, noticing prevention and punitive measures, and giving a list of the sanitary works completed, and of those still considered necessary.* There are also doctors for each district (*circondario*), and the reports from communes go through them to the Provincial doctor. They stand much in the same position to the Sub-Prefect as the Provincial doctor does to the Prefect.†

THE COMMUNAL HEALTH OFFICER.

The appointed doctor of the commune is the Communal Health Officer, where there are no other doctors. In communes, where several doctors reside, the health officer is appointed by the Prefect, on the nomination of the communal council, and after consulting the Provincial Sanitary Board. He remains in office for three years, and is eligible for re-appointment. In communes which have a special health office, the head of the said office is made the Communal Health Officer, with the previous approval of the Prefect. Preference is always given to those who have made a special and practical study of practical hygiene.

It is the duty of the Communal Health Officer to supervise the hygienic and sanitary conditions of the commune, to inform the Provincial Doctor and the Mayor of the commune of all matters which, in the interests of the public health, call

* This would form an excellent list of duties for an Indian Civil Surgeon.

† It would be far from correct to say that the Italian Prefect and Sub-Prefect are the equivalent of the Indian District Magistrate and Sub-Divisional Officer. But they may be regarded as the nearest equivalent. The Syndic is the principal administrative officer in a Commune.

for special and extraordinary measures, and of all breaches of the law or sanitary Regulations; to assist the Mayor in sanitary matters; and to collect all the materials for the annual report on the sanitary condition of the commune.

MEDICAL AID AND RELIEF IN COMMUNES.

In communes where there are no private practitioners, there must be at least one surgeon-doctor and one midwife, paid by the commune, with the obligation of gratuitous attendance on the poor. Where there are several private practitioners, the commune must appoint one or more doctors and midwives, according to the population, for the relief of the poor. But where there are charitable institutions with such objects, Municipalities are relieved from the obligation, or only obliged to supplement the work of the private institutions. Where communes are too poor or too small to have a separate doctor and midwife, they are obliged to unite with other communes, in accordance with rules approved by the Prefect, after consulting the Provincial Sanitary Board. The appointed doctors and midwives are on probation for three years and then become permanent. After they have become permanent, they can be dismissed only for specified reasons, with the approval of the Prefect. An appeal lies to the Minister of the Interior against the decision of the Prefect.

In case of difference, the Provincial Sanitary Board determines, on the report of the Provincial Doctor, how many doctors and midwives must be entertained in each commune for the service of the poor. An appeal lies to the Minister of the Interior.

Where several communes* are joined in one union, they are represented by a body composed of their respective Mayors, presided over by the Mayor of the principal commune. If communes refuse to join such unions, the matter is decided by the Provincial Administrative Committee. Any commune dissatisfied with their decision may appeal to the Minister of the Interior, whose decision (after hearing the Superior Board of Health and Council of State) is final. The regulations for such unions must specify the conditions of the joint sanitary service, the pay of the sanitary officer, and the amount to be contributed thereto by each commune, the conditions for pension, the place where the doctor must reside, and the rights and duties of the doctor, surgeon, or midwife in each commune. The Municipal Committee in each commune must compile a

* The whole of Italy is mapped out into so many communes, just as Bengal would be mapped out into so many unions, supposing unions were established under the Local Self-Government Act. A commune in Italy may be a town of several hundred thousand inhabitants, or its capital may be a mere village.

list of the poor entitled to gratuitous medical relief, and make it over to the doctor, surgeon, and midwife. This rule might with advantage be followed in Bengal Municipalities.

MEDICAL SUPERVISION OF ANIMALS AND CATTLE DISEASE.

In every Province the sanitary supervision of animals is entrusted to a Provincial Veterinary doctor selected by the Minister. Where the quantity of the cattle and the extent of the Province require it, the Prefect can appoint other veterinary doctors, in other communes of the Province, to help the Provincial doctor. The Provincial Veterinary doctor watches over the health of animals in the interests of public health, and with this object causes inspections to be made by his assistants of cattle-yards, shambles, and meat-shops. He informs the Prefect of the appearance of epizootic disease, and proposes measures for preventing its diffusion.

The Prefect, after consulting the Provincial Board of Health, can compel any commune, either alone or in conjunction with other communes, to appoint a Municipal Veterinary doctor, when such an appointment is clearly necessary in the interests of the public health. Such an appointment must be made when the breeding or sale of cattle is one of the principal industries of the place, or when diseases of a contagious kind habitually prevail in it. In addition to veterinary treatment, the doctor must watch over the sanitary condition of cattle, must give information of every case of contagious disease, and carry out measures for arresting the spread of contagion; he must ascertain the cause of death, whether accidental or from disease, to determine whether the flesh may be used or must be destroyed*; he must look after the hygienic arrangements of the cattle-yards and the sanitary condition of the animals destined to the production of milk; he must inspect slaughter-houses and meat-shops; and must submit a report at the end of each year on the sanitary condition of the cattle in his circle, with suggestions for the improvement of their breed.†

Veterinary doctors are also established on the frontiers and at the ports of the kingdom for the purpose of examining every kind of animals, or parts of animals entering the State, and prohibiting the import of those affected with contagious disease or suspected of being so.

* It is said that enormous quantities of beef which, to say the least, is in a state which is noxious as food, are consumed by Mahomedans in India.

† Contrast this with the absolute absence of administration in such matters in Bengal. When cattle disease is more than usually fatal, it is reported by the Police, but no action is taken. There is neither law nor administrative regulation. A District Officer on tour finds perhaps that hundreds of cattle have died from disease in a single thana. He

THE EXERCISE OF SANITARY AND COGNATE PROFESSIONS.

The exercise of the following professions is subject to special supervision: medicine and surgery, the veterinary art, pharmacy and midwifery. This supervision extends to the preparation, conservation and sale of medicines. The following persons also are subject to supervision in regard to the public health: druggists, perfumers, colourmen, liquor-sellers, confectioners, makers and sellers of chemical products and pharmaceutical preparations, distilled waters, volatile oils, mineral waters and earths, and every kind of artificial food substance and drink.

The Provincial doctors and communal sanitary officials can proceed at any time to inspect such shops and articles. When any infringement of the law is discovered, as illicit sale, or sale of substances injurious to health, a report is drawn up by the Secretary of the commune. The articles are seized and closed and sealed with the seal of the Secretary and also of the offender. If the latter refuses to seal, mention of the refusal is made in the inquiry record. This record must be received in any trial as conclusive proof of the facts. Articles suspected to be injurious to health are similarly liable to seizure; and pending their analysis, their sale or distribution is forbidden.

No one can exercise the profession of doctor or surgeon, veterinary doctor, pharmacist, dentist, phlebotomist or midwife, unless he or she is of age and has the prescribed degree or diploma. This prohibition does not apply to foreign doctors and surgeons expressly called in, in special cases, or to those who have foreign diplomas and attend foreigners only. The possession of several diplomas or patents gives the right to the cumulative exercise of the corresponding branches of the healing art, *except that pharmacy cannot be exercised along with any other profession.* In communes, however, where there is no pharmacy, and those of the adjacent communes are very distant and difficult of access, the Prefect can authorise the local doctor to keep a pharmaceutical chest (*armadio farmaceutico*) with him. In the head sanitary office of every Province must be kept a register of all those exercising any branch of the medical profession. Similarly a register is kept for each commune, which is open to inspection by the public. A special

notes the fact in his cold weather tour diary, and thereby consigns it to oblivion. A little substantive law and administration in matters which vitally concern an agricultural community, would confer more happiness and prosperity on them, than constant tinkering of Procedure Codes and Limitation Acts. The present Lieutenant-Governor has recently started an Institution, the ultimate effect of which will perhaps be that there will be some supervision of the sanitary condition of cattle through the agency of District Boards. But these Boards at present have hardly sufficient funds to establish and maintain proper communications.

regulation deals with the duties of midwives, and the operations they are permitted to perform.

Persons exercising the medical profession are legally bound to inform the Provincial doctor of facts and circumstances which may concern the public health. In every case of death they must inform the Mayor of the disease which has caused it.

No one can open a pharmacy without giving previous intimation to the Prefect, and every pharmacy intended for public use, or for the service of hospitals or other Civil or Military institutions, must have at its head, a certificated and approved druggist living at it permanently. Only druggists can sell medicines in doses, or medicinal substances made up as medicines. It is an offence, punishable with a fine of not less than 200 lira, to sell or distribute substances or preparations declared to be secret remedies or specifics, which have not been approved by the superior Board of Health,* or to attribute to them, on the labels or in public advertisements, a different composition from what they have, or special virtues and therapeutic properties not recognised by the said Board. In case of a second offence, the offender can be imprisoned for 15 days. Pharmacies must be supplied with the medicinal substances compulsorily prescribed in the Pharmacopeia, approved by the Minister of the Interior, after consulting the Superior Board of Health, and a copy of the said Pharmacopeia (which is revised every five years) must be kept in every pharmacy. The keeping of imperfect, spoilt, or noxious medicines is punishable with a fine of 100 lira and with the suspension of license in case of second offence; while to make up medicines not corresponding in quality or quantity to the medical prescriptions, is punishable with fine up to 500 lira, or with imprisonment which may extend to a year. Inspecting officers may at once destroy any medicines found to be unserviceable, spoilt, or adulterated; † if the owner objects, the medicines are impounded pending proceedings, a sample being returned to the owner.

It is an offence punishable with fine of 500 lira and imprisonment which may extend to one year, for any person not specially authorised to make, sell, or distribute poisons. Those who are authorised to keep poisons, or to use them in their art or profession, must keep them under lock and key, and in a receptacle showing that they are poisons. Pharmacists are bound to keep a copy of all prescriptions which they make up; if they make up poisons, they have to keep the *original*

* Such a provision seems to be called for in India, but there is at present no body which could give a certificate of approval.

† In Bengal (certain Municipalities excepted) there is not even a right to inspect private dispensaries, pharmacies, and druggeries.

prescriptions, noting the name of the person for whom made up, and giving a copy on demand. Poisons can be sold only to persons well known, or if not known, on the production of a certificate from the authority of Public Security, stating their name, surname, art or profession, and that the poison is actually required for the exercise of their art or profession. All particulars of the sale, with the date, must be noted in a special register. Infringement of these rules is punishable with a fine of 250 lira, to which may also be added suspension of the exercise of their profession up to three months.

In communes where no night service is established, the keeper of a pharmacy is bound to lend his services, even at night, whenever required to do so. The keeper of a pharmacy cannot close it without giving 15 days previous intimation to the Prefect.

INSPECTION OF PHARMACIES.

In the course of two years all pharmacies must be inspected in the modes and forms prescribed by the Regulation. The provincial doctors can, in the interests of the public health, make extraordinary inspections of pharmacies, and visit, without any previous warning, the shops of druggists, colourmen, perfumers, liquor-sellers, confectioners, makers and sellers of chemical products. In inspecting pharmacies, the Provincial doctor is assisted by a pharmacist. His inspections are entered in a register, which is signed by him and the pharmacist visitor, and also by the owner, or his delegate.

No one can open or keep any medico-surgical or obstetric institution, or baths, hydropathic or caloric, except with the permission of the Prefect, after consulting the Provincial doctor, and the Provincial Board of Health. From the decision of the Prefect an appeal lies to the Minister of the Interior, who decides after consulting the Superior Board of Health.

HYGIENIC RULES DEALING WITH THE SOIL AND WITH HABITATIONS.

Apart from the rules regarding public waters and watercourses, contained in the Law of Public Works, all works are prohibited which modify the level of subterraneous waters, or the natural flow of superficial waters in places in which such alterations are recognised as injurious by local hygienic regulations. Any infringement of this prohibition is punishable with fine up to 500 lira, in addition to the demolition of the work at the expense of the offender. The local regulations permit alterations of watercourses under certain circumstances, but apart from these special provisions, *all works are conclusively presumed to be injurious to public health, which interfere with the regular flow of sub-terraneous or super-terraneous*

waters, and cause stagnation of water on lands intended for building, or marshes on any other land. The administrative regulation for the application of the law lays it down that insanitary effects *must* result from (a) buildings for habitation, which contain more than one occupant for every ten square metres of covered superficial area, and each room of which has not at least eight square metres of superficial area and 25 cubic metres of space for each person occupying it; (b) dirty streams of any sort flowing in front of houses abutting on the street, and (c) deposit on the roads or near dwellings of any refuse, articles emitting disagreeable smell or exhalations, or such as to vitiate the atmosphere.

The steeping of flax, hemp, or other textile plants is permitted only at such times, in such places, at such distances from habitations, and with such precautions, as may be prescribed by the Local Regulations of Health, or by special regulations approved by the Prefect, on the proposal of the Provincial doctor, after consultation with the Provincial Board of Health.* Contravention of such regulations is punishable with fine of 50 lira. As regards the precautions, communes have to make rules regarding the places for steeping, the frequent change of water, and the disposal of what has been used, in order to prevent the formation of malarious pits and holes, and the pollution of currents of water used for domestic purposes.

Manufactures and industries which create insalubrious exhalations, or are otherwise dangerous to the health of persons in the vicinity, are entered in a list and divided into two classes, the first class comprising those which must be isolated in the country and far from habitations†; and the second, those which demand special precautions for the safety of persons in the vicinity.‡ This list is compiled by the Superior Board of

* In Eastern Bengal jute is indiscriminately steeped in large rivers small rivers, *khals*, *bheels*, village pits and hollows, roadside cuttings, and even in tanks. The smell is intolerable, and is said to be injurious to health. Native Medical practitioners assert that the pollution of water by jute-steeping causes malaria. Certain it is that large tracts of country have become more and more malarious as the cultivation of jute has extended. In the jute-steeping season, the water of some khals is reddened for miles, the scum generating thousands of insects, and producing an abominable stench. The water-supply is vitiated; but, as the bulk of the community is interested in jute cultivation, very few complaints are made to the Magistrate.

† Outside Municipal areas the only law on the subject in India is that contained in Chapter XIV of the Penal Code, and Sec. 143 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. There are restrictions in Municipal areas. In Bengal Sec. 261 of the Municipal Act empowers Municipal Commissioners to direct that, within limits to be fixed by them, certain offensive or dangerous trades shall not be carried on without a license, which may impose conditions.

‡ As regard these, the Indian Arms and Explosives Acts extends to the whole of India.

Health, after consulting the Minister of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, and approved by the Minister of the Interior, and may be revised from time to time. An industry or manufacture entered in the first class may be permitted in the vicinity of dwellings whenever the person carrying it on can prove that, by the introduction of new methods, or use of special precautions, it cannot injure the health of the vicinity. Municipal juntas may lay down the conditions under which manufactures and industries which are dangerous to health, may be carried on. Persons aggrieved by their orders may appeal to the Prefect, whose orders again are subject to revision by the Minister of the Interior.

Newly built houses, or those partly rebuilt, cannot be occupied except with the permission of the Mayor, which is only given when, from an inspection of the sanitary officer, or of an engineer appointed for that purpose, it is made clear that certain prescribed sanitary conditions have been fulfilled: for instance, that the walls are thoroughly dry, that there is no deficiency of air or light, that there is potable water in the wells, or other receptacle, and that there is no manifest cause of unhealthiness. Any infringement of these rules is punishable with fine up to 500 lira, in addition to the closing of the house. The order of the Mayor is appealable to the Prefect, who decides after consulting the Provincial Board of Health. Sites selected for schools must be approved by the Prefect. Those who let or give sleeping accommodation must not house a larger number of persons than that fixed by the Mayor after inspection. Sleeping rooms must not be less than three metres in height, or have less than 25 cubic metres of capacity for each person, and must be furnished with air and light directly from outside.

On the report of the Communal Sanitary officer, or of the Provincial doctor, the Mayor can close any house or part of the same, as unfit for human habitation from a hygienic and sanitary point of view. The Mayor's order is appealable to the Prefect.

HYGIENIC RULES CONCERNING FOOD AND DRINK.

It is an offence punishable with fine up to 100 lira, and with imprisonment from six days to three months, to sell, or to supply servants, as pay, with food or drink which is bad, tainted, or adulterated, or otherwise unwholesome and noxious to health. Moreover, the food or drink is confiscated. The same penalty is provided for rendering noxious, by bad tinning or otherwise, cooking utensils or vessels for keeping food or drink. The following things are deemed to be specially noxious to health: the flesh of animals suffering from contagious disease, or which show even incipient signs of decomposition; the seeds of cereals, vegetables, &c. which are bad or attacked with parasites, unripe or rotten herbs and fruit, and generally any natural product of

the soil in an abnormal condition ; food and drink adulterated with heterogeneous substances, or artificially coloured so as to imitate or augment the natural colour. Food and drink are considered to be adulterated, even though not noxious to health, when they are partly deprived of their nutritious matter, or mixed with substances of inferior quality, or so prepared as to vary the natural composition, unless the modifications they have undergone are openly declared. Kitchen utensils of all kinds are considered noxious to health, if made with metallic composition containing lead or antimony, or re-covered with varnishes which contain lead or other noxious material. The Minister of the Interior, with the advice of the Superior Board of Health, prepares a list of noxious colours, the use of which is prohibited in the preparation of food and drink, or for colouring cloth, tapestry, toys, paper for wrapping up alimentary substances, and other objects of personal or domestic use.

Every commune must be provided with potable water recognised to be pure and of good quality. The Minister of the Interior can compel any commune or group of communes to provide such water.* Contamination of any source of drinking water is punishable with fine up to 500 lira, apart from the heavier punishment provided in the Penal Code for cases in which there has been damage to individuals.

Every village or town containing a population of over 6,000 inhabitants must have at least one slaughter house, supervised by the communal sanitary authority, with prohibition to slaughter anywhere else. In smaller villages also slaughter is under supervision ; a particular hour is fixed for private slaughter, and, if this is impossible for any reason, any person intending to slaughter must give notice to the sanitary officer, or the communal veterinary doctor. There are elaborate rules for ensuring that diseased meat shall not come into the market.

The grinding or crushing of talc, chalk, or other substances suspected to be used for the adulteration of grain, is forbidden in the same places, or with the same machines, as those used for grinding alimentary substances.

PRECAUTIONS AGAINST THE SPREAD OF DISEASES INFECTIOUS TO MAN AND BEAST.

It is obligatory on all doctors to give immediate information to the Sindaco and communal sanitary officer of any case of dangerous infectious disease, and to help them in the execution of urgent measures to prevent the spread of the disease. Breach of this obligation is punishable with fine up to 500 lira, and in heinous cases with imprisonment, without

* The Bengal Municipal Bill, now before the Bengal Council, contains provisions enabling the Local Government to compel Municipalities to provide good drinking water.

prejudice to any higher punishment that may be awarded under the Penal Code, where injury has actually been caused to any person. Whenever any infectious disease of an epidemic character has manifested itself, every doctor practising in a commune is bound to place his services at the disposal of the commune, their families getting the benefit of the law of the 29th July 1868. This provision is applicable to appoint doctors also.

Informations of dangerous infectious or contagious diseases must be immediately communicated by the Mayor to the Prefect, by the sanitary officer to the Provincial doctor, and by the Prefect to the Minister of the Interior. Where the gravity of the case requires it, the Prefect can, at the instance of the Provincial doctor, appoint local commissions, and delegate experts to examine the character of the disease, and may take all such measures as he considers necessary for the proper care of those attacked, and for the prevention of the spread of the disease.* The Land Acquisition laws contain provisions for the occupation of the land of private persons in urgent cases, when required for hospitals, lazarettos, cemeteries, or any other sanitary object. The Minister of the Interior is empowered to make special rules for the inspection and disinfection of houses, the organisation of medical relief and the prevention of the spread of the epidemic.

In any case of infectious and contagious disease, the sanitary officer may call on the doctor in attendance to make an inspection of the house where the patient is, in order to ascertain whether all precautions have been taken which are necessary to prevent the spread of the disease, and if not, to adopt such precautions.

Every commune is bound to arrange for the sanitary inspection of schools at least twice a month, without previous warning, by the sanitary officer or doctors delegated for that purpose. Any pupil suffering from infectious disease must be kept apart until completely cured; and if cases recur, the school must be temporarily closed, so that the place may be thoroughly disinfected. It is obligatory on communes to keep materials and apparatus for disinfection, and to use the same for disinfecting houses or objects of personal or domestic use, when so requested by the owners, or when the sanitary officer considers it necessary. The cost is levied from persons who can afford to pay, but in the case of poor persons, the service is gratuitous. These disinfections are made obligatory

* There is no law in India regarding cholera epidemics. Each District Officer combats it as best he can. Orders compelling pilgrims to go round a town are sometimes passed under Sec. 144 C. P. C. But a special regulation is much called for.

in the cases of illness or death from eruptive cutaneous diseases of an infectious character, or from diphtherial or tubercular affections. Every commune must provide a place, conveniently isolated and fitted up, for the recovery, in urgent cases, of persons suffering from infectious diseases.

Travellers affected with contagious diseases are bound to declare the same to the railway officials, who can segregate them in separate carriages, which must be disinfected before being used again. These provisions are applicable to all public conveyances.*

Vaccination is everywhere obligatory,† and is regulated by rules approved by the Minister of the Interior, after consulting the Superior Board of Health. The vaccine lymph is kept by the Provincial doctor, who gives it gratuitously at any time to the Mayors and any private practitioners who may ask for it. The cost of vaccine lymph is borne by the province; that of vaccination by communes. No one can open an institution for the preparation or sale of vaccine lymph, or for the preparation of, and inoculation with, any *virus* for protection from, or cure of, rabies or other infectious disease, unless he has obtained the consent of the Minister of the Interior. In all cases the institution must be kept by medical men, and subjected to the supervision of the local sanitary authority. Regulations to prevent the spread of venereal disease are framed in the office of the Minister of the Interior. These regulations impose detention or imprisonment in case of infringement.

THE MORTUARY POLICE.

Every commune must have at least one cemetery established in accordance with the regulations of the Mortuary Police; but

* Again, we have nothing in India but the general law as contained in Chapter XIV of the Penal Code. A case in point is reported in the Madras Law Reports: K, knowing that he was suffering from cholera, travelled as a passenger in a train without informing the railway servants of his condition. M, knowing his condition, bought K's ticket, and travelled with him. *Held*, that K was guilty under S. 269 of the Penal Code, and M was guilty of abetment. I. L. R. 7 Mad. 276. There can be no doubt that Chapter XIV of the Penal Code, along with section 143, 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, are comprehensive, and enable Magistrates to deal with most nuisances that could arise. But the Calcutta High Court has shown itself extremely jealous of the jurisdiction conferred on Magistrates by the general law. If this jurisdiction were conferred by a special Act, it seems probable that some of this jealousy would disappear.

† The state of things is very anomalous in Bengal. Though the Prohibition of Inoculation Act (IV of 1865, B. C.) is in force everywhere, yet its necessary corollary, the Compulsory Vaccination Act (V. of 1880, B. C.), is in force only in Municipalities. Vaccinators constantly report that such and such villagers will not allow their children to be vaccinated. Again, they find difficulty in realising their fees, and ask the Magistrate to help them. The Magistrate has no legal power in the matter.

two or more small communes may have a joint cemetery. From the moment that any land is set apart for a cemetery, it is forbidden to construct any dwelling-house within a radius of 200 metres from it, under penalty of fine, and demolition of the building. It is forbidden to bury a corpse in any other place than a cemetery, under penalty of fine, in addition to the expense of removing the corpse to the cemetery. An exception is made in favour of illustrious personages, who are decreed national honours by Parliament, and of private or national chapels not open to the public, and situate at a distance from habitations equal to that fixed for cemeteries. Corpses can be cremated in crematoria approved by the Provincial doctor. Communes are bound to give the necessary space in cemeteries for the construction of crematoria.

The local health regulations contain special provisions, depending on the topography of the commune and other local conditions, for the enforcement of the law; and they may deal with other causes of insanitation not mentioned in the law. These regulations* are drafted by Communal Councils, and forwarded along with the observations of the Provincial Sanitary Councils and Provincial Doctor to the Minister of the Interior, who passes them with such additions and modifications as he thinks fit. If the communal councils fail to frame such regulations within a fixed time, they are framed by the Minister of the Interior.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

The costs of sanitary service and supervision are borne by communes, or Provinces or the State.

The following charges are borne by communes :—

- (a) The pay of the communal sanitary officer and other officers employed for sanitary supervision, and the care of the poor in the commune;
- (b) The cost of offices of hygienic supervision;
- (c) The expenditure in connection with vaccination in the commune;
- (a) That for cemeteries;
- (e) That for potable water;
- (f) All other expenditure incurred within the commune for the preservation of the public health.

The following charges are borne by Provinces :—

- (a) The costs of sanitary inspections in cases of epidemic or epizootic disease;
- (b) The cost of keeping vaccine for all the communes in the Province;
- (c) The cost of the offices of the Provincial doctors.

* The equivalent of the English or Indian bye-laws.

The following charges are borne by the State :—

- (a) The pay of Provincial doctors ;
- (b) The fees paid to Provincial Veterinary doctors for services rendered ;
- (c) The payments made to members of the Superior Board for attendance at meetings, to Sanitary Engineers, and members of the Sanitary Councils ;
- (d) The salaries of Veterinary doctors on the frontier and at ports ;

The fees paid to visitors of pharmacies ;

The fees paid for sanitary inspections ordered by the administrative authority, except when they are undertaken in order, to pass orders on complaints presented by private persons ;

- (g) All other expenses which the administrative authority thinks fit to incur for the safety of the public health of the realm, or for the succour of provinces and communes afflicted with epidemic or epizootic diseases.

The expenses which are at the charge of provinces and communes, are obligatory. The punishments prescribed in the law are imposed by the competent judicial courts. There is a special law, of the 12th June 1866, regarding the cultivation of rice, which has been extended to the whole of Italy. Such cultivation in the vicinity of habitations is regarded as highly insanitary and productive of malaria.*

Members of the Superior Board of Health receive a fee of 20 lira for each meeting, in addition to travelling expenses. The elected members of Provincial Sanitary Boards get a payment of 15 lira for each day of the sitting. Private practitioners are paid for visits, inspections, and skilled examinations and analyses carried out by them at the order of administrative authorities. Government doctors are paid at a lower rate.

MISCELLANEOUS ORDERS AND CIRCULARS.

In addition to the main law itself, there are a number of subsidiary laws, and administrative regulations and circulars, dealing with matters connected with sanitation. For instance there are rules as to how samples of water for analysis are to be taken and sent to the scientific laboratories under the Direction of Public Health.

On the 24th February 1886, the Minister of the Interior issued a remarkable circular to all the Prefects in the kingdom

* Municipalities in India might be given power to prohibit rice cultivation within a certain distance of habitations. The worst of it is that many Municipalities in Bengal are almost purely rural areas.

pointing out that the experience of the two previous years had clearly demonstrated that those communes which possessed good hygienic conditions, had entirely, or almost entirely, escaped serious diseases, and that it was desirable to give all communes the same immunity or comparative immunity. The circular spoke of "our resurrection in communications, education, and general prosperity," and urged that to these should be added "health, which increased a nation's strength and wealth."

The law of the 29th December 1883, had sanctioned loans to communes at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. On the 14th July 1887 was passed Law No. 4791, which reduced the interest to 3 per cent. the loan to be repayable within a maximum period of 30 years. The conditions of this law are (1) that the borrowing commune must contain not less than 10,000 inhabitants; (2) that the loan shall not exceed 20,000 lira; and (3) that it shall be taken for one or more of the following objects only:—

- (a) Provision of good drinking water;
- (b) Street drains, removal of filth, and drainage of stagnant water in contiguity to dwellings;
- (c) Straightening and shortening of internal roads in the inhabited part of the commune, especially when such works improve drainage;
- (d) Construction and enlargement of cemeteries;
- (e) Construction of public slaughter-houses;
- (f) Construction of public latrines.

This list might have been laid down for Bengal, so completely does it enumerate the principal requirements of Bengal towns. The loans are given by the Bank of Loans and Deposits, and the State makes up to the Bank the difference between the interest charged to the communes, namely, three per cent., and the general rate in force for sanitary loans, or, if there is no such rate, that in force for ordinary loans.

The law of the 8th July 1888, (No. 5516), authorises the grant of loans to communes for the construction, enlargement and restoration of scholastic buildings. The interest can be reduced to two per cent. when the loan does not exceed 50,000 lira; to $2\frac{1}{2}$, when it does not exceed 100,000 lira; but must not be less than 3 per cent. for larger loans. Such loans are given on the proposal of the Minister of Public Instruction. The administrative regulation for carrying out the above law contains some very elaborate directions regarding the preparation of plans for new school buildings. Some of these directions appear to be excellent, while the minuteness of others is somewhat amusing. An elevated site in the open country is to be preferred, or one adjacent to gardens, squares, or wide roads, not too much frequented; far from markets, barracks,

shops, places of public resort, and spectacles not fit for school-boys.* The site must be at least 200 metres distant from any cemetery, and so placed that the building is as much as possible withdrawn from the influence of cold or damp winds; and particularly winds which blow across marshes, rice crops, or other malarious tracts. The soil must be, if possible, porous and dry, and therefore preferably gravel or sand, with the level of the subsoil drainage well removed from the superficial soil. If a suitable hygienic site is not available, every means must be taken to improve it; and, where the foundations extend as low as the subsoil water, precautions must be taken to prevent the damp from rising, such as the raising of the soil with clayey earth, the use of impermeable materials in the foundations, and the separations of the upper from the lower parts of the walls by a layer of asphalt or some such substance. The area of land must be proportionate in size to the number of boys, such number being taken to be 15 per cent. of the population of the commune, or of that portion of the commune for which the school is intended, some allowance also being made for the growth of the population.

The building itself must be of solid construction, of simple and elegant appearance, such as to elevate the mind, and improve the taste of the pupil. The building must serve for the school only; but in rural communes, where economy is a necessity, the master's or mistress's lodging, as well as rooms for the communal offices, may be included in the building; but the benefit of the loan is not extended to these latter portions.

The buildings for elementary rural schools must contain an entrance room or hall with dressing-rooms and lavatories; distinct class-rooms according to sex and class; a covered and uncovered court-yard; a gymnasium; always, where possible, a field or garden for practical instruction in agriculture; accommodation for the teachers, preferably annexed, but not forming a part of the school; and latrines. There are additional requirements for elementary urban schools, and higher schools called gymnasia, lycea, technical schools, &c. The superficial space allowed for a class must be at least four-fifths of a square metre per pupil in infants' schools, and one square metre in other schools.

Another circular of the Minister of the Interior, dated 22nd August 1887, deals with the preventive measures to be taken on the appearance of cholera. Sanitary officers are bound to inform the Mayor at once whenever they observe any person affected with cholera. It is the duty of the Mayor to report to the Prefect. The communal authorities have to take special

* The schools in most Bengal towns, and notably in Calcutta, do not fulfil these conditions.

measures to prevent the spread of the disease, and such measures are enumerated in the circular. The principal are the isolation of the persons affected, and destruction or thorough disinfection of their vomits or excreta, linen, clothes, bedding, &c. Destruction by fire is advised, but where, in the case of poor persons, this is not practicable, and there exists no apparatus for disinfecting by steam, preference is given to an immersion for ten or fifteen minutes in a solution of corrosive sublimate, or, in the absence of that, immersion for half an hour in water kept boiling. Walls and floors are to be washed in the same solution; the wood of coffins is to be wrapped round with cloth steeped in the same solution, and the grave diggers are to be allowed to wash themselves in it. Whenever the existence of cholera is verified in a circumscribed group of cases, especially if hygienic conditions are bad, an endeavour is to be made to remove all the healthy inhabitants to isolated houses, barracks, or under canvas. Where the local water is bad, communes are enjoined to substitute the use of good spring water, or at least of water drawn in a locality not affected, or of boiled water. They must also try to improve the food-supply, and exercise a sharp surveillance over all food and drink exposed for sale, establish economical co-operative kitchens, and distribute gratis, or at a reduced price, necessary articles of food to those who, from sickness or inability to work, are not in a position to supply themselves with healthy food. Exportation of rags from communes where there is a cholera epidemic, is forbidden. Communal authorities, however, are forbidden to establish sanitary cordons, to prevent persons entering the Commune, or to impose quarantine, inspection, sequestration, or fumigation. These powers are exercised by Prefects and Sub-Prefects.

A circular of the 2nd November 1887 prescribes rules for the construction of cemeteries. Another of the 24th December of the same year directs a monthly sanitary bulletin or report to be submitted by each commune direct to the Ministry of the Interior (Direction of Public Health Department). This is to show all cases of disease of an infectious or epidemic character, and is separate from the returns of all births and deaths, which are submitted to the Statistical Department. The bulletin for any month is to be submitted not later than the 3rd of the following month; but, if any disease of the above nature occurs with exceptional frequency, weekly, and even daily bulletins are to be sent. The circular ends with a hope that the interest taken by Mayors in this matter will be commensurate with the solicitude of the Government for the adequate fulfilment of its most important duty of guarding the public health.

A circular of the 5th October, 1887, recites that complaints are constantly being made to the Government, that the administrative authorities take no action against persons who, without right or authorisation, practise medicine and surgery, or sell drugs and specifics. It lays down that persons who do so without a regular degree or diploma obtained in a university of the kingdom, inflict injury on the rights of the sanitary and pharmaceutical professions, and violate the provisions of the law which are intended to protect the public from the mistakes of ignorant or designing persons. Such persons, if they escape the supervision of the sanitary councils, which extends to those who exercise sanitary professions with legal authority, are liable, nevertheless, to the penalties contained in the law of Public Security and the law of the 5th July 1882 (No. 995); and the agents and officers of Public Security should find out such persons and prosecute them before the judicial authorities. A circular of the 24th December 1888, defines the persons who are entitled to exercise the pharmaceutical profession. But an exception is made in favour of the existing rights of certain persons.

A circular of the 9th January, 1889, issued by Signor Crispi, then Minister of the Interior, exhorts Prefects to do all in their power to compel the observance of the law, and, in particular, of certain specified portions of it. These are the portions which relate to the sale of medicines declared to be secret remedies or specifics, or the sale of remedies which are said to possess a composition or attributes which they do not possess, when such medicines and remedies have not received the approval of the Superior Board of Health; the sale of food or drink noxious to health; the building regulations; the obligation imposed on every commune to provide good drinking water; and the preventive measures against the spread of diseases infectious to man or beast. "I trust," concludes the Minister, "that the Prefects, conscious of their duty and of the noble scope of the mission which the law gives them, will be ready to show the utmost firmness in giving effect to the will of the Legislature, and thereby enabling the Department of Hygiene and Public Health to reach that pitch of perfection which all desire to see." Another circular, issued on the 6th February, 1889, shows the determination of Signor Crispi. The circular relates to the provision of good drinking water, and begins as follows: "The Minister, who has been informed of the deplorable hygienic conditions of many communes in the kingdom, conditions due to the deficiency or bad quality of the water necessary for their domestic use, is firmly resolved that the provisions of the law of the 22nd December 1888, shall be quickly put in force, so that, in a not very distant future, all communes shall be

provided, in proportion to the wants of the inhabitants, with this essential element of health." The Minister, while admitting difficulties arising from want of funds, brushes them aside by the declaration that the law of the 14th July 1887, relating to the grant of loans at a low rate of interest, will be freely applied, and that the Government will render every other possible assistance. He demands that provision for the aforesaid want shall find a place in all Budgets, from which is to be excluded all expenditure not of a strictly obligatory nature. The cost may be disproportionate to the financial condition of some particular commune ; but, in that case, it must enter into a union with some other commune or communes ; while every idea of grandeur or luxury must be excluded from the projects, which must provide merely for such works as are absolutely necessary to secure a constant and abundant supply of good water. In the case of refusal, the Minister will call for and personally examine the Budgets, and make such modifications as he deems necessary.*

Such are the provisions of the Italian law in the matter of Public Health and Sanitation. Travellers in Italy may say that the condition of certain Italian towns would indicate that the completeness and perfection of the law is rather theoretical than practical ; still it is a law teeming with practical rules and advice, from which Indian statesmen and legislators may derive many useful hints and suggestions, especially as in some respects the conditions of life and habitation in Italy present a striking similarity to those prevailing in India.

H. A. D. PHILLIPS.

* The present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal is exhibiting a similar determination in the matter of drainage and water-supply schemes. Such schemes as are absolutely necessary would not be felt as a great burden if loans could be taken from Government at two per cent. interest. But there can be little or no combination until the whole Province has been mapped out into local areas such as Unions under the Local Self-Government Acts, and, even so, an essential condition seems to be an increase of District and Local Board Revenue. Suggestions for such increase were made in an article in the number of this *Review* for October 1892, page 267.

ART. VI.—THE LATE COLONEL
SIR ROBERT SANDEMAN, K.C.S.I.

SO much attention and prominence is given to party struggles, and party warfare in the House of Commons, that imperial interests generally suffer, and are accorded but scant consideration in proportion to their importance. When such is the case, it is no wonder that the British public often know more concerning the least successful members of the legislature, than they do of men whose magnificent achievements are adding fresh jewels to the imperial diadem. While most editors of the English daily press have grudged a single column for an obituary notice on Sir Robert Sandeman, a man who was imbued with much of what is called the old world heroism, they devote numerous columns to recording rapid parochial oratory, or the idle chatter of buckram actors. The growth of this vast ocean Empire, which is unprecedented in the annals of the world's history, continues without interruption; fresh lands are steadily brought under the national sway, but often little attention is given in the public press to the chief actors in the drama. Their achievements are in remote corners of the Empire, and the fierce light of the English press penetrates but dimly into such regions.

Early this year, when all ranks were to be seen with a mournful badge as a token of a Royal loss, there passed away in harness, during a tour in Southern Baluchistan, one whose death, as the Gazette of the Government of India informed the world, was a public misfortune.

Robert Groves Sandeman, son of Major-General R. T. Sandeman, of the Bengal Army, was of a well-known Perthshire family. He was born in 1835, and was educated at the Perth Academy and St. Andrews. Having obtained an Indian cadetship, he in 1856 joined the 14th Bengal Native Infantry, which regiment was then commanded by his father. He was afterwards attached to the 2nd Europeans, and, on the outbreak of the Mutiny, joined the 1st Sikh cavalry, which formed a part of the Oudh column. He saw service near Cawnpore, and at the siege and capture of Lucknow, where he was severely wounded. In fact, he was reported as dead, and another man was gazetted to the adjutancy of the regiment. When convalescent, he went to rejoin, and, on presenting himself, to the astonishment of his brother officers, claimed his former post as adjutant. The question was referred to Army Headquarters, and it was decided that, as the adjutancy had been filled up, Lieutenant Sandeman should be offered, as a *solatium*

an Assistant Commissionership in the Panjab Commission. In those days these appointments were greatly coveted, and one out of every three vacancies in the Punjab was given to a military officer. From 1859 he was in various districts along the frontier, until the Umbeyla Campaign in 1863, when he received the thanks of Government for the clever capture of a rebel chief. He was then promoted to Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan, and remained in charge of that district for eleven years, until he became Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan. His duties, besides the collection of revenue and the administration of justice, brought him into direct connection with the frontier tribesmen, and the borders of his district soon became the quietest along the whole Punjab Frontier.

To the south was the province of Sind, with Sir William Merewether, as Commissioner, at Karachi, and his celebrated henchman, General Jacob, stationed at Jacobabad. Along the border was observed what is called the "close system," and outside our own territory was virtually a *terra incognita*, all relations with the tribesmen being strictly prohibited, and it being as much as an officer's commission was worth to venture across this arbitrary barrier. Baluchistan includes the whole of the country between Afghanistan and the Arabian Sea on the north and south, and Sind and Persia on the east and west. Nominally the whole of this territory was under the Khan of Kalat, the other Brahui chiefs and tribes acknowledging the Khan as their suzerain. This allegiance, however, was more nominal than actual, as there always existed internecine feuds, and the Khan was never able to keep the Chiefs in order without the aid of the British Government. Life across the border was one of constant inter-tribal warfare, bloodshed, pillage and forays. Our relations with the Khan were managed through the Political Superintendent of the Upper Sind Frontier at Jacobabad.

The Marris and Bugtis were two of the wildest and most powerful of the semi-civilized Baluch tribes who occupied the Sulimans conterminous with our border. Let us judge the character of the Marri from his own maxims:—"We are the enemies of all our neighbours: we do no good to anyone: nobody wishes us well. Let us then afford every encouragement to strife around us: let us give passage through our country to any neighbour who seeks to injure another. Whichever side is injured or destroyed, matters not to us: in any case we shall be gainers." The Bugtis are credited with having made one famous raid into Sind from which they returned with 15,000 head of cattle. In 1867, about a thousand Marris and Bugtis made a raid on Harrand, in the Punjab and burned a few vil-

lages. They were driven back with much loss by Captain Sandeman, who applied to the Political Superintendent at Jacobabad to obtain redress from the Khan of Kalat for our injured subjects. The reply received was, that the Khan's sovereignty was merely nominal, and that he was unable to keep the tribes in order, and that the Panjab officials must rely on their own posts to prevent raids. Captain Sandeman then took the matter in hand himself, by opening up direct communications with these tribes. He induced the chiefs to visit him, and talked over the situation with them in durbar. It is the nature of mankind not to do anything for others for nothing, and this is especially the case with an Afghan or Baluch: nothing can be done for nothing, so if we wish a frontier tribesman to do work for us, we must make it worth his while. Hence the young Captain, with characteristic acumen, here first commenced his system of tribal service, which he subsequently carried out with such remarkable results. Money was distributed among the headmen in order to make them more powerful in the tribe, and thus better enable them to control the unruly spirits; and also to enlist them in the cause of order along the frontier, by giving them a direct interest in its maintenance. They were bound to keep a certain number of armed horse and foot for the preservation of peace. When outrage occurred, the tribal allowance was not forfeited, but was used as a lever to compel the headmen to produce the actual offenders, who were then tried by their own jirgas, or courts of law, and punished in accordance with their own customs. Soon was witnessed the curious spectacle of these two tribes raiding into Sind, but carefully respecting their compact with the Panjab authorities.

We have had several treaties with the Khan of Kalat, as representative of the Brahui confederacy and nominal ruler of Baluchistan. The treaties of 1843 and 1854, in return for an annual payment, opened up Southern Baluchistan to trade with Karachi, and arranged for the land line of the Indo-European telegraphs to run along the coast. There was, however, always chronic rebellion in the State, and things came to a crisis when the Khan attempted to establish a mercenary army, resume old revenue-free grants, and make himself absolute ruler. The Marris and Bugties soon went on the war-path against their suzerain. Sir William Merewether, desirous of putting a stop to this anarchy along the border, proposed a military expedition in order to support the Khan against his unruly Sirdars, and to disarm them. The Government of India was adverse to such strong measures, especially as the Punjab Government, prompted by Captain Sandeman, advocated a pacific policy, and contended that the Khan was merely the

representative of the Brahui confederacy, and that no good was likely to result, unless we could settle the disputes between the Khan and the Sirdars by restoring the ancient constitution, and also that the tribes could be trusted and influenced through their feudal system. As Captain Sandeman had already been so successful, he was ordered to proceed into the Sulimans to endeavour to arrange disputes, and to report on the situation.

This was his opportunity, and he took every advantage of it. He knew his own strength, and had perfect confidence both in himself and the justice of his cause. It was a case of history repeating itself. Virgil had told the world: *Possunt, quia posse videntur*. And Kaye, in his description of the Sepoy War had written of the Lawrences:—"The Governor-General had abundant faith in them both; faith in their courage; their constancy; their capacity for command; but, most of all, he trusted them because they coveted responsibility. It is only from an innate sense of strength that this desire proceeds; only in obedience to the unerring voice of nature that strong men press forward to grasp what weak men shrink from possessing." Captain Sandeman took the surest path to success by boldly venturing into the hills, fortified by self-confidence and self-reliance. His life was in his own hands, as he had with him only a small escort of trusty natives. Riding day and night, he pushed up the Bolan Pass to Mustung, through ravines afterwards described by Survey officers as worthy of Dante's "Inferno." On his sudden arrival at the Khan's capital, he posed as mediator between the rival parties. His mission was so successful, that, having effected a reconciliation, he returned with a message to the Viceroy, conveying the Khan's humble apology. Finally the Government relieved the Sind authorities of all dealings with Baluchistan, and transferred them to the control of the Commissioner Derajat.

In 1876 Major Sandeman was again deputed to Kalat, and arranged the agreement of Mustung, which one writer has described as the Magna Charta of Beluchistan. He was then appointed Agent to the Governor General, a post which he held till his death.

Under his sympathetic and benign rule, Beluchistan has been transformed from a region of incessant feud and bloodshed into a peaceful province of Her Majesty's dominions, where revenue is quietly collected, trade is fostered, and the security for life and property is almost as great as in any other part of the Empire. He has performed the part of the beneficent conqueror as described by Virgil:—

"Be these thine arts, to bid contention cease,
Chain up stern war, and give the nations peace;
O'er subject lands extend thy gentle sway,
And teach with iron rod the haughty to obey."

The Baluch is a man of splendid physique, hardy and bold, and has many good qualities. He is a soldier, bred in the land where war has been rife since the days of Alexander. *Sævit amor ferri, et scelerata insania belli*; and it is a saying as old as Seneca, that he who has learned to die has learned how to avoid being a slave. Major Sandeman's sympathy for, and quick intuition into the ways and feelings of these tribes, soon inspired their confidence, and they admired his courage. He trusted them, and they, in return, placed full reliance in him. Instead of these semi-civilised people being treated almost as slaves and beneath contempt, they were taken by the hand, and regard was paid to their ancient customs and prejudices. He recognised that no Government is safe unless it be fortified by the good-will of the community at large. He knew the effects of clemency and severity on the Oriental mind; knew which would be most appreciated, and when clemency would have been really ~~were~~ cruel than a wise severity. Although the remainder of India is at present in the swaddling-clothes of local self-government, this institution has flourished vigorously since our occupation of Baluchistan. Petty matters are generally settled by the village council, whereas inter-tribal quarrels and disputes are arranged by the Chiefs and Sirdars at the two large Jirgas held half-yearly, one at Sibi, and the other at Quetta. The splendid raw material is used in the police and levies, and is gradually being induced to enlist in our native regiments. An immense advantage has been gained by employing the tribesmen in the protection of the country, as few things are more destructive to military administration, and the efficiency and morale of troops, than splitting them up into small detachments. In 1883 the duties of over fifteen military detached posts were taken over by the levies.

Once to be wild is not a foul disgrace,
The blame is to pursue the frantic race.

At the present time there is not a more loyal or faithful race in India; and, this remarkable transformation has been caused chiefly by the earnestness, uprightness, and tact displayed by one man. The influence exercised by the Agent to the Governor-General was of incalculable benefit during the Afghan War of 1878. Our troops, instead of having to contest every foot of their way to Kandahar through a hostile territory, found that the tribes were instrumental to their progress. The whole of the resources of the Brahui States, in the way of camel carriage and supplies, were placed at our disposal, and our line of communications was kept open by their aid. The Government acknowledged the good services of Major Sandeman in 1879 by making him a K.C.S.I.

His fame had so spread, that, shortly afterwards, the Bori-
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Valley was absorbed into British Baluchistan at the request of the people themselves. In the winter of 1889-90, Sir Robert conducted a peaceful expedition into the Zhob Valley, and a Political Agent was left at Apozai to collect revenue and administer the new district.

The last Zhob expedition, in the end of 1890, was principally against the Sherani tribe, and was one of the most signally successful exploits of which the whole history of our frontier policy can boast. The tribes submitted without a shot being fired, or a life lost. No resistance was offered, and the result was the peaceful incorporation of all the country south of the Gumal into the British dominions. It conferred the *Pax Britannica* on people who, up till then, were always at feud with their neighbours, and were thus prevented from cultivating large areas which now maintain them in prosperity. It is true that a large military column accompanied this expedition, and that the military arrangements could not have been better carried out, but they were simply reduced to a *promenade militaire* through the skill of the Political Officer. If this expedition is compared with the two others that were undertaken a few months afterwards, the contrast is remarkable. The Punjab Government still maintained that mischievous anachronism, the "close border" system, with its blockades and punitive expeditions and restrictions on our relations with the tribes; and although the military operations in the Miranzai expedition were most ably conducted, neither this, nor the Black Mountain campaigns can be regarded as a political success. As a fitting recognition to preserve the memory of the successful opening up of the Zhob Valley and the Gumal Pass, the Government officially re-christened Apozai by the name of Fort Sandeman.

Early in the present year Sir Robert left Quetta for a tour in Southern Baluchistan. He contracted influenza and died at Las Beyla on the 29th January.

Such is but the brief outline of a career silently and unostentatiously pursued, and a life devoted to the service of his country. If there is one quality more prominent than the rest, it is his inimitable singleness of heart and soul. His death has removed the most conspicuous figure from the scene of border politics, for he was a colossus with no compeer in his own line. A writer in the *Times* has described him "as the peaceful conqueror of Baluchistan." The territory he added to the State is as large as the German Empire, and when impartial Time, "gives to each the exact proportion due," his name will be ranked in history with such illustrious names as John Lawrence and James Outram.

He was a shrewd judge of character, and knew instinctively whom he could trust. He had just the qualities to arouse

enthusiasm, and no man was ever better served by his subordinates. It was a pleasure to work hard for him, for there was always a kindly word of encouragement, and acknowledgment for good service. The following story is well known. An uncovenanted officer who had done good work, wished to remain in Baluchistan. Sir Robert had started for home on leave, and at Bombay, just before embarking, received a telegram that the man had been transferred to a neighbouring province. He proceeded to Calcutta by the first train, obtained an interview with the Viceroy, and had the orders of transfer cancelled. It may well be conjectured whether any other man, when on the point of starting for home after a long exile, would have given up a part of his hard-earned leave and gone to the personal expense of a journey of nearly 3,000 miles, from Bombay to Calcutta and back, merely for the sake of benefiting a subordinate. He was kind hearted and generous, a staunch friend, and a hospitable and genial host. We know that to merit regard is the surest way of obtaining it, and he obtained his full share from the natives, by his great sympathy and justice. To one who has witnessed the reserve often existing between Politicals and Rajas in other parts of India, it was a wholesome and refreshing spectacle to watch the Chiefs, say at such a gathering as Sibi Fair, come up to "Senaman Sahib," and accost him with a friendly slap on the back and a hearty shake of the hand, preliminary to a conversation, as if they were boon companions. As D. M. S. was inscribed on the sepulchres of famous Romans, so will the natives of Baluchistan, if permitted, make a *Ziarat* of the tomb of their late trusted and respected friend.

IVIE HAMILTON.

KARACHI, 6th April 1892.

ART. VII.—CHINA'S POSITION IN THE WORLD.

AMONG the nations of the world the Chinese, by reason of their ancient history, their curious customs, their great numbers, their mixture of strength and weakness, stand alone. For countless centuries they refused to have anything to do with the other peoples of the earth, treating them as if they were of inferior race, and lived their own life in absolute indifference to what was thought of them. But half a century ago they had a rude awakening. The great trading communities of Europe and America came to the conclusion that the pretensions of the Chinese were incompatible with international rights and human progress, and that it was imperative to teach them that they could claim no selfish privileges, nor maintain an impossible and antiquated position with regard to other countries. Two wars and twenty years of patient but energetic policy were required to teach this lesson, and then China, not willingly, and perhaps with every intention, when she felt strong enough, to repudiate it, accepted her lot as one of the nations of a world to which she had hitherto been a stranger. For the last thirty years, she has, with more or less reluctance, occupied this position, but there is still much uncertainty and difference of opinion as to her exact place among the Great Powers and nations of the world. What that is, is the question I wish to consider, and it is well worth more than passing attention.

Recent events have also conduced to attract attention to China, where the Government is brought face to face with a crisis threatening its existence. After an almost unbroken interval of thirty years, China is again ruled by an Emperor in person; the individuality of the highest personage in the State has once more become a matter of the utmost importance in preserving the internal peace of the Empire and in directing its policy with regard to foreign nations. The admission has to be made, that of that individuality we know extremely little, and it is impossible to predict whether the influence of the Emperor Kwangsu will, in the long run, be exerted in behalf of peace and harmony, or of the old Chinese exclusiveness and its inevitable consequence of international trouble. His reception of the foreign ministers resident at his capital in personal audience, last March twelve month, was an indication of a liberal spirit, and of happy augury for the future; but, by itself, it is not sufficient to justify very confident predictions as to what the attitude of the young Chinese ruler is going to be, if he is destined to guide for many years the fortunes of the middle kingdom. The death of his father, Prince Chun, and of the Marquis Tsang, who occupied

quite an exceptional position among Chinese officials, deprived him of the advice of experienced and sympathetic statesmen whose counsels carried the greatest weight, and there is no one to take their place in the inner councils of the Palace. Among the public men of China whose natural wisdom and knowledge of affairs entitle them to advise and direct the Supreme Government, there remains only the Viceroy Ti, better known as Ti-Hung Chang, and, splendid as have been the services he has rendered his country for thirty years, it would not be true to say that he is much liked or trusted in Imperial circles. In fact, Ti Hung Chang has been, for the last quarter of a century, the *bête noire* of the Manchu dynasty, at the same time that he has proved its sheet anchor whenever foreign difficulties or domestic discussions threatened dynastic or national danger. If Ti Hung Chang were not an old man, he might be tempted to escape from his thankless position and to make a bid for that supreme power to which some of his ultra admirers have endeavoured to incite him. But age has instilled caution into him, and, when the Emperor appeals to him for aid in council and in action, he will, I feel sure, find in Ti Hung Chang a loyal as well as an able champion.

The disturbed condition of the most populous provinces of China, those through which the Yangtsekiang passes—calls attention to Chinese affairs, not less than the position at Peking. At the same moment that the world is informed that China has taken her place among great empires, and that she is entitled to rank as a united and solid nation, evidence is furnished of dissension and weakness that are quite incompatible with the position claimed for her by her friends. It is easy to exaggerate the importance of the Kolas society and of the rioters in Hunan and Kiangsi, but it is impossible to explain away the inability of the Emperor's officers to deal with such contemptible opponents, or the general unpreparedness in which these recent disturbances found the executive, to vindicate the authority, and establish in the minds of foreigners, the good faith of their sovereign.

The explanation that has been offered of the extensive popular discontent increases rather than diminishes its importance. We are asked, with every appearance of authority, to believe that there is a feeling of antipathy to the Peking Government among the Chinese masses, and that secret societies exist, organised for the special purpose of deposing the Manchu dynasty. If such statements as these have even a basis of truth, it is obvious that the inertness of the Imperial Government must entail a serious aggravation of the perils which threaten the internal peace of the country and the very existence of the Tartar régime. Fortunately for the preservation

of friendly and uninterrupted commercial relations between China and foreign countries, there seems reason to believe that the alarms created by events on the great river of Central China are exaggerated, and that the Manchus are in no danger of having to face so formidable an antagonist as they successfully overcame, thirty years ago, in the Taepings. The Taepings, it must be remembered, enjoyed many advantages which no rebels in China would possess at the present time. Not merely were they assisted by the other successful rebellions in progress in Yunan and Turkestan, but the embarrassments of the central executive, from its war with the foreign Powers, prevented its employing all its resources and power in crushing its domestic opponent. No Chinese rebels could now enjoy this inestimable advantage. The hands of the Pekin Government are free, and they could employ all their strength, in money and men, in crushing any adversary. Only their own supineness could prevent their gaining a decisive and crushing victory over all internal enemies that have appeared, or are likely to appear.

This view of the present situation is not incompatible with the conviction that the volume of Chinese antipathy to the Manchus, if it were ever focussed and directed by the genius of a great national leader, would prove irresistible. But there are no signs of such a leader, nor is there much opportunity for one presenting himself. Among the men known to us, Ti Hung Chang is the only one who could attempt to play the part which Won Sankwei took two centuries ago, and Won Sankwei was unsuccessful and was defeated. There is the best of reasons for saying that Ti Hung Chang has no intention of making the attempt, and the critics of Chinese affairs from the standpoint of disunion, in their disappointment at finding him content with the duties and position of Viceroy, have discovered another arch-rebel, or, more correctly, a stalking horse for their theories, in Chang Che Tung, the Viceroy of Honkwang, a man of infinitely inferior calibre to Ti, and who has still his laurels to gain. I believe that everyone acquainted with China and her affairs will agree in deriding the possibility of any of the provincial Viceroys proving a successful opponent to the Emperor, unless it be Ti Hung Chang, and even in his case the best informed will hesitate before fathering the opinion that he could oust the Manchus and found a dynasty of his own.

Much depends on the individuality of the present Emperor of China, and of this we can judge only from the carefully edited notices in the Pekin Gazette and the impression formed by the Foreign Ministers when received by him in audience last year. It must be admitted that neither of these sources

of inspiration provides a very complete or trustworthy guide to the character of a youth of twenty years who has been kept as far as possible in rigid seclusion, and in ignorance of the world at large. The notices in the official paper which alone conveys to the bounds of the Empire a knowledge of the person of the Emperor and of the doings of the Court, have represented him as a prince of an enquiring mind, attentive to his studies, and desirous of seeing things with his own eyes. The impression formed by the foreign ministers bore out these statements, and was highly creditable to the intelligent and dignified demeanour of the young occupant of the Dragon Throne. But, at the same time, their evidence on another point was equally clear and less encouraging. By one and all the Emperor Kwangsu is described as a very weak and sickly looking young man, with an enormous head and slender frame, better suited for the study than the seat of authority over a third of the human race. The least serious consequence of Kwangsu's physical infirmities is that his reign may prove short. It is of infinitely greater moment to know that, while he reigns, the fortunes of the Manchus are entrusted to one who is strikingly deficient in the vigour and physique requisite in the champion of an alien dynasty and foreign domination.

Nor are the deficiencies of the Emperor supplied by the attributes of his relations and principal advisers. Since the death of Prince Chun, the father of the Emperor, there has been no one near the throne personally qualified and in a position to give authoritative counsel, and the dearth of such advisers is not merely one of the principal causes of anxiety with regard to the present difficulty with foreigners, but it is also one of the chief elements of danger to the dynasty. During the last few years of his life Prince Chun had become well-known outside his own country, but there is no doubt that his influence had been very great, although no one suspected it, during the whole period of the Regency of the two Emperors.

Now there is no other Manchu prince to take his place, and even if Prince Kung were temporarily restored to the dignities and offices of which he was dispossessed some years ago, his experience and talents would be useful only in arranging a *modus vivendi* with the Foreign Powers, and not for the purpose of propping up the Tartar régime at Peking. Still, the solution of the former problem might go far towards providing the Manchus with a prolonged lease of the Imperial Power, for their chief peril will arise from their inability to carry out their treaty stipulations with other countries. For the exigencies of the situation might compel us all to look on, while some great Viceroy in whom we had reason to feel confidence, as we have in Ti Hung Chang, deposed the

incapable or obstinate Government at Peking and substituted another in its place, with some assurance that it would fulfil its obligations and pursue a rational policy. This is the real danger of a practical kind to which the present Government of China is exposed, and it seems to have no better chance of extricating itself therefrom, than to place its policy and fortunes unreservedly in the hands of Ti Hung Chang, who has always been a loyal servant of the Emperor, and whom only harsh and suspicious usage can convert into a rebel.

If we turn from the Peking Government to the mass of the Chinese people themselves, we find an infinitely more difficult problem presented for our consideration. It is possible to form some opinion about the action of the Government, and to entertain a belief that sufficient pressure might be exercised by the Foreign Powers to control or guide the policy it might pursue. But it is impossible to entertain any similar hope with regard to the Chinese people. The vast masses of that nation are as far beyond the scope of our knowledge as of our influence. We are ignorant of the unseen forces which are swaying them, and which are contributing to the formation of such public opinion as may exist in a country which, although inhabited by one race, presents many varieties of climate and human character. We are justified in saying that the only public opinion in China takes a provincial form, and that the great province of Central China, with populations equal to European kingdoms, is sometimes excited by prejudices and passions of which the Peking executive is ignorant, and with which the rest of the Empire has no responsive feeling. We are, at the present moment, the interested witnesses of such a ferment in the great districts watered by the Yangtsekiang, which I have ventured to call the "spine of China," and we are curious as to both its cause and its development.

I would hazard two opinions on this subject. The first is that the recent anti-foreign ebullition is more largely due to official disappointment, than to popular discontent. The second is that the power of the Kolas secret society has been ridiculously exaggerated, and that, in itself, it has neither the power to upset a Government nor the cohesion to create one. The organisation of the Chinese civil service is one of the marvels of the age. In numbers, in authority—there alone is it absolutely true to say *arma cedunt togæ*—and in organisation the mandarinat of China is the first civil service of the world, but when we come to consider its efficiency, we have to pass from panegyric to censure. This is not surprising when we find that the official salaries are never paid with any degree of regularity or completeness, that the greater proportion of salaried officials have to obtain their allotted payments out of the provincial revenues

and that to every yamen in the country are attached a large number of unsalaried officials who have to earn their livelihood in some irregular manner and by their wits. Nobody has ever alleged that the mass of the Chinese officials are overpaid. A fortunate viceroy or governor may now and then amass a large sum of money—he will experience greater difficulties in retaining than in acquiring it—, but the majority find it difficult enough to avert starvation. It will, therefore, be easily understood how fiercely the civil service of China, as a body, would resent any measure that reduced the resources available for its benefit, and how natural it would be for the inter-provincial jealousy that has always existed, to manifest itself to the detriment of the central Government at Peking. Such a measure was undoubtedly passed when the Peking Government arranged, by the last Opium Convention with England, that all the duties, including the internal customs known as *lekin*, which had hitherto been collected at the barriers of each province, should be paid at the Treaty Ports. This arrangement brought into the coffers of the central Government more than a million sterling per annum; but it deprived the provincial treasuries, and consequently the provincial officials, of that sum, if not of a greater sum, when the exactions at the old Peking barriers are taken into account. If the Peking Government, when it came into possession of this new cash revenue, had announced its intention of assigning a portion of it to the payment of provincial salaries, it would have disarmed criticism and freed the change from all odium. Its grasping policy has now exposed it to a grave danger, from the dissatisfaction among its ill paid servants.

Secondly, with regard to the alleged power of the so called Kolas secret society. If we were to believe the statements of the China press and even of English Officials in the country, we should have to assume that the great mass of the men in the dual province of Honkwang were already enlisted in its ranks, and that it possessed a definite programme and policy for the overthrow of the Manchus. The facts do not warrant these assumptions. The Kolas sect is not, as might be supposed, the only secret society in China. It is one among many secret societies, and, although its adherents seem to have adopted the red flag of socialism, there had been no general movement in its support before the recent riots. How far its reputation may be increased by the murder of Europeans, the destruction of their buildings and the paralysis of Chinese Imperial authority, we cannot attempt to say; but, if it ever attains the dimensions of the Water Lily or Triad society, it will be due to the blunders of the officials, and not to the natural strength and resources of the association itself. It is

desirable to remember that, from the earliest period of Chinese history, secret societies have formed a common feature in the national life, but there is absolutely not a single instance of a secret society having deposed a dynasty or given a ruler to the Empire. The Taepings, however much they may have been helped by the prior efforts of the Lily and Triad secret societies, did not represent a secret body themselves. They were declared rebels, endeavouring to expel the Manchus, and to place their own chief Tien Wang, the Heavenly Prince, on the throne. In China the officials have always pursued the safe policy of leaving the secret societies alone. They have come to the conclusion that to harass them and prosecute their members would do more harm than good, by intensifying popular discontent, which has been long accustomed to find a vent for its feelings in secret and harmless plotting, while, at the same time, they have known all about their proceedings, and they have made the organisers of the moment pay for their forbearance at a heavy rate. With regard to the secret societies of China, it may be asserted with confidence that their power is insignificant and that the Manchus will never be expelled by their verbal threats.

There is, then, much real danger from any popular manifestation against the present dynasty, although the Chinese are disposed to make the most of their grievances from badness of trade, official extortion, and the inability of the Emperor to remove their worldly troubles. It may be admitted that the Chinese are not extremely devoted to the present dynasty; but they have no practical alternative to the Pekin Emperor, many disturbances must take place, a civil war on no small scale must have begun, before the Chinese national feeling would be sufficiently stimulated to put forward a claimant to the Dragon Throne, and even then the balance of probability would be in favour of the present dynasty, which was triumphant thirty years ago over a far more formidable confederacy, in the Taepings, Tungani and Panthays, than could possibly be brought against it now. The great weakness is the force of Chinese opinion, and, at the same time, the main source of the powers of endurance possessed by the Pekin Government, is the division of interest and opinion that marks off the provinces from each other. This latent disunion in an Empire which is outwardly the most united in the world, explains much of the dislike at Pekin to the introduction of railways, which would tend to remove provincial prejudices. The Manchu dynasty will, like every other human institution, disappear in the course of time; but its fall is not likely to be brought about by the weight of Chinese national opinion until at heart China is very much changed from what she is to-day.

In conclusion, I may be permitted to say a few words on

the attitude or policy to be observed by all the Treaty Powers during the present crisis. I say all the Powers, because, happily, there is no reason to doubt the solidarity of their interests and the unanimity of their intentions. Their interests in China are, in the main, commercial, and commercial alone. The political element is introduced only in the cases of England and Russia, either of whom might desire the military alliance of China in Central Asia, but that is a remote contingency. We may therefore fairly count on concerted joint action being taken with regard to the Tsungli Yamen, and to that united front the Chinese Government must, and will, promptly bow. The details of the demands for the punishment of the guilty, the compensation of the sufferers, and the provision of future security, need not be filled in. I will merely lay down the broad principles on which the policy of all countries towards China should rest.

As the present existing Peking Government admitted foreigners into the country and signed the treaties which regulate our commercial and other intercourse, it has a claim on our consideration which no rebellious faction can possess. Moreover, the present disturbers of Chinese peace loudly proclaim that they are anti-foreign, and their acts show that they would revive, if they ever had the power, the worst traditions of Chinese exclusiveness. Self-interest combines with justice to make us forbearing towards the Peking executive, and desirous of lending it a helping hand, when and where we may. On the other hand, if the existing dynasty is effete and incapable of maintaining its ground; if there is a growing feeling among the Chinese that they should get rid of their present rulers, we have no call to champion the Manchus, or to repress the masses of China. We should not allow ourselves on any account to be drawn into their disputes, and, if they can solve their difficulties only by appealing to arms, we can look on with equanimity so long as our main interests are unaffected. But we are bound to vindicate our hard earned and keenly contested rights against attack, whether the assailants be the officers of the Peking Emperor, or the populace along the Yangtse; and we can defend them in the first instance only by our own naval forces, and by driving the responsible Government of China to act with the energy which is necessary to preserve its own authority, as well as to preserve for us the uninterrupted enjoyment of our natural rights by the comity of nations, and also by the conditions of our treaties.

DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

ART. VIII.—THE NEW REPTILE-HOUSE IN THE
CALCUTTA ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.

STUDENTS of Indian Herpetology are to be congratulated on the opening of the new Reptile-House in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens. The magnificent display of Reptilian forms, both indigenous and exotic, contained within the four walls of this house, not only affords one of the most interesting sights to the Indian public, but is also conspicuous by reason of its being the only collection of its kind in the whole of Asia, unrivalled, except, perhaps, by the collection in the London Zoological Gardens, by any other similar collection in any other part of the world. In furthering the cause of Indian herpetological science, its influence will be incalculable, for herein the herpetologist will find a fit place and fine subjects for prosecuting his investigations into this special branch of his study. Scanty as our knowledge is of many members of the Reptilian Fauna of India, owing, no doubt, to their rarity or uniqueness, the Calcutta collection will not only furnish opportunities for studying them in their living state, but also afford ample facilities for observing and recording their habits, as can only be done by an inspection of living specimens. The student of Indian Reptiles and Batrachians has had hitherto to content himself with examining dead and discolored specimens stored in museums, and drawing up his descriptions as best he could from them, badly preserved as they are. In spite of the brilliant discoveries in this particular branch of Indian Zoology made by such eminent herpetologists as Theobald, Blanford, Stoliczka, W. L. Sclater, and others, there is still many a hiatus to be filled up. Look up, for instance, any standard work on Indian reptiles, and you will be surprised to find the paucity of remarks under the heading of habits and instincts. Desiderata such as these are likely to be fulfilled by the study of the beautiful and interesting specimens exhibited in the Reptile-House in the Calcutta Gardens.

That the originators of the scheme for establishing a Zoological Garden in Calcutta had entertained the idea of including a collection of Indian ophidians and other reptiles as an integral part of that institution, will appear on a reference to the original prospectus of the Gardens, issued in 1875. It states that, "after laying out the ground, the committee propose to construct a snake-rockery, and an aquarium on the most approved plan." For want of funds, this proposal remained in abeyance till the year 1887-88, when the Managing Body of the institution sought to give effect to it by erecting a snake-rockery on a small scale

The Garden Report for that year says : " The construction of a snake-rockery formed one of the schemes set forth in the original prospectus issued in the year 1875 ; but as the carrying out of the project on the most approved principle involved considerable outlay, it had to be temporarily abandoned in favor of other works of pressing necessity. In view, however, of the interest which both the European and Indian visitors evince in snakes, the Committee, during the year 1887-88, thought it desirable to build the present pit and rockery at a cost of Rs. 2,000, keeping the ambitious idea of a proper reptileum for future consideration. The pit is an oval structure 45 feet long, 30 feet broad, and 6 feet deep, half being built under and half above the level of the ground. The rockery is in the centre and built of stones and cement, with recesses here and there for the snakes to retire. Only harmless snakes are kept in it. That the rockery has greatly added to the attraction of the Gardens is apparent from the number of visitors who constantly resort to it."

This snake-rockery, which is located near the Dumraon House, contains specimens of innocuous snakes only, such as the Damun (*Zamenis mucosus*) and others.

No steps, however, were taken by the Committee of Management, owing to want of funds, to carry out the project of building a properly-equipped and properly-built Reptile House in the Gardens till 1891. Early in January of that year, the Honorary Committee of the institution resolved to set on foot a fund for building the long-talked-of Reptileum and issued the following circular for a special subscription to it : " One of the greatest desiderata in the Zoological Garden, Alipore, has always been a suitable building for the accommodation of venomous snakes and other dangerous reptiles. Were such a building in existence, the display of these animals which could be kept up, ought to be unrivalled, owing to the facilities which exist in this country for procuring many most interesting and striking species, and to the fact that local conditions are such as to render it a matter of ease to keep any tropical reptiles alive in confinement. The Committee of Management of the Garden have fully recognised these facts, and have for long been desirous of undertaking the construction of a suitable building. This, however, will necessarily be a matter of very considerable expense, rendering it quite out of question that it should be provided for from any of the ordinary sources of Garden income, or even from the munificence of any single donor ; and the Committee have therefore determined to circulate a subscription list to those native noblemen and gentlemen who, they believe, are likely to appreciate the necessity of removing this defect from the national zoological collection, and to be

willing to aid in doing so by providing the requisite funds." To this appeal the Rajas and other wealthy native gentlemen of Bengal and Behar responded liberally, and subscribed handsome sums, amounting, in all, to Rs. 23,750. But the work of construction was not taken in hand immediately.

Subsequently to this, there happened an incident which served to bring out the defect of the Gardens in not containing a Reptileum, in greater relief, and pointed to the urgent necessity of supplying that desideratum at a very early date. On Tuesday, the 27th January 1891, His Imperial Highness the Czarewitch of Russia, during his sojourn in Calcutta, paid a visit to the Zoological Gardens at Alipore, and, in the course of that visit, expressed a desire to see a cobra; but his wish could not be satisfied, as the rules of the Gardens prohibited, at that time, the exhibition of poisonous snakes. This incident was commented on by the daily press of Calcutta, as forcibly demonstrating a defect in the national zoological collection, and showing the urgent necessity of removing it at an early date. But still, the work of building was not undertaken.

In May 1891, the author of this paper formulated, in an article entitled: "*Reptileum in the Calcutta Zoo*,"* contributed to the *National Magazine* for that month, a plea for the establishment of a properly-built and properly equipped Reptile-House in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens.

In that paper, the author, after referring to the incident in connection with H. I. H. the Czarewitch's visit to the institution, and to the fact that venomous snakes, such as cobras (*Naia tripudians*) and Russell's Vipers (*Vipera russelli*), as well as examples of other commoner snakes met with in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, such as *Dipsas trigonata*, *Lycodon aulicus*, *Ptyas mucosus*, *Passerita mysterizans*, *Chrysopelea ornata*, *Tropidonotus stolatus* and *T. quincunciatus*, used to be formerly exhibited in the verandah of the Surnomoyi House, proceeded to state that they were no longer exhibited in that institution. It was further pointed out that, considering the fact that large numbers of Reptilian forms are annually added to the collection, which are usually exhibited in isolated cages, scattered all over the Gardens, they should be brought together and displayed under one roof, and that a house ought to be constructed in the Calcutta Gardens and fitted up with the requisite appliances for the reception and proper exhibition of the various members of the third and fourth great groups of vertebrated animals, known as *Reptilia* and *Batrachia*, just as had been done in the London Zoological Gardens. The author concluded his paper by making the following suggestion: "Instead of building a

* *Vide the National Magazine*, New Series, Vol. V, (1891), pp. 192-95.

Ophidiarium or Snake-House, it would be better if the Committee of Management of the Calcutta Zoological Gardens were to devote the funds to the erection of a properly-constructed and properly-equipped Reptileum for the better exhibition, under one roof, of various members of the Reptiles and Batrachians of India. The Managing Committee must bear in mind that India is pre-eminently the land of snakes and other reptiles, and that the Calcutta Zoological Gardens without a Reptileum is something like the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out. Under these circumstances, it behoves the Committee of the Calcutta Zoo not only to exhibit a collection of the common venomous snakes of India in the new Reptileum which they are about to build, but also to include therein a collection of the principal Ophidians (Snakes), Lacertilians (Lizards, &c.), Batrachians (Frogs and Toads), Chelonians (Turtles, &c.), and Emydosaurians (Crocodiles &c.) of India. If the Committee act up to these suggestions, they will not only remove one of the glaring defects of the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, but also earn the lasting gratitude of the Indian public."

Very shortly after the publication of the aforesaid paper, the building operations were commenced, and the structure was completed by the end of the official year 1891-92.

This building, which is located in the north-western part of the Gardens, on the site where the Band-stand formerly stood, has been erected from designs prepared by Mr. W. B. Gwyther, of the Public Works Department, and now one of the members of the Managing Committee. It is rectangular in shape, and its exterior, conspicuous as it is from the monotonous red color of the bricks outside, does not present a very attractive aspect to the visitor. But, considered as a whole, this house is the best-arranged in the Calcutta Zoo. Its internal fittings are of the best description possible, and present quite a different aspect from that of the exterior. The floor is throughout paved with marble. In the centre of the building are two rectangular tanks abounding with fresh-water algæ, and reproducing as nearly as practicable the local surroundings of their respective inmates in a state of nature. These tanks are devoted to the exhibition of the Chelonians (Turtles) and the Emydosaurians (Crocodiles and Gavials).

A handsome brass railing runs all round the tanks, -so as to prevent unwary visitors from slipping into the water below. The smaller moveable square glass cages, devoted to the smaller Lacertilians (Lizards) and Ophidians (Snakes), are arranged on the platform on the eastern side of the building, just to the right and the left of the eastern entrance. The southern, western and northern sides of the building contain the large

wall-cases, glazed with thick plate-glass, which are set apart for the exhibition of the larger Ophidians, such as the Pythons, the Cobras and other venomous snakes, and to the Water-Lizards. The cages in the four corners of the buildings are provided with artificial rock-work, covered with mosses and ferns, and surrounded with water, so as to afford their occupants opportunities of indulging in their respective habits. The cages devoted to reptiles of arboreal habits are furnished with the branches and trunks of dead trees, while those set apart for forms with terrestrial habits, or frequenting desert or sandy tracts, have their floors covered with earth and sand. The serpents that live, move and have their being in water and those peculiar to the sea, such as the *Hydrophiinæ*, are kept in cages containing small glass tanks.

The Reptiles of India are classified under three Orders, viz. I.—*Emydosauria*; II. *Chelonia*; and III. *Squamata*. The Order *Squamata* is again divided into three Sub-orders, namely— I. *Lacertilia* (Lizards, Geckos and Skinks); II. *Rhoptoglossa* (Chameleons); and III. *Ophidia* (Snakes.) But the inmates of the new Reptile-House are not arranged therein according to the above systematic classification, adopted by such eminent herpetologists as Günther and Boulenger, but according to their respective sizes, either in the smaller moveable cages or the larger wall-cases. The various specimens contained in the new Reptileum are described below, as the visitor inspects them by going round the house, and beginning from the left side after entering by the eastern entrance:

The first small glass cage to the left contains specimens of the common Chamæleon of India, *Chamaeleo vulgaris*. This reptile is popularly known in Bengal as the *Bakurupi*, so called on account of a belief that it frequently changes its color. It is 1 foot 3 inches long from the snout to the tail, having its gular-ventral crest white, while the commissure of its mouth is of the same color. The males are conspicuous by their possessing spurs on their tarsi. This reptile is met with all over India and Ceylon.

The second cage also contains specimens of the above.

The third cage contains specimens of the snake called in Bengal Bungraj (*Coluber audax*), of India and Burma.

The fourth cage contains specimens of the *Chrysopelea ornata* of India, Burmah and the Malayan Peninsula. It is commonly known in Bengal as the *Kalnagini*, and is one of the most beautifully colored of snakes. All over the dorsal region five red spots and three of yellow color alternately occur, lending it a most beautiful appearance. Four varieties of this species are known, but that exhibited here exactly tallies with the variety *c* of Boulenger.* He describes it thus:

* Vide Boulenger's *Reptiles and Batrachians of India*, in the Fauna of India series, page 372.

"Greenish yellow, lineolated, each scale with a black median streak, and more or less distinct black cross bands; ventrals yellow, with a small black spot on each side, *but with a series of large coral-red or orange blotches along the back.*" This snake is gentle in disposition and possesses both terrestrial and arboreal habits. It usually attains to the length of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet and feeds exclusively on geckos and other lizards.

The fifth cage contains specimens of the Green Whip-snake (*Dryophis mycterizans*). It is found all over India and Burma, and is generally met with on bushes or among high grass. It is known in Bengal as the *Betachra Sáp*, or the whip-snake. It is of a bright green color, the interstitial skin between the scales being black and white on the anterior part of the body, which appears striped when distended; and a yellow line is to be found along each side of the lower surface. One of its synonyms is *Passerita mycterizans*. This Whip-snake is usually five feet long and is gentle in disposition. It is popularly believed in Bengal that it inflicts wounds on passers below by casting itself from the tree on their backs, thereby gashing that part of the body just like a whip-thong. This sore is superstitiously believed not to heal up and ultimately to cause the death of the sufferer.

The sixth and seventh were empty at the time of my visit.

The eighth cage contained snakes which had not then been identified.

The ninth cage contains examples of the common Grass-Snake of India, Ceylon and Burma (*Tropidonotus stolonatus*). It is 2 feet 10 inches long and is greenish or brownish olive in color, picked out with black ocellæ, or reticulated cross-bars, intersected by two yellow longitudinal bands, which are best marked towards the posterior part of the body; its præoculars and postoculars being yellowish. The under surface of the body is white, with a black spot on either side of each ventral; and the nape of the neck assumes a red tinge during the breeding season. This species has been bred in the house and is accompanied by two young ones. It is called the *Laoodagá Sáp*, or the *Pumpkin-stalk snake*, owing to its green colour, in which respect it resembles the green stalk of the pumpkin, or gourd plant. The Bengalis superstitiously believe that it bites out the eyes of persons who go to cut pumpkin stalks.

The tenth cage contains specimens of the *Bungarus caeruleus*, a snake which is commonly met with all over the Continent of India. It is popularly known under the name of the "*Krait*" and is one of the most venomous species known, annually causing great loss of human life. The color of its upper surface is dark brown, or a tinge of blue-black, picked out with narrow cross bands of white color, or sometimes, ocellated with white spots. The under surface of its body is uniformly white.

Here commence the southern wall-cases.

The south-eastern corner wall-case contains specimens of the *Varanus flavescens*, a water-lizard of terrestrial habits, having its habitat in Northern India, Burma and the Malayan Peninsula. It is 2 feet 11 inches long from the tip of the nose to the tip of the tail, and the upper surface of its body is olive or yellowish brown with irregular darker markings which are generally confluent into broad cross bars; there is a streak of blackish tinge on the temporal region, the under surface of the body being yellowish in color, picked out with faint brown-colored cross-bands which become distinct on the throat. The Water-Lizard is known in Bengal under the name of "Go-sâp" and is considered to belong to the serpent class. Its bite is popularly believed to be deadly.

The first wall-case contains specimens of a large python, apparently, *Python molurus* of India, though not labelled as such.

The second wall-case contains examples of the *Zamenis diademata* var. *atriceps*, a large snake, usually 7 feet 1½ inches in length, and occurring in the North-Western Provinces of India, Rajputana, the Punjab and Sind. The upper surface of the body is pale buff or sandy grey, ocellated with more or less dark-colored spots, of which those on the median region are usually rhomboid in shape; and the under surface is white throughout, sometimes picked out with small blackish ocellæ. But the variety exhibited is *atriceps*, having the upper part of its head entirely or partially black in color and the rest of the body irregularly ocellated with black spots or having black-colored patches. It is of arboreal habits and is usually seen lying coiled round the tree-trunk in its cage, or descending from it.

The third wall-case contains specimens of one of the most dangerous snakes of India, namely, the Snake-eating Cobra (*Naia bungarus*); occurring in the Sunderbuns, Assam, Southern India, Burma, the Andaman Islands and the Malayan Peninsula; it sometimes attains the length of 13 feet and generally feeds on snakes. Its color is yellowish brown, or olive, picked out with more or less distinct cross-bars of dark color. Though it is more dangerous than the cobra, on account of its larger proportions and fiercer habits, yet the destruction of human life caused by it is not so large, as it is less common.

The fourth wall-case also contains specimens of the *Naia bungarus*.

Here commence the western wall-cases.

The south-western corner wall-case contained snakes not identified at the time of my visit.

The first wall-case is empty.

The second wall-case contains five examples of the cobra, though not labelled as such.

The third wall-case contains specimens of the cobra (*Naia tripudians*), which is, perhaps, by far the most venomous snake of India, Ceylon and Burma. It sometimes attains the length of 7 feet 4 inches. Several varieties occur, which are well-known to snake-charmers. It is too well-known to need any description. The cobra is known in Bengal under the name of the "*Gokhurá-sáp*," and in Behar under that of the "*Gohuman*." In Lower Bengal it is considered sacred and is worshipped on the *Manshá-Pujá* day. Sometimes it is regarded as a "*Bástu-sáp*" and is superstitiously believed to preside over the good fortune of a homestead. There are many other superstitions regarding this snake, current in Lower Bengal. This species sometimes ascends trees and readily takes to water.

The fourth wall-case also contains specimens of the *Naia tripudians*.

The fifth wall-case contains one example of the Russell's viper (*Vipera russelli*), being another of the most deadly snakes of this country, Ceylon and Burma. It is sluggish in its habits; and the upper surface of its body is pale brown in color, with three longitudinal series of black light-edged rings, while the under surface of the body is of a yellowish white color, sometimes ocellated with crescent-shaped black spots. The bite of this snake also causes much loss of human life every year. It is the much dreaded *Keute* of Bengal. The "*Keute-sáp*," or Russell's viper, is popularly believed to be very pugnacious in its habits and to bite persons without provocation. Its anger is proverbial among the Bengalis, and the term "*Keute-sáp*" is often applied, in household parlance, to persons foaming with rage and anger.

Here is the western entrance to the building.

The sixth wall-case contains four examples of the Sand-Boa (*Gonglyophis conicus*)—a snake which is met with all over India, from Sind to Bengal, and as far south as the Anamalli Hills in the Madras Presidency. The upper surface of its body is of a yellowish or brownish grey color, relieved with a series of ocellae, of a dark-brown color and edged with black rings on the dorsal region. Sometimes these spots assume the form of a broad zig-zag band. The under surface is white throughout. It principally feeds on mice, and usually attains the length of 2 feet 2 inches. In the same case are also examples of the *Eryx johnii*. It is a snake of nocturnal habits, feeding on worms and small animals, and is generally exhibited by snake-charmers. It frequents the arid regions of the Punjab, the Sind and Cutch. The upper surface of its body is of a sandy grey, red dish, or pale brown color, relieved with more or less distinct cross-bars of a blackish tinge, the latter being usually distinct on the tail. The under surface of the body is of a brown color,

or, sometimes, ocellated with blackish spots. It is usually 3 feet 6 inches long. The *Eryx johnii* is known in Bengal under the appellation of the "*Domukho-sap*," and is popularly believed to be "two-headed," on account of its having a thick tail.

The seventh wall-case contained snakes which had not been identified. The upper parts of these snakes are of a ~~white~~ color ocellated with black-colored spots.

The eighth wall-case contained one example of a snake, the upper parts of which are of a black color, relieved with blotches of a yellowish white color along the back. This snake had not been identified.

In the same compartment was also exhibited another snake, which, on inspection, turned out to be of a different species, but had not been identified.

The ninth wall case contains examples of the Banded Krait (*Bungarus fasciatus*) of India and the Malayan Peninsula. It is of a bright yellow colour, annulated with bands of a black hue as broad as the interspaces between them, or sometimes broader. There is a black band commencing from the interocular region and broadening onwards towards the head and nape of the neck. The tip of its snout is of a brown colour. It sometimes attains the length of six feet or more, and is usually four feet 5 inches in length. It is popularly known as the "*Raj sap*" of Bengal. The snakes of the genus *Bungarus* are thoroughly terrestrial in their habits and very venomous. They chiefly feed on small mammals, snakes, and lizards.

The tenth wall case also contains examples of the above species apparently, though not labelled as such.

The eleventh wall case contains two specimens of that peculiar-looking animal known as the Snake-like Lizard (*Ophiosaurus gracilis*) of South-Eastern Europe, South-Western Asia and North Africa. At first sight they appear to the ordinary visitor to be snakes, because of their apodal and serpentiform characters, but on close inspection, they turn out to be lizards. The upper surface of the body is of a brown colour, with a band of dark hue running all along the side, and frequently with irregular transverse series of ocellae, of a blue colour, edged with black rings. The under surface of the body is of a pale brownish or yellowish hue. It is usually 7 inches long.

The north-western corner cage is empty.

Here begin the northern wall-cases.

The first wall-case contains three examples of the Rattlesnake (*Crotalus durissus*), having its habitat in North America. This species is remarkable for the five rattles at the end of the tail, wherewith, it is said, it makes a rattling noise when irritated. It is popularly believed that this snake has the remarkable power of fascinating its victims before preying

on them. In this state the victims are said to hear sweet musical sounds and see beautiful colours. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes has narrated, in his psychological romance entitled *Elsie Venner*, the story of a girl who used to be fascinated by little-snakes.

The second wall case contains examples of the Python or Rock-snake (*Python molurus*) of India. It sometimes attains the length of 20 feet, or upwards, but is usually 12 feet long. The upper part of its body is of a greyish brown or yellowish colour, relieved "with a dorsal series of large elongate sub-quadrangular, reddish-brown black-edged spots, and on each side a series of smaller spots; a lance-shaped brown marking on the head and nape; a lateral brown band passing through the eye, and a brown vertical bar below the eye." The under-surface of the body is yellowish, the sides being ocellated with brown-coloured spots. This snake is popularly known in Bengal under the name of "*Mayal sâp*."

The third wall-case contains one specimen of the Royal Python (*Python regius*) of Western Africa. This species differs from the last-mentioned in being shorter in length and less thick in dimensions than the former, and the white-coloured blotches all over its body are smaller in size.

The fourth wall-case also contains two examples of the *Python molurus* of India. These two specimens are of monstrous proportions, and can be seen lying coiled round the dead tree-trunks in their cage. The female *Python*, or rock-snake, incubates her eggs by coiling herself round them. The *Pythons* are thoroughly arboreal in their habits, and frequent trees overhanging sheets of water. They feed on mammals and birds. The *Python molurus* has bred in the Calcutta Garden.

Here end the northern wall-cases.

The north-eastern corner wall-case is empty.

Here begin the series of eastern small moveable cases, which are placed on the platform to the right of the eastern entrance.

The first and second small cases are empty.

The third case is filled with sea-water, and contains a single specimen of the Banded Sea-snake (*Enhydrina valakadiev*), frequenting the littorals of India and Burma. It is of a pale sandy colour, relieved with faintish black cross bands on the back, broadest towards the middle, and tapering to a point on the sides. It usually attains the length of 4 feet. It has a thick tail, flattened towards the end, like an oar, and brings forth its young alive.

The fourth case contains two specimens of the Sand-Lizard (*Uromastix hardwickii*), inhabiting the sandy tracts of North-western India and Beluchistan. These lizards are 1 foot in length, and the upper surface of the body is of a sandy

colour, sometimes ocellated with dark-coloured spots, and the lower surface of a whitish tint, there being a large black dot on the anterior face of the thigh. They feed upon herbs and fruits and live in burrows, like rabbit-holes, dug by themselves.

In this case is also a specimen of a tortoise which is unidentified.

The fifth case contains one specimen of the Tree-snake (*Dendrophis pictus*), peculiar to India, Burma, Ceylon and the Malayan Peninsula. The upper parts of this snake are of olive or bronze brown colour, "sometimes with a yellow vertebral band on the front part of the trunk; outer row of scales yellowish, between two more or less marked dark streaks; a black streak on each side of the head passing through the eye; upper lip yellow; the under surfaces of a yellowish or pale greenish colour throughout." It attains to the length of 5 feet 2 inches. Its habits are arboreal, it being commonly met with on trees.

This case also contained another snake which had not been identified.

The sixth case contains three specimens of the Carpet Viper (*Echis carinata*) of North-Western Asia and India. It is 2 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and the upper part of its body is of a pale buff, greyish, reddish, or brownish colour, with three series of whitish ocellæ, edged with dark-brown rings; a zigzag band of a dark-brown colour runs along each side; a cross-shaped marking of a whitish hue, edged with dark on the head; the under surface of a whitish tint, sometimes spotted with brown-coloured spots. It frequents sandy desert tracts, and is very fierce and pugnacious in its habits, and is also very venomous. It makes a curious hissing sound by rubbing the folds of the sides of its body against one another.

The seventh case contains three specimens of the *Calotes versicolor*, a lizard which is met with all over India, Ceylon, China and Afghanistan. It is called "*Girgiti*" in Bengal, and is superstitiously believed to bite out the eyes of human beings.

The Mahomedans bear great antipathy to this lacertilian, which has its origin in the following tradition. When Hassan and Hossain, the martyr saints of the Mahomedans, were flying from their enemies and had concealed themselves at the bottom of a dried-up well, a spider wove its cobweb over them, so as to conceal them from the view of their pursuers. But a "*girgiti*," which had its dwelling in the well, indicated by a motion of its head, to the pursuing enemies of Hassan and Hossein, that the fugitives were lying concealed at the bottom of the well. The fugitives were hence discovered by their enemies and were slain by them. It is for this reason that,

whenever Mahomedans chance to come across a "*girgiti*," they kill it, while the spider is held in great esteem by them for the protection which it afforded to their martyr saints.

This lizard is of a light brownish or yellowish colour throughout, sometimes streaked or ocellated, with dark-coloured cross-bands or ocellæ. Sometimes it is of a dark olive-brown colour, with light spots, or longitudinal lines. The belly is sometimes streaked with dark longitudinal lines. During the pairing season, the males become of a red, yellow, and black colour. It is usually 1 foot $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

The eighth case contains two specimens of that curious snake—the Rhinoceros Viper (*Vipera rhinoceros*), peculiar to the Ophidian fauna of West Africa. It takes its specific name *rhinoceros* from the fact of its having two horn-like processes at the tip of its snout.

The ninth case contains another example of the Russell's Viper (*Vipera russellii*) of India.

Here end the right-side series of eastern small cases, and here is the eastern entrance to the building.

The northern tank in the centre of the building contains a specimen of the Gharial (*Gavialis gangeticus*) of India. It is known in Bengal as the "*Mecho Kumir*," or the "fishing crocodile," in allusion to the fact of its living mainly on fish and other aquatic creatures. It attains the length of 20 feet and is remarkable for the elongated and narrow snout, which adapts it admirably for catching fish. It is too well-known to need any description.

The southern tank contains a specimen of the Crocodile, apparently the *Crocodilus porosus* of Bengal. It sometimes attains the length of 33 feet. This tank also contains a tortoise which had not been identified.

This paper may very aptly be concluded with a list of the Reptiles which have been exhibited at Alipore, from the time of its foundation till the 14th of November last, when I went to inspect, for the first time, the collection in the New Reptile House. It may prove of some interest to those who take an interest in the study of Natural History, and to those also who are interested in the improvement and development of our national zoological collection.

List of the Reptiles which have been exhibited in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens from its foundation up to the 14th November 1892.

REPTILIA.

ORDER I.—*Emydosauria*.

FAMILY I.—*Crocodilidae*.

GENUS *GAVIALIS*.

1. *Gavialis gangeticus*, Gmelin.

Hab. The Rivers Indus, Ganges and Brahmaputra and their

tributaries. The rivers Mahanadi of Orissa, and Koladyne of Arracan.

GENUS CROCODILUS.

2. *Crocodilus porosus*, Schneider.
Hab. India, Ceylon, Burma, Southern China to North Australia.
3. *Crocodilus palustris*, Lesson.
Hab. India, Ceylon, Burma, Malayan Peninsula.
4. *Crocodilus trigonops*, Cuvier.
Hab. Bengal.

ORDER II.—Chelonia.

SUBORDER I.—Thecophora.

SUPERFAMILY A.—Trionychoidea.

FAMILY I.—Trionychidae.

GENUS CHITRA.

5. *Chitra indica*, Gray.
Hab. The rivers Ganges and Irrawady.

GENUS EMYDA.

6. *Emyda vittata*, Peters.
Hab. Ceylon, Southern India, the rivers Godâvari and Mahanadi and their tributaries.

SUPERFAMILY B.—Cryptodira.

FAMILY II.—Testudinidae.

GENUS TESTUDO.

7. *Testudo elongata*, Blyth.
Hab. Bengal (Chaibassa), Arracan, Burma, Camboja, Cochin China.
8. *Testudo emys*, Schlegel et Müller.
Hab. Assam, Burma, Siam, Malayan Peninsula, Sumatra.
9. *Testudo actinodes*, Bell.
Hab. Southern India.
10. *Testudo horsfieldii*, Gray.
Hab. Afghanistan.
11. *Testudo radiata*, Shaw.
Hab. Madagascar.

GENUS GEOEMYDA.

12. *Geoemyda grandis*, Gray.
Hab. Pegu, Tenasserim, Siam.

GENUS NICORIA.

13. *Nicoria trijuga*, Schweigg.
Hab. Peninsula of India and Punjab.

GENUS CYCLEMYS.

14. *Cyclemys ovata*, Gray.
Hab. Burma.

GENUS DAMONIA.

15. *Damonia hamiltonii*, Gray.
Bengal, Punjab and Upper Sind.

GENUS HARDELLA.

16. *Hardella thurgi*, Gray.
Hab. The Ganges and Indus systems of rivers in Northern India.

GENUS BATAGUR.

17. *Batagur baska*, Gray.
Hab. Bengal, Burma and the Malayan Peninsula.

GENUS KACHUGA.

18. *Kachuga lineata*, Gray.
Hab. Northern India, the rivers Ganges, Kistna and Godavari, and Burma.

19. *Kachuga tectum*, Gray.
 Hab. The Ganges and Indus systems of rivers in Northern India.
 ORDER III.—Squamata.
 SUBORDER I.—Lacertilia.
 FAMILY I.—Geckonidae.
 GENUS *GECKO*.
20. *Gecko verticillatus*, Laur.
 Hab. Eastern Bengal to Southern China, and Malacca.
 FAMILY II.—Agamidae.
 GENUS *SITANA*.
21. *Sitana ponticeriana*, Cuvier.
 Hab. India to Cape Comorin, Punjab to Western Bengal.
 GENUS *CALOTES*
22. *Calotes versicolor*, Daud.
 Hab. Ceylon, India, and Tenasserim.
 GENUS *CHARASIA*.
23. *Charasia ornata*, Blyth.
 Hab. Central India, North-Western Provinces; Cutch.
 GENUS *UROMASTIX*.
24. *Uromastix hardwickii*, Gray.
 Hab. North-Western India and Beluchistan.
 FAMILY III.—Anguidae.
 GENUS *OPHIOSAURUS*.
25. *Ophiosaurus gracilis*, Gray.
 Hab. Eastern Himalayas, Khasi Hills, and Eastern Bengal.
 FAMILY IV.—Varanidae.
 GENUS *VARANUS*
26. *Varanus flavescens*, Gray.
 Hab. Northern India, Burma and Malacca.
27. *Varanus nebulosus*, Günther.
 Hab. Bengal, Burma, Siam, and the Malayan Peninsula.
28. *Varanus salvator*, Laur.
 Hab. Bengal, Ceylon, Burma and Malacca.
 SUBORDER II.—Rhipoglossa.
 FAMILY I.—Chamaeleontidae.
 GENUS *CHAMAELEON*.
29. *Chamaeleon calcaratus*, Merrem.
 Hab. Peninsular India south of the Ganges, and Ceylon.
 SUBORDER III.—Ophidia.
 FAMILY I.—Boidae.
 SUBFAMILY I.—Pythoninae.
 GENUS *PYTHON*.
30. *Python molurus*, Daud.
 Hab. Peninsular India, Rajputana, Bengal to the Himalayas and Ceylon.
31. *Python regius*, Shaw.
 Hab. Western Africa.
 SUBFAMILY II.—Boinae.
 GENUS *GONGLYOPHIS*.
32. *Gonglyophis conicus*, Schneider.
 Hab. India, Sind to Bengal, the Annamalli Hills in the Madras Presidency.
 GENUS *ERYX*.
33. *Eryx johnii*, Russell.
 Hab. Central and Southern India, Punjab, Cutch, and Sind.
 FAMILY II.—Colubridae.
 SERIES A.—Aglypha.

SUBFAMILY I.—Colubrinae.

GENUS LYCODON.

34. *Lycodon aulicus*, Linn.
Hab. India, Ceylon, Burma, and Malacca.

GENUS ZAMENIS.

35. *Zamenis mucosus*, Linn.
Hab. India, Ceylon, Burma, and Malacca.
36. *Zamenis fasciolatus*, Shaw.
Hab. Madras Presidency, Bengal, Province Wellesley in Malacca.
37. *Zamenis diadema*, Schlegel. Var. *atriceps*, Fischer.
Hab. North-Western Provinces, Rajputana, Sind, Punjab and Kashmir.

GENUS COLUBER.

38. *Coluber audax*.
Hab. India.

GENUS DENDROPHIS.

39. *Dendrophis pictus*, Gmel.
Hab. Peninsular India, Ceylon, Burma, and Malacca.

GENUS TROPIDONOTUS.

40. *Tropidonotus stolatus*, Linn.
Hab. India, Ceylon, Sind, Burma, and Malacca.
41. *Tropidonotus piscator*, Schneider.
Hab. Near rivers and pools all over India and Ceylon, Burma, and Malacca.

SERIES B.—Opisthoglypha.

SUBFAMILY II.—Dipsadinae.

GENUS DIPSAS.

42. *Dipsas trigonata*, Schneider.
Hab. India, Western Himalayas and Beluchistan.

GENUS DRYOPHIS.

43. *Dryophis mycterizans*, Daud.
Hab. Southern India, Ceylon, Deccan, Bengal, Khasi Hills and Burma.

GENUS CHRYSOPELEA.

44. *Chrysopelea ornata*, Shaw.
Hab. Ceylon, Bengal, Khasi Hills, Assam, Burma, and Malacca.

SERIES C.—Proteroglypha.

SUBFAMILY III.—Elapinae.

GENUS BUNGARUS.

45. *Bungarus fasciatus*, Schneider.
Hab. Bengal, Southern India, Assam, Burma, and Malayana.
46. *Bungarus caeruleus*, Schneider.
Hab. All over India.

GENUS NAIA.

47. *Naia tripudians*, Merrem.
Hab. All over India, Ceylon, Burma, and Malayana.
48. *Naia bungarus*, Schlegel.
Hab. Southern India, Orissa, Bengal, Assam, Burma, Malayana.

SUBFAMILY IV.—Hydrophiinae.

GENUS ENHYDRINA.

49. *Enhydrina valakadien*, Boie.
Hab. Persian Gulf, Coasts of India and Burma to Malay Archipelago.

FAMILY III.—Viperidae.

SUBFAMILY I.—Viperinae.

GENUS VIPERA.

50. *Vipera russellii*, Shaw.
Hab. India, Ceylon, Burma and Siam.
51. *Vipera rhinoceros*, Schlegel.
Hab. West Africa.

GENUS ECHIS.

52. *Echis carinata*, Schneider.
Hab. North Africa, South Western Asia, and India.

SUBFAMILY II.—Crotalinae.

GENUS CROTALUS.

53. *Crotalus durissus*, Daud.
Hab. North America.

* SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

ART. IX.—ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS AND PHRASES.*

FROM a philological point of view India is now in a position similar to that of England immediately after the Norman Conquest, and to her own former position at the period of her history when Mahomedan invaders introduced Persian and Arabic into the country. Just as in England, after the Norman conquest, there were two nations living side by side, speaking different languages, and striving to render themselves comprehensible to each other, so now in India we find everywhere Englishmen speaking English, and the natives of the country speaking their vernacular, and, as intermediaries between the two, the educated native and the Englishman who has mastered Hindustani, Marathi, Gujarathi or whatever vernacular is spoken in the part of the country in which he dwells. Norman-French and Anglo-Saxon, after one or two centuries, coalesced into one language, and in like manner the mixture of Persian and Arabic with Indian vernaculars produced Hindustani. We have, at the present time, the first steps of a similar fusion between the English language and the vernaculars of India, a process which, if continued for a century or two, would produce a new composite language, partly of eastern and partly of European origin. At present, however, we are only at the very beginning of such a fusion. English and the vernaculars are still separated from each other by a great gulf. Nevertheless, they cannot be in such close contact without a large amount of mutual action and re-action, which will be found, on consideration, to be regulated by the same laws as ruled the early relations of English with Norman French at the Conquest, and subsequently with the other foreign languages spoken by the nations with which the enterprising spirit of Englishmen has brought them into commercial and political intercourse all over the world.

The philological results of the British Empire in India may be briefly summed up as follows : firstly, that many Indian words have been introduced into the English language, secondly, that many English words have been introduced into the vernaculars of India, and thirdly, that several English words and several Indian words have assumed new senses and new combinations, owing to the social intercourse between Englishmen and natives of India.

Let us first consider the words of Indian origin that have been added to the English language. Some of them are of

* The substance of this article was delivered, as a lecture, at the Sassoon Mechanics' Institute, Bombay.

such old standing that they are thoroughly naturalised. The most rigid purist might use such words as 'punkah,' 'Brahmin,' 'pariah,' 'curry,' 'jungle,' 'rajah' and 'rupee.' They need not be printed in italics in English books, and are given a place even in small English dictionaries. Among these words that have been admitted into full English citizenship, may perhaps be counted 'salam,' one of the most interesting words that India has given to England. The earliest use of this greeting by a European writer quoted in Yule and Burnell's *Hobson Jobson*, is a passage from Correa, a Portuguese writer who visited India in the year 1512. But the European use of the word goes back to a much earlier date, than the sixteenth century. Some time ago, in turning over the pages of Symonds' "Greek Poets," I came upon an epitaph written on himself by Meleager, a Greek epigrammatist, who flourished at Gadara, the town so familiar to us as the home of the Gadarene swine, just before the Christian era. It gave me a shock of surprise to find in this epigram the familiar word 'salam' in Greek letters. The epitaph ends by addressing the supposed visitor to his tomb as follows: "If you are a Syrian, Salam; if you are a Phœnician, Naidios; and if a Greek, Chaire." These lines show that 'salam' was the ordinary word of salutation throughout Syria at the beginning of the Christian era. We might, therefore, conjecture that 'salam' was one of the words most frequently in the mouth of Christ and his Apostles. This conjecture is raised almost to a certainty by reference to the Gospels. 'Salam' is an Arabic word, meaning peace; and Christ, in taking farewell of his Apostles, says, "Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you." There is little doubt that the very word on that occasion actually Christ and translated *eirene*, peace, was 'salam.' The meaning of the text is that Christ did not leave his disciples an ordinary, meaningless, verbal salam, but the priceless thing which 'salam' really means, namely peace. We may, therefore, without hesitation add 'salam' to the small list of words which we know to have been really spoken by Christ.

While such words as salam, punkah and jungle are sufficiently naturalised to be used by the most scrupulous English writer, there are many other Indian words that are struggling for their English citizenship, and are mostly found in conversation, as *loot*, *tappal*, *dubber*, *pucka*, *cutcha*, and others too many to mention. In some cases Indian words used by Englishmen change their meaning. Thus 'toddy,' which, in its Indian sense, means the juice of the palm tree, has come to mean in English the combination of spirits and hot water that is so popular a remedy against the cold and mists of Scotland. A bazar

in English generally means a fancy fair, and not a market-place. The term 'lascar,' applied to Indian sailors, is derived from *lashkar*, an army. *Sidi*, a Hindustani word connected with the Arabic *saiyid*, a lord, was once a title of honour, and retains its old sense when applied to the Prince of Jingeera; but in Anglo-Indian usage, the poorest Africans who work at the docks, or in the engine rooms of steamers, are called Seedeas, or Seedy boys. 'Faujdar,' from *fauj*, an army, properly means a general, but we apply the originally proud title to a chief policeman, even though he may be the chief policeman of a small town, with only some three or four men under his command. *Mashal*, a lamp or torch in Hindustani, means in Bombay, the servant who looks after the lamps, undergoing a change of meaning by metonymy similar to that by which, in ordinary English, 'spears,' 'oars,' and 'rifles' can stand for 'spearmen,' 'oarsmen,' and 'riflemen.'

In some cases the Indian word changes its grammatical character when adopted into English. The noun *jawab*, an answer, does duty as an Anglo-Indian verb, when we talk of a suitor being *jawaubed*, that is, refused. *Khaki* is properly an adjective meaning 'of the colour of dust.' As used in English, it is a noun, meaning cloth of that colour. The imperatives of several common Indian verbs are, in Anglo-Indian conversation, treated as the stems of verbs, and have the ordinary English verbal inflections added to them. One such strangely-formed verb has been thoroughly naturalised in English. 'Shampoo' is, by origin, the imperative of the Hindustani verb *champana*, but in English it entirely loses its imperative force, and is conjugated as a verb of the weak conjugation, with 'shampooed' as its past tense and past participle. *Puckerao*, *samjhao*, *maro*, and *banao* are likewise colloquially converted as English verbs, especially by English soldiers. *Q pesh* is not only used as a verbal stem, but also as a noun. Mr. Bellew's Griffin buys a pariah dog, docked and cropped, to make him look like a terrier, his more experienced friend asks him "Where on earth did you get this beast? Why, he's a regular terrier bunnow." In ordinary English we can find instances of imperatives thus used as nouns, as when a child says, "It is all make-believe" or a parliamentary reporter talks of a 'count-out.' A similar change of grammatical value, not unlike that undergone by the Hindustani imperatives converted into Anglo-Indian verbal stems, occurred when such verbs as 'complicate' and 'affect' were formed out of Latin passive participles. But I cannot remember any instance, except those just mentioned, of imperatives of foreign verbs being used as new English verbs. How it happened, is clear enough. The words that we have been considering were continually used

in the imperative mood, as words of command, by Englishmen to their servants and others, and became so familiar that the imperative inflection was regarded as an essential part of the verb. If the records of history were destroyed, and these verbs, formed from Indian imperatives, still survived, they would give clear evidence of the ruling position held by the English in India, just as the consideration of the French word 'mutton,' side by side with the Anglo-Saxon word 'sheep,' indicates that long ago the Saxon shepherds herded sheep which did not become familiar to their Norman masters until the animal appeared in a cooked form on the table, as mutton.

Having seen that the Englishman makes new verbs out of the imperatives of Indian verbs, and out of the passive participles of Latin verbs, we may finish what is to be said on the subject of the naturalisation of foreign verbs, by enquiring, how the native of India is inclined to treat the English verbs he uses. As a rule, we shall find that our native servants and other uneducated natives, who have a smattering of English, turn themselves to the use of the present participle to express all moods and tenses. We find this predominance of the present participle correctly illustrated by the remarks of the Moonshee in the *Lays of Ind.* :—

"He also said, Saib pray excuse, but what will master do,—
What master giving Moonshee man. if master getting through ?
Two hundred fifty rupee, sircar backsheesh, Saib will get ;
Saibs always giving Moonshee half, got never less, Sir, yet.
I always coming reglar, teaching good."

From a consideration of this tendency, it seems probable that, if an English verb is ever naturalised in an Indian vernacular, it will be in the permanent form of a present participle. It is easy to see how uneducated natives should be inclined to use one particular part of the English verb for constant use. To do so saves the trouble of mastering the inflexions and auxiliaries, by which, in English, moods and tenses are distinguished. The reason why the present participle is chosen in preference to any other part of the English verb, would seem to be the prevalence of the use of tenses formed from the present participle in Hindustani and other Indian vernaculars.

Of the Indian words used by Englishmen, several have gained acceptance from a resemblance to English words of similar meaning. The Englishman in India soon picks up the word *gari*, and fixes it in his memory, as he connects it in his mind with the English word carriage. In the same way *bat cheet* reminds him of *chit-chât*, and *gup* looks like an abbreviation of 'gossip.' 'Beastie' is a Scotch diminutive applied as a term of endearment to animals. Thus Burns

addresses the mouse as a "wee, sleekit, cowrin, timorous beastie." The term is, perhaps, most commonly used by Scotch drovers, when speaking of their cattle. So, when we are told in India that the man who brings us water in puckals on an ox's back is a bheestie, we easily remember the name. We simply extend to the Indian combination of man and beast the term that is applied to the beast alone by the Scotch Highlander.

In a very large number of cases the Indian word has been Anglicised by alteration in sound, or at any rate in spelling, so as to make it resemble English words and syllables. Such corruptions of unfamiliar foreign words into more familiar and intelligible sounds are common in every language. The French *contre danse*, meaning a dance in which the dancers stand face to face, was corrupted in England into 'country dance,' and *chartroux* and *chateau vert* become, in English, Charterhouse and Shotover. In like manner the English sailor converts the Bellerophon and the Pteroesse into Billy Ruffian and Tearing Hisser. This tendency is largely illustrated by Anglo-Indian instances. In *paṇḍu* the corruption merely secures a familiar sound, without regard to meaning. Take, for instance, the word punch, derived from *pañc*, five, because the beverage is composed of five ingredients, namely, spirits, lime juice, sugar, spice, and water. 'Punch,' in more senses than one, is a familiar monosyllable in English; but no ingenuity can naturally connect any of its meanings with the drink which, in its cold form, proved so seductive to Mr. Pickwick. There is a similar disregard of meaning in the corruption of *kabāb*, *tām-tām*, *Nawāb*, *bāp-re*, *pandī-kokku* into 'cabob,' 'tom-tom,' 'nawab,' 'bobbery,' and 'bandicoot.' In these cases the familiar English syllables 'bob' and 'coot' are got into the word by hook or by crook, without any regard to the sense. In most cases, however, there is enough connection between the corruption and its meaning to suggest, more or less distinctly, a false etymology. Sometimes the association of ideas is very slight. 'Jolly boat' appears to be derived from the Indian *gallevat*; but the most etymological sailor would scarcely maintain that such a boat is any jollier than a cutter or a dingy, which two terms, by-the-bye, are also traced by Yule to an Indian origin. When *mallī* was corrupted into 'molly,' there was, perhaps, underlying the transformation, the thought that the name given to the English housemaid might, without impropriety, be transferred to the not very manly Indian gardener. In other cases, however, the connection in meaning is too obvious to be denied. Perhaps the most striking Anglo-Indian instance of this tendency to find a false etymology is the verb 'dumb

'cow,' one of those Anglo-Indian verbs formed from Indian imperatives. It comes from *dam khao*, the imperative of the Hindustani *dam khana*, to eat one's breath, that is, to be silent. The Anglo-Indian derivative is spelt 'dumbcow,' so as to give both syllables an English meaning, and raise in the mind the idea of cowing a person and rendering him dumb. *Sitaphal*, the fruit of Sita, one of the Indian names of what we usually call the custard apple, is ingeniously corrupted into 'sweet apple.' 'Breach Candy,' the name of a favourite drive by the sea in Bombay, is derived by Dr. Murray Mitchell from *Burj-Khadi*, the tower of the creek. If this is the correct derivation, the word has been corrupted into 'Breach Candy' in order to make it intelligible to English ears, for 'breach,' connected with 'break,' in old and provincial English means the surge of the sea or the shore on which the waves break. The Apollo Bunder, at which the P. and O. steamers land their Bombay passengers, seems to have been originally called after a fish which still appears occasionally on Western-Indian breakfast tables, the *palla* bunder, until the English settlers, more familiar with classical mythology than with Indian ichthyology, corrupted *palla* into Apollo. 'Biscobra' from *bis-khapra*, like 'dumbcow,' is so converted as to provide a double false etymology intelligible to an Englishman, and suggest that the mysterious lizard meant has twice the venom of the cobra. The Hindustani *idhar ao* is converted into *hitherao*, in order that it may contain the English adverb 'hither.' The Bengali *guddam*, a store-house, is converted into godown. The derivation suggested by the change, though false, is plausible, as in the East store-houses are generally under ground, so that their owner has to *go down* into them. 'Teapoy' is, by derivation, *tinpai*, a three-footed table, just as 'charpoy' is a four-footed bed. But it is small and convenient for tea; and therefore the first syllable is spelt accordingly. In like manner, from the association of ideas shown above, 'bheesty' is often spelt 'beasty'; 'Solar tope' is from *shola*, meaning pith, which is converted into the English adjective 'solar,' from Latin *sol*, the sun, in order that 'solar tope' may convey to an Englishman's ear, by its sound and spelling, the appropriate meaning of sun helmet. 'Hanger' is generally supposed to be derived from the verb hang, because a sword hangs by one's side. It is really the same word as the Scotch 'whinger,' and is derived from the Arabic and Hindustani *khanger*. Yule quotes an instance of the use of the word as early as 1574, so that it probably came from Arabia at the time of the Crusades, rather than, at a later date, from India. As the word was more common in Scotland than in England, it may have been brought back by the survivors of the 15,000 Highlanders and Islesmen

who, according to William of Malmesbury, went to Palestine in the eleventh century. The abbreviation of *chithi* and *tattoo* into the Anglo-Indian 'chit' and 'tat' may also be, perhaps, regarded as the result of etymological corruption. The associations of the English word 'chit,' generally meaning a small girl, seem to have affected the Anglo-Indian word, so that 'chit' in our colloquial language is used rather of a small note sent by messenger, than of a regular full-sized letter. *Tattoo*, by being abbreviated into 'tat,' suggests to the English mind the old English word 'tit,' meaning a small horse or pony. 'Gymkhana,' about the derivation of which there has been so much discussion and doubt, is almost certainly an instance of etymological corruption. Unless the word is a hybrid, which is unlikely, its first syllable is a corruption of some Indian word. But of what word? Whitworth makes no conjecture on the subject. Yule says that 'gymkhana' is probably a corruption of *gend khana*, ball house, the name generally given to a racket court. Is it not, however, more probable that the origin of the word is *jamatkhana*, a place of assembly, a word familiar enough to be given in Whitworth's Anglo-Indian dictionary? Is not this the word that would most naturally be used by natives to express the central place of the station, where the *Sahib logue* meet to enjoy themselves after the labours of the day? That the idea of meeting is the idea most naturally connected with 'gymkhana' is indicated by Yule himself, who, though he gives a different derivation, describes a gymkhana as "a place of public resort at a station." *Jam*, the beginning of the word, would easily and naturally be corrupted into 'gym' in English conversation, as the gymkhana is a place of active exercise, and so has some resemblance to a gymnasium. There is less uncertainty about the etymology of a strange corruption of Indian words by which the English soldier at Satara found what he thought a suitable name for the game of badminton. When that game was first introduced at Satara, the natives called it *tam-tam-phul-khel* (the tom-tom flower game), because the battledoor with which it was originally played resembled a tom-tom, and the shuttle-cock looked like a flower. The British soldier, hearing this name, and determined to give it an intelligible meaning, transformed it into Tom Fool Game, by which means he both satisfied his etymological instincts, and also contrived to express his very decided opinion of the frivolity of the new game.

We may now leave words of purely Indian origin and proceed to consider those which are partly of English and partly of Indian origin. There are a certain number of words that we use in India, each of which appears, on consideration, to be the result of the blending into one of two words resembling

each other in sound and in meaning, but belonging to different languages. For instance, when we are making a bargain with a native carpenter, or tailor, he will promise to do his work *praper*. Who can decide whether this is a corruption of the Indian *barabar*, to make it sound like the English 'proper,' or vice versâ? The truth seems to be that it is a compromise between the two similar sounds. Take again the term 'boy,' used in addressing native servants. How can it be determined whether this is the English 'boy,' a term which, like the modern French *garçon*, and the Latin *puer*, was commonly applied to grown-up servants in the seventeenth century, or the Indian *boi*, the name of a caste much employed in Madras as palanquin bearers and domestic servants. A similar double origin is required to explain 'bearer,' which is to a large extent the Bengal equivalent of the term 'boy,' as used in Madras and Bombay. *Behārā*, we learn from Whitworth, is, in Bengali, as *doi* is in Telugu, the name of a caste that supplies palkiwalahs and domestic servants. Thus, when in Bengal the Englishman called the men who carried his palkhi, his bearers, although he usually spelt the word as if it were formed from the English verb 'bear,' it is impossible to say that the word was more of English than of Indian origin. Afterwards the meaning of 'bearer' in Bengal changed. From being applied to the palanquin bearers, it was transferred to the single servant of the same caste who took care of his master's clothes, and thus the word has attained its present meaning. Another case of double derivation is 'wordie,' an order which seems to result from the fusion of the Kanarese *varadi*, an order, with the English noun 'word,' often employed in giving an order, as when we say 'send word to so-and-so to come quickly.' It is strange, in Swift's "Polite Conversation," to come upon the sentence: "O! miss, you must give your vardi too!" Very unsatisfactory explanations are given of 'vardi' in this context. Some say it is for *par diu*; some declare it to be an affected pronunciation of 'verdict.' May it not be that the term is the Indian word *varadi*, and that it was introduced into English polite conversation by some Anglo-Indian, who returned to England in the days of Swift? Such out-of-the-way words often gain a temporary vogue in fashionable conversation, and then disappear to give place to others. 'Cot' and 'buggy' are two other terms which can, with equal ease, be traced to Indian and English origin. But perhaps the most familiar instance of this confusion is the Anglo-Indian 'tank,' which differs slightly in meaning from the English word 'tank,' and slightly in form from the Indian word *tanka*. No doubt the Englishman or the Portuguese—for a word of the same sound and derivation, but of different spelling, is in the Portuguese

language also—, on landing in India and hearing the word *tanka* applied to a reservoir of water, identified it immediately with the similar word in his own language, so that this Anglo-Indian word may perhaps be described as of threefold derivation.

Words and phrases of mixed origin are more easily treated when the parts derived from different languages are kept separate in different syllables. Ordinary English hybrids, such as 'bigamy' and 'tidology,' may be paralleled by several similar Anglo-Indian combinations, as, for instance, brandy-pawnee, agboat, competitionwala, missee baba, memsahib, purdah lady, travellers' bungalow. In several of these hybrids we have additional instances of the tendency to corrupt unfamiliar into familiar sounds. Mr Stanley Lane Poole says that 'John Company' was originally Jahan-Kumpani (Company of the World), the name given by the natives of India to the United East India Company. The *kālīj* pheasant of the Himalayas is rather absurdly converted into a college-pheasant, much as Uxford, the river ford (*cf* Uxbridge), was changed into Oxford. Jack, in 'Jack-fruit' is a corruption of the Malay *chakka*, or rather of the Portuguese word derived from the Malay. 'First chop' was originally first *chāp*, or first stamp, *chāp* being the word we are familiar with in *chāpakhāna*, a printing house. According to Yule, 'quite the cheese' is literally quite the thing, 'cheese' being a corruption of the common Hindustani word *chiz*, a thing. He also traces the offending word in a phrase generally supposed to savour of blasphemy to an Indian origin, in *dām*, the name of a copper coin worth a fortieth part of a rupee. Certainly the etymological analogy of the kindred phrases, 'don't care a curse' and 'don't care a rap,' support his view. For a *rap* was a small Irish coin, and 'curse,' in the phrase, 'I don't care a curse,' is undoubtedly a corruption of the harmless 'kerse,' which in Chaucer meant 'cress.'

The words which we have next to consider are those of English origin that have gained currency in vernacular writing or conversation, or have attained a new meaning in India. In so doing, it will be convenient to treat as of English origin all the words that have come to India from England, whatever may have been their ultimate origin. We must also, of course, regard Scotch as English. Indeed, the language of Burns has much more right to the name of English than is possessed by the literary English to which that name is generally confined; for Lowland Scotch, as is clearly shown by Earle, is the direct descendant of the language spoken in the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria, while literary English is descended from the language spoken by the Saxon kingdoms

of Central and Southern England, and altered by the admixture of Norman French and many other foreign elements.

No one can listen long to a conversation between two natives of India in their own tongue, without hearing a large number of English words employed. In the vernacular press many English words are used to express the legal, political, and social usages of Europe and the discoveries of western science. In some few cases a new application of an old vernacular term, or a new combination of vernacular words, is used to express the new object of thought. Thus we have *bijli ki batti* for electric light, and *vilayeti pani* for soda water, *ag-gari* for railway train, and *tar*, which literally means wire, is used to express the telegraph, or a telegram. But in the immense majority of cases English words are used in the vernaculars to express things and ideas imported from Europe. Naturally most of the English words thus adopted into the Indian vernaculars are more or less altered in sound, so that they may be pronounced more easily by Indian lips. The tendency is to throw the accent back as far as possible. This is why we have, in English, 'grám-mar' and 'courage,' corresponding to the French *grammaire* and *courage*, and, from the same inclination, we transform the Indian *tappál* and *hamál* into 'táppal' and 'hámal.' But this tendency to have the accent as near the beginning of a word as possible, is as repugnant to the natives of India as it is to many other foreigners. Hence arises, in English words employed in Indian vernaculars, a displacement of accents just the reverse of that which often happens when an Indian word is uttered by Englishmen. If a Bombay tramcar conductor is asked to give a ticket for the Municipal Office, he will generally reply interrogatively "Municipál?" and you will scarcely get your ticket without conforming to his mispronunciation and placing the accent on the final syllable. In the same way, by misplacement of the accent, 'hospital' is changed into *ispítál*, 'towel' into *touwl* and 'captain' into *captán*. Sometimes a consonant is added through laziness. In some parts of England 'gown' is pronounced 'gownd,' and the Anglo-Saxon *thunor* was enlarged into 'thunder' in English, because, after pronouncing 'n,' the organs of speech are in such a convenient position for pronouncing 'd,' that it is less trouble to pronounce than to repress that sound. It is in exactly the same way that governor has come to be spelt and pronounced *govundar* in Indian vernaculars.

Etymologists have invented various terms to express the different ways in which words are modified for convenience of pronunciation. The process by which consonants of a different kind are replaced by consonants of the same kind is called assi-

milation. We have an instance of this kind of corruption in the conversion of 'lemonade' into *limlet*, and of 'flannel' into *falalin*. In both cases the word is changed, so that 'l' instead of another consonant, may follow 'l', just as in English, or rather in the Latin from which the English word is derived 'con' and 'lateral' combine, not into 'conlateral,' but into 'collateral.' In other cases the opposite kind of change, called dissimilation, takes place, as when 'champagne' is changed into *simkin*, because Indian lips find a difficulty in pronouncing the two labials 'm' and 'p' in such close proximity. To avoid the same combination of letters in the opposite order, 'midshipman' used to be pronounced *meechilman*. Sometimes, to make the pronunciation easier, a new syllable is added, and thus 'glass,' 'box,' 'tax,' 'constable' are changed into *gilas*, *bokus*, *tekus*, and *canas-table*. The last instance is peculiarly interesting, as, by the operation of two corruptions which cancel each other, the word has got back eventually to a much earlier form. 'Constable' is derived originally from the Latin *comes*, companion, or count of the stable. In Norman French the two words combined into the one quadrisyllabic word, which in English, by the operation of syncope, was reduced to 'constable.' Finally the native of India, to make the word suit his organs of speech, enlarges it again to *canas-table*, and so produces a word which is almost identical in sound with that used by William the Conqueror and his barons.

Another common instance of this corruption by addition of an extra syllable is the insertion of a vowel before words beginning with st and sc. Such words are always hard to pronounce. There is a town in the South West of Scotland called Stranraer. The children in the neighbourhood find it much easier to make this name begin with an I, and call it Istranraer. On the same principle, when the French formed derivatives from the Latin *stare*, they put a supporting vowel at the beginning of the words; and that is how we find, in English, 'estate' and 'establish' side by side with 'state,' and 'stablish.' These parallels may be a sufficient excuse for the uneducated Indian cook who proposes to make his master an *eesterew*, and for the vernacular paper that describes the trials in the *ismal-cas-corut*, but scarcely for an educational institution not fifty miles from Bombay, that I saw some years ago proclaiming itself to the world on a printed board as an Anglo-Vernacular *Eescool*. Yet, after all, *eescool* in India is the result of the same philological process that produced *ecole* in France and *ysgol* in Wales.

In other cases the corruption, instead of adding a new syllable, diminishes the existing number of syllables by contraction, called syncope by philologists. This has already been illustrated above in the history of the word 'constable,' and we

all know that 'damsel' is short for *damosel*. In just the same way, 'pantaloon' and 'man-of-war' are shortened into *patloon* and *manwdr*.

In the last-mentioned case the corruption is probably due to the common tendency to give foreign words a more familiar sound, of which we quoted so many instances in the corruption of Indian words used by Englishmen. *Manwar* is much more like a Hindustani or Marathi noun than 'man-of-war,' of which it is a contraction. A clearer case is the corruption of the originally Mexican word 'tomato' into *tambotu*, which, in Gujarathi, as I am told, means a milk pail.

This kind of corruption is specially common in the case of English proper names. The hill station of Matheran near Bombay supplies us with several instances that were recorded in its local paper, *Matheran Jottings*, last May. Panorama Point, the name of the finest point of view on Matheran Hill, is corrupted into Pandurang Point, and thus the long word of English origin is shortened into a very common Hindu name. In the same manner the inhabitants of the hill have converted Porcupine Point into Palkhi Point, although that name would be inappropriate to any other of the Points to which the Palkhiwalas bear their burdens. A house was built at Matheran, by, or for, a Mr. Rogers. It was first, no doubt, called Rogers' place, or Roger's place, but is now only known as Rajul's place of the King. This name, however, being a corruption, strictly speaking, to have been treated at an earlier point of our investigations, when we were considering words of mixed origin. English surnames are specially liable to be strangely altered in this way. 'Kinloch' is corrupted into *tin lakh*, a name agreeably suggestive of wealth. Frere, Moore, Shaw are converted respectively into *fer*, meaning distance, *mor*, a peacock, and *shah*, a king. Jackson is disguised as *Jaykiss*, a Gujarathi compound of *jai*, victory, and *Krishna*, Krishna.

Sometimes, strange to say, one English word is corrupted into another. Thus the Hon. Mr. Peile, now Sir James Peile, was always known as Appeal Sahib. The English word 'appeal' was familiar in the law courts, and there was, perhaps, an underlying idea that Mr. Peile was somehow connected, in his official position, with the settlement of appeals. A similar instance is the corruption of the name Ravenscroft, belonging to another Bombay Member of Council. The name was a hard one, but reminded the uneducated Bombay native of the better known name of Crawford, which he had been compelled to master when the Crawford markets were built. This being the case, he determined not to take the trouble of mastering a new and difficult English name. So

he tacked on the qualifying word 'revenue,' familiar as the name of a government department, before the name Crawford, and Mr. Ravenscroft was transformed into Revenue Crawford Sahib, as if he were a newly-discovered species of the genus Crawford.

We have next to consider a large number of English words that have acquired new meanings in India. As their number is large, it is advisable to divide them into two classes for separate consideration. Let us first examine those English words which have changed their meaning by being used by natives of India, and secondly those which are applied to strange uses by the English themselves, although it may be difficult in one or two cases to be sure that we are assigning each particular word to its right class.

The two principal ways in which words change their meaning in the course of time is by generalisation and specialisation. Generalisation is the extension of a name to a larger class of objects, as when 'solecism,' which originally meant bad Greek spoken at the town of Soli in Minor, came to include all cases of the violation of a maxim or idiom of any language; specialisation is the restriction of a name to a smaller class, as when the term 'voyage' was used to mean a journey by land or sea, was restricted to journeys by sea. Both processes are illustrated by the following story. A friend of mine was travelling on official business in the Berars, and had to get provisions from the villages of the villages through which they passed. One day a man came and told him that the village patel was impudent and refused to supply provisions. The patel on being called earlier had replied, "I was not impudent; but the butler demanded brandy, and I have none." The butler replied: "I did not ask for brandy, but for wine. I must have wine." His astonished master asked him what in the world he meant by demanding wine, and the butler replied, "I must have wine," replied the butler; "can't make bread without wine." It turned out that what he wanted was yeast, and then the misunderstanding was at an end. It will be seen from that in the above conversation at cross purposes, that by the process of generalisation, extended the meaning of 'wine,' so as to make it include everything fermented, while the patel, by the opposite process of specialisation, had understood 'wine' to mean one particular alcoholic liquor, namely brandy. The tendency to generalisation is very common among native servants. They make the word 'boot' include boots and shoes; call tarts, trifles and sweet omelets indiscriminately pudding; apply the name 'schoolmaster' to every one connected with education, whether he teaches in a school or a college, or even if he is an inspector of schools or director

of public instruction; and they make the word 'office' do for their master's place of business, though it be a school, a college, or a law court. Specialisation is less common in the use of English words by Indians, although in the history of the English language it prevails more widely than generalisation. We see instances of it in the way in which Bombay servants narrow the meaning of 'ticket' and 'cover,' and understand by these two words a postage stamp and an envelope. The word 'sick' is used by natives to express every kind of illness, whether involving nausea or not. This, at first sight, looks like generalisation, but it is more probably a case of the preservation of the older and wider meaning of the word that prevailed when Englishmen first came to India.* In like manner it has been often noticed that many Americanisms, for instance, the use of 'rare' in the sense of underdone, and of 'fall' in the sense of autumn, are really survivals of the meanings that English words had in the days of Queen Elizabeth and the Stuart Kings, when the American colonies were founded. Among the old meanings of words retained in America is this very use of the word 'sick' in the wider sense, with which we are so familiar in India.

We come last to English words that are used in unusual senses, or in new combinations, by Englishmen living in India. Some express the amusements by which the Englishman tries to wile away the years of his exile, such as tent-pegging, pig-sticking, and sky races. In pig-sticking the verb 'stick' is used in a sense which has become obsolete. We now speak, not of sticking an animal with a spear, but of sticking a spear into an animal. The use of 'stick' in this old sense points to the amusement and its name having originated many years ago, in the earlier days of English settlement in India; and in fact we find, in the supplement of Hobson Jobson mention of the sport of pig-sticking as early as 1679, though it is not called by that name in the passage quoted. The verb 'jink,' so often applied to the boar in descriptions of boar hunts, is a Scotch word, used by Burns, from which we may infer that some early enthusiast in the introduction of the sport was a Scotchman, and that his influence was so great, that he gave a Scotch tinge to its technical language. One is also tempted to claim a Scotch origin for 'dispense room.' Certainly there is a good old Scotch word, 'spence,' meaning provision room, which may be found in Scott's novels. In the description of Donald Bean's stronghold in Waverley, for instance, we read how "in one large aperture, which the robber facetiously called his spence (or pantry), there hung by the heels the carcasses of a sheep; or ewe, and two cows lately slaugh-

* Is it not still prevalent in Scotland?—ED. C. R.

tered." But if the Scotch 'spence' had been attempted by native lips, it would almost certainly have been corrupted into 'eespence,' whereas the word in use is not 'eespence' but 'dispense.' Therefore we must rather derive it from the Portuguese word *despensa*, or the French word *despense*, both of which have the same meaning and etymology as the Scotch 'spence.' The spelling would seem to have been altered by English writers from 'des' to 'dis' in order to connect the word with the verb 'dispense,' because in the dispense room the Madamsahib dispenses household necessities to the cook and butler. Of the derivation of 'sky races,' it is difficult to give a plausible conjecture. As they are usually held in the uncertain weather of the monsoon, it has been suggested that they may be races dependent on the sky, that is, on the state of the weather. Perhaps the name may have some connexion with sky larking.

Of the names of Anglo-Indian dishes we may take first the familiar 'country captain,' the origin of which is satisfactorily explained by Yule. 'Country,' in India, is used adjectivally to express Indian, as opposed to European. Thus we have such expressions as a country-bred horse, country leather. Just as the Black Prince was so called because his armour was black, so, by a similar transference of epithet, a country captain is primarily a captain of a country ship, that is of a ship engaged in the Indian coasting trade, and secondarily, it comes to mean a favourite dish frequently provided for the captains of such vessels. The origin of 'spatch cock' is much more puzzling. Yule and Whitworth do not find room for it in their dictionaries. But surely it is an Anglo-Indian term, for, if you were to ask for a spatch cock in a London Hotel, or English village inn, the waiter would probably stare at you in blank amazement. It is commonly explained as a cock or hen suddenly despatched. This is the meaning, but can hardly be the derivation. For 'spatch cock' or 'spitch cock' is an old English word used by writers of the time of Shakespeare to express a way of cooking eels. King, the poetical chaplain of James I, used the word as a verb in the following lines :—

No man lards salt pork with orange peel
Or garnishes his lamb with spitchcockt eel,

and another writer employs the word as a noun, seemingly to express an eel cooked in this way. But in what way? Johnson in his dictionary says that to spitch-cock an eel is to cut him in pieces and roast him. From all this we may fairly conclude that the word had originally nothing to do with either 'despatch' or 'cock.' The first syllable may be derived from 'spit,' as indicated by the old spelling 'spitch cock,' and still more by the spelling of Sir Thomas

Browne, who speaks of a dish of "spits-cocked scorpions," or it may, perhaps, be from the French *dépecer*, cut in pieces, spelt in old French *despecher*. The second syllable is probably the passive participle of the verb cook, which in old English writers has only one 'o,' and may have been pronounced 'cockt.' Thus the derivative meaning in either case would mean split in small pieces and cooked, for, in order that small pieces of meat may be conveniently roasted, they must first be spitted together. The old derivation being forgotten, and a false derivation being invented which gave the word a new meaning, the spitch cock, which had been a spitch cockt eel to our ancestors, changed its character and became an Anglo-Indian spatch cock.

'Chummery' is a useful noun which appears to have been coined in Bombay* to express a bungalow in which two or three persons chum together. Murray only quotes one instance of the word, but not in its concrete Anglo-Indian sense. The author quoted is Besant, the novelist, who speaks of persons living together "in bachelor chummery," but in this quotation the absence of the article shows that 'chummery' is an abstract term, meaning the state of being chums. Another social word that, perhaps, originated in Bombay, is the term 'first lady,' applied to the lady at a dinner party, who is taken in to dinner by the host. This post carries with it the important duty of making the first move to break up the party, and, when the guest chosen as first lady is a young bride new to India and unacquainted with this peculiar social usage, complications arise, and the party may remain unbroken to an unconscionably late hour, everybody waiting for the bride to take her departure first. In Bengal the verb 'cart' has acquired a new social meaning. It means, or used to mean, to drive a young lady out in a cart, or carriage. Such conduct is understood to imply matrimonial intentions, and is considered tantamount to an engagement. This use of 'cart,' will be found in Bellevue's "Memoirs of a Griffin." Why a new arrival in India is called a griffin, would be hard to say. A griffin is a strange composite beast, between a lion and a eagle, and, perhaps, the idea is that the new comer is a similarly composite creature, as he has left Europe and not yet been thoroughly initiated into the mysteries of Anglo-Indian life. Some Anglo-Indian colloquialisms are grimly jocular, such as 'peg,' according to one etymology, and 'promotion nuts.' It will probably never be decided whether pegs are so called because they screw you up when you are low, or because each adds a peg to your

* Why Bombay? The word is common, in the same sense, in Calcutta.—ED. C. R.

coffin, or because old fashioned drinking vessels were measured by pegs. Possibly, as has been suggested to me, the word may have an Indian derivation from *pej*, a Marathi word meaning a draught of rice and water, often taken by natives in the early morning. The term 'promotion nuts,' applied to the cashew nuts on account of their indigestibility, is an indication of the official character of Anglo-Indian society, which makes its junior members cynically regard their seniors as so many obstacles in the way of promotion. The appreciation of the advantages enjoyed by the members of the covenanted civil service is expressed by the term 'heaven-born,' applied to them. 'Twice born' is a literal translation of *dvija*, the adjective that distinguishes the three higher Hindu castes, the members of which are born again at the time of their investiture with the sacred cord. Grass-cutter is another literal translation of an Indian term, unless it may be regarded as a corruption of its equivalent *ghāskātā*, in which case it should have been mentioned earlier, as being not of English, but Indian, or To 'cut pay' is a new combination of words made in India to give a literal rendering of the Indian idiom *puggar kaṭṭā* which, if not translated thus into what may be called dog English, would require rather more words to express its meaning. 'Man-eater,' specialised in the sense of man-eating tiger, 'native town,' and 'fire temple' are three more combinations of English words which acquire in India special meanings. 'Home,' as used by the Englishman in India, almost always means England as opposed to the land of his exile, and this usage has become so inveterate, that even natives of this country, when they contemplate a visit to Europe, may be heard telling their friends that they are "going home."

Among the new words which the Englishman adds to his vocabulary in the East, some of the commonest are of Portuguese derivation. The large number of these Portuguese words is a visible proof of the former extent and power of the Portuguese dominion in India. It would, however, be out of place for me to try and trace them to their origin, when we have in India, Portuguese scholars so much better fitted for the task. I have, indeed, felt that it was quite venturesome enough, in one so imperfectly acquainted with the vernaculars of India as I am, to discuss the words of Indian origin which are daily on our lips in this country. However, by availing myself freely of the vernacular knowledge possessed by my pupils at Elphinstone College, and by consulting the literary labours of those who have studied deeply the languages of India, and have given to the world the result of their studies, it has been possible for me to supply the defects of my own very imperfect acquaintance with oriental languages.

It has been my main object to show that the same principles of philology that rule the formation of the great literary languages of the world, are clearly exemplified even in such a humble hybrid dialect as Anglo-Indian. If I have succeeded at all in my endeavour, I must express in the fullest way my obligations to the Anglo-Indian dictionaries of Col. Yule and of Mr. Whitworth of the Bombay Civil Service, without the abundant material supplied in whose works, it would have been impossible for me to put together these few tentative remarks on Anglo-Indian words and phrases.

MICHAEL MACMILLAN.

P.S.—While going to press, the *Hindi Punch* of March 5th supplies me with the following additional examples of the corruption of English words into forms more familiar to Native ears:—‘Who comes there?’ *Hookum durr*. ‘Gratuity’ = *Grass butty*. ‘Captain Gwyn’ = *Govind Saheb*. Louisa Point (Matheran), = *Loocha Point*.

M. M.

ART. X.—THE LAWS OF ITALY.

II.—PUBLIC SECURITY IN ITALY.

THE law relating to the Public Security (*Legge sulla pubblica sicurezza*) in Italy was passed on the 23rd December, 1888. A brief outline of some of its provisions may not be without interest to Indians and Anglo-Indians of all classes. The law consists of four Titles, containing 142 articles or sections :—

Title I.—Provisions relating to public order and the public safety.

„ *II.*—Public amusements, businesses, printing offices, advertisements, itinerant trades, workmen and servants.

„ *III.*—Classes dangerous to society.

„ *IV.*—Miscellaneous provisions.

Under the first Title the law deals with public meetings and assemblies in public places: religious ceremonies outside churches, and ecclesiastical and civil processions: collections of arms and going armed in military disposition; arms; the prevention of accidents and disasters; and unhealthy and dangerous occupations.

Public Meetings.—The promoters of a public meeting (not electoral) must give 24 hours' notice thereof to the local authority of public security, under penalty of a fine of 100 lira. If notice is not given, the meeting may be stopped. If, during any meeting in a place which is public or open to the public, seditious manifestations are made or cries raised, which constitute delicts against the authorities of the State or the heads of foreign governments and their representatives, or if other delicts punishable by the Penal Code are committed, the meetings may be dispersed and the offenders prosecuted. Seditious cries and manifestations which do not fall under the Penal Code, are punishable with three months' confinement (*arresto*). When it is necessary to break up a public meeting, a request is made to that effect. If the request is not complied with, three distinct orders are given to disperse, each preceded by a beat of the drum. If those present do not at once disperse, the meeting is broken up by force, and those who do not obey are arrested. Force, however, may be used at once, if disturbance or opposition render it impossible to give the previous intimation.*

* In India any Magistrate or Officer in charge of a Police station may command any unlawful assembly, or any assembly of five or more persons

Religious Ceremonies outside churches and Ecclesiastical and Civil Processions.—Persons who wish to perform religious ceremonies or acts of worship, or to conduct ecclesiastical or civil processions on the public roads, must give at least three days' notice to the local authority of public security, who can forbid the same on grounds of order and public health: * the rules as to dispersing meetings are also applicable. Notice need not be given in the case of sacramental processions for dying persons, or funeral processions, provided the regulations of public health and local police are observed.

Collections of arms and going armed in military array.—Besides the cases provided for in the Penal Code, it is forbidden to collect arms and munitions of war, or portions thereof, military uniforms or other things intended for the equipment of troops. The penalty, where the act does not constitute a more heinous offence, is confinement for a year and fine from 50 to 1,000 lira. Saving military regulations, it is forbidden to walk in military array with arms.

Arms.—The authority of public security for the district (*circondario*) can grant licenses for keeping arms for purposes of commerce or industry. No one can manufacture arms, or import more than sufficient for his own use, without giving previous notice to the Prefect of the province. No one can carry fire-arms without a license. The Prefect can grant licenses to carry revolvers or pistols of any size, or the sword-stick, provided the length of the blade is not less than 65 centimetres. A tax is payable for licenses. They cannot be

likely to cause a disturbance of the public peace to disperse, Sec. 127, Code of Criminal Procedure. Secs. 128, 129 relate to the use of civil military force. An 'unlawful assembly' is defined in sec. 141 of the Penal Code. In England the reading of the Riot Act is the equivalent of the beating of the drum in Italy. Signor Tommaso Corsi writes: "It is true that, in spite of the rigour of the laws, cases of riot do occur. The Italian populations, either by their Southern temperament, or as having been but lately freed from despotic and unpopular Governments, are prone to resist public Officers; but, generally speaking, the punishment is prompt and certain, and has the general approval of enlightened men and friends of order."

* The regulation of processions and assemblies in India is under the control of the Police and the Magistrate, Secs. 30—33, Act V, 1861. Assemblies and processions do not stand on the same footing. There is no right of assembly on a road, such right being inconsistent with the right of the public to pass and repass without obstruction. If an assembly causes obstruction in a public way, the police can take cognizance of the matter under sec. 283, Penal Code, read with sec. 31, Act V of 1861. As to processions, it was decided by a Madras Full Bench—a decision which was concurred in by the executive authorities—that every citizen has the right to use the public highway for processional as well as ordinary purposes, and that the Magistrate has a power to *suspend and regulate*, and the police a power to regulate the exercise of such right. I. L. R. 6 Mad. 218.

granted to certain convicted persons and others. The license is in force for one year; but can be cancelled at any time for bad conduct or abuse of the weapon. If the Minister of the Interior is satisfied that any Province or Commune is in a state of disorder,* he can, by public order, revoke totally or partially all licenses to carry arms. In the absence of reasonable grounds, no one can carry about offensive instruments for cutting or stabbing.

Prevention of Accidents and Disasters.—Without a license from the district authority of public security, and subject to the rules and restrictions in force, no one can keep in his house, or transport any larger quantity of gunpowder or explosive material than five kilogrammes. For dynamite and similar compounds a license is necessary for any quantity whatsoever. No one can establish a gunpowder factory or workshop in which explosive materials are used, without a license from the Préfet. This license imposes on the licensee the obligation to insure the lives of his workmen. Without a license from the local authority of public security, it is forbidden to let off fire-arms, fireworks, to send up fire balloons, and generally to cause explosions, or light dangerous fires in habitations or their vicinity, or close to the public roads.

It is forbidden to set fire to stubble in fields and forests, except at the times and in the manner fixed by local regulations. In default of such regulations, the 15th August is the earliest date, and the distance of the fire must be not less than 100 metres from houses, plantations, stacks of straw, hay, or any combustible substance.

It is forbidden, in fields, forests or other open places, to set snares, spring-guns, or other implements of the chase, which are dangerous to human beings. The local authority of public security can, in conjunction with the municipal authority, direct that only one of the entrances to a house should be open at night, and that should be lighted up to a certain hour.

Unhealthy and dangerous Occupations.—Unhealthy and dangerous occupations are subject to local regulations. In default of any, the Municipal Committee passes orders on the complaint of persons interested. The latter can appeal to the Préfet, who passes orders after consulting the Provincial Sanitary Council or the Sanitary Engineer of the Province, according to circumstances. There is a further appeal against the decision of the Préfet to the Minister of the Interior, who decides after consulting the Superior Sanitary Council, or the Board of Sanitary Engineers, according to circumstances.

* The literal translation of the Italian is "abnormal conditions of public security."

The exercise of noisy trades or occupations,* or those which interfere with personal comfort or convenience, must be stopped at the hour fixed by local regulations or municipal orders.

TITLE II.

Provisions relating to public exhibitions, public occupations, agencies, printing-presses, posters, itinerant trades, workmen and servants.

Public Spectacles and Amusements.—Without a license from the local authority of public security, no one can give any public exhibition, or display any rarities, persons, animals, peep shows, or other objects of curiosity. The license is valid only in the commune in which it is given. A similar license is required for concerts, balls and similar amusements in any public place, or place open to the public. The permission of the Prefect is required for the production of dramas, ballets, &c. The Prefect may veto any such on the grounds of morality or public order.† He gives his reasons in writing, and the person interested appeals to the Minister of the Interior, whose decision is final. The local authority of public security cannot grant a license for a theatre, or other place of public amusement, unless it is first satisfied, on the result of a technical inspection, that the building is solid and secure, and that there are sufficient means of easy and speedy exit in case of fire.

Some officer of public security must be present from beginning to end to watch over the interests of order and public security. He has the right to a box, or some distinct seat, which will enable him to perform his duty with ease. In case of tumult, or grave disorder, or grave danger to the public safety, the officers of public security can suspend or stop the performance; and, when the management has been in fault, can compel the return of

* In India the Magistrate has power, under Sec. 143. C. P. C., to prohibit the repetition or continuance of anything which constitutes a public nuisance. The object of the previous injunction (the word 'person' includes a body of persons, Sec. 11. Penal Code) is to enable the Police to deal with the matter under Sec. 291. P. C. in case of disobedience. *Tontoming*, especially after nightfall, is often a serious nuisance, and is ordinarily forbidden after 8 P.M. in Municipalities.

† The "Dramatic Performances Act, 1876," is almost a dead letter in the Lower Provinces. The Local Government or such Magistrate as it may empower, may prohibit the performance of any play, pantomime, or other drama, which is (a) of a scandalous or defamatory nature, or (b) likely to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British India, or (c) likely to deprave and corrupt persons present at the performance. A conviction under the Act is no bar to a prosecution under Sec. 124. A or 294 of the Penal Code. Sec. 10 of the Act empowers the Government to prohibit dramatic performances except under license.

the entrance money. Regulations for the preservation of order and security, framed by the Prefect, must be hung up in every theatre in a conspicuous place.

It is forbidden to employ children of either sex under fourteen years of age in public spectacles of strength, gymnastics and equitation.

It is forbidden to appear masked in a public place. If any person does so, he is asked to remove the mask, and, in case of refusal, he is liable to arrest and fine.

Public Businesses.—Without a license from the authority of public security for the district, no one can keep a hotel, lodging-house,* inn, public house, café, or other place, in which wine, beer or other liquors are sold by retail or on the premises; nor public rooms for billiards, or other lawful games, nor public baths. Licenses are not granted to persons who cannot validly bind themselves in the terms of the civil code, or commercial code. Licenses can be refused to those who have been in prison for more than three years, and must be refused to those who have suffered the punishment of deprivation of civil rights, and who have not having since obtained a certificate of rehabilitation (*la riabilitazione*); also to those who are under the surveillance of the department of public security, or whose conduct is not their good conduct. In the case of those condemned to imprisonment for more than three years for resistance to the authority, for gambling, or delicts against good morals, or for the public health, the license is refused for a period equal to the duration of the punishment suffered. Licenses expire on the 31st December of each year. They may be transferred, but the businesses may be carried on by third persons. The hours of opening and closing are fixed by the district authority of public security, and approved by the municipal committee. In all billiard-rooms, gaming-rooms, and amusement saloons, is hung up a table enumerating the games which are unlawful.

The district authority of public security can suspend any business of the above character, if disturbances occur, or if the place is the habitual resort of persons of bad character.†

* Broadly speaking, there is no restriction in India on the keeping of lodging houses, except in municipal areas. For instance, Sec. 263 of Act III 1884 B. C. empowers certain municipalities to prohibit the keeping of a lodging house, except under a license, which may impose conditions. The Bengal Municipal Act has given enormous powers to Municipal Commissioners in a number of matters which are properly the province of the police and magisterial regulation and control.

† The native "hotels" in Sudder stations are sometimes the resort of thieves. The authorities of public security in India, that is, the Magistrate and Police, have no power to close them; nor could the Police enter one unless it fell within the description given in Sec. 23 of Act V. 1861,

may be granted on the occasion of fairs, their unusual assemblies of persons. Persons or give a lodging for hire without making a declaration to the local authority of public security, under any of the disqualifications mentioned

above.

Hotel-keepers, inn-keepers, and those who let lodgings must keep a register of all inmates, and notify daily all arrivals and departures in accordance with rules prescribed for that purpose.

Printing and cognate Arts.—No one can exercise the art of printing,* lithography, or similar arts, without a previous declaration to the local authority of public security, stating the place of exercise and the name of the proprietor. It is forbidden to expose to public view pictures or drawings offensive to morals, propriety, public decency and private persons, the penalty being a fine of 50 lira.

Part from the press laws relating to the publication of newspapers, no printed or manuscript paper can be distributed in a public place, or place open to the public, without a license from the local authority of public security. But this prohibition does not apply to notices of the administration, electoral matters, commercial affairs and notices of sale or hire. Notices can be fixed up only in the places set apart for that purpose by competent authority.

Public Agencies.—Nobody can carry on the business of a pawn-broker without a license from the district authority of public security. The license is personal and lasts for a year, and can be granted only to persons who are not disqualified for carrying on the public businesses of public houses, &c. A previous declaration to the above authority is necessary before one can keep any public agency or office for the transaction of public business. A daily register must be kept of the business transacted, and the table of fees charged must be posted up in a conspicuous place.

Itinerant Trades and certain classes of Hawkers.—No one can hawk about for sale goods, matches, edibles, sweetmeats, drinks, printed books or pictures; or can follow the calling of old clothes dealer, mountebank, quack, singer, musician, or broker, or that of guide, piazza messenger, porter, coachman, boatman or shoeblack, without first having his name inscribed in a register kept by the local authority of public security, and getting a certificate from the same officer, which is

valid for one of the purposes mentioned in the section. The defect is commended to the attention of the Indian Legislature in connection with the "Habitual Offenders' Act."

* The law on the subject in India is Act XXV of 1867.

† There is no law on this subject in India.

renewable every year. Certificates can be issued to persons under 18 years of age, if fit for other trade, and to persons of bad or dangerous character. Foreigners, such as Italians, not domiciled in the kingdom, cannot be employed in callings without the permission of the district authority, for public security; but the local authority may give permission on occasions of holidays, fairs or other public gatherings.

No one can deal in articles of value, or second-hand articles, without a previous declaration to the local authority of public security. Such dealers must keep a daily register of sales, and they are forbidden to alter or sell any article of value they purchase, except after a lapse of ten days from the purchase.* These provisions do not apply to articles bought in shops.

Workmen and Servants and Masters of Factories.—Workmen and servants can, at their request, be provided with little books by the local authority of public security; and their services are dispensed with, or at the end of their term they can require† from their masters or employers, showing the service done, its duration, and their conduct. Employers of labour, and proprietors of quarries and mines must every month submit to the local authority of public security a list of their workmen, giving their names, age, and commune of birth.

TITLE III.

CLASSES DANGEROUS TO SOCIETY.

Beggars.—In communes, where there is a Refuge for Paupers, it is forbidden to beg on the public roads or in any place open to the public. Where there is no such Refuge, or insufficient accommodation, beggars in such places are punishable under the Penal Code, if they have not satisfied the local authority of public security of their inability to do any work.‡ If they

* There are men in Indian towns and large villages who habitually purchase stolen brass and bell metal utensils. They are effectually dealt with in England by the "Old Metal Dealers' Act, 1861," 24 and 25 Vict. c. 110, s. 4, the provisions of which are very stringent. So there are men who habitually receive and melt down jewellery. In towns pawn-brokers should be licensed, and those who deal in articles of value or second-hand articles might be forbidden to alter, melt down, or sell such articles before a month has expired from the purchase, the rule (as in Italy) not to apply to articles purchased in regular shops.

† It would be useful to require certain classes of large employers in India to give certificates to discharged employees. Men prosecuted for bad livelihood often allege they have been working in some large factory. If the above system were introduced they could prove their plea.

‡ In France also persons found begging in places where public charities exist, are punishable with from three to six months imprisonment, and after release are conducted to the workhouse (*dépôt de mendicité*.) In other places only able-bodied habitual beggars are punishable. All beggars, able-bodied

prove their inability, their want of the means of livelihood, and that they have no relatives bound by law to provide for them, they are placed in a Pauper Refuge, or some equivalent institution in the commune. The Charitable Society of their commune of origin, as well as any religious eleemosynary institutions (the funds of which are not devoted to any special object or to the strictly necessary expenses of carrying on public worship in a Church) are bound to contribute according to their means. In default of these, or where they are insufficient, the commune of origin is liable; but if such commune cannot contribute without imposing new or larger taxes, the State is chargeable. Rules for carrying out these provisions, and for ascertaining whether individuals are entitled to be maintained at the public expense, are made by Royal Decree, which is converted by Parliament into a law. Those who neglect their legal obligation to maintain relatives, are proceeded against under the Civil Code.

The district authority of public security can permit collections of alms for philanthropic, scientific, or beneficent objects, all other sorts of collections, including alms for religion collected outside Churches, are forbidden.

Travellers, released Convicts, and Expulsion of Foreigners from the Kingdom.—Those who, outside their own commune, give by their conduct reasonable grounds for suspicion, or cannot give a credible and satisfactory account of themselves, are taken before the local authority of public security, who can send them back to their own country with an order as to the route by which they are to go (*con foglio di via obbligatoria*), or even, under some circumstances, in custody.

The Minister of the Interior and any subordinate authority to whom he delegates the power can, on grounds of public security, or in exceptional cases of public or private misfortune, give indigent persons the means of getting back to their own country.

The Clerks of the Prætors, the District Courts, and Courts of Appeal are bound, every 15 days, to send extracts from penal judgments which have become final, to the authorities of public security of the districts where the convicted persons are domiciled, or last resided. Similarly the governors of prisons must give information fifteen days before the release of any convict; and the authority of public security sends intimation to the district to which the convict has to go. Those who are sentenced to not less than three years' imprisonment, or to more than six months, for delicts against property,

or otherwise, who use threats, or enter houses or enclosures without permission, or who feign infirmities, or who beg in company with others (husband and wife, parents and their young children, the blind, and their conductors excepted) are punishable with from six months to two years' imprisonment.

—Cod. Pén., 274—276.

or for infringement of an order of warning respectively, and those ordered to be under the special surveillance of the public security, must, immediately on their release from prison, present themselves at the local office of public security, where they will be given, if necessary, an obligatory route order. Dangerous convicts, who have been previously convicted, can be taken there in custody.

Foreigners sentenced for any delict can, after release from prison, be expelled from the Kingdom and conducted to the frontier. The Minister of the Interior can, on grounds of public order, direct that foreigners passing through, or residing in, the Kingdom be expelled* and conducted to the frontier. Such persons cannot return without the special permission of the Minister of the Interior; if they do, they are punishable with confinement for six months; and will again be expelled. Prefects of provinces on the frontier can, for urgent reasons of public order, expel from frontier communes foreigners who have been convicted as above, or who cannot give an account of themselves, or are unprovided with the means of livelihood.

Those who are ordered to return to their own district, and given an obligatory route order, cannot depart from it. If they do depart from it, they are taken before the Magistrate of the place where they are found. They may be confined for a month, and are then taken in custody to their destination.

The warning.—The provincial or district head of the department of public security can, with a view to a sentence of warning,† lay a written information before the Criminal Court

* Prussia has expelled Russian subjects of Polish origin, and Russia has expelled a certain number of Prussian subjects, with the object respectively of Germanizing and Russianizing the provinces which were the scene of them. Art XIX of the Californian Constitution gives the Legislature the power of combating, by all possible means, the invasion of the yellow race. A later diplomatic convention allows the Federal Government to limit, regulate, or suspend the arrival or residence, on the territory of the Union, of Chinese workmen, in cases in which their presence can compromise, or simply threaten, the interests of the United States or of public order. Expulsion constitutes in the highest degree a Government act, a measure of high police which belongs to the executive power.

The above are what are called abnormal reasons for expulsion. As to normal reasons, Art. 272 of the French Penal Code prescribes the expulsion of beggars who are known to be foreigners and vagabonds. In Spain the administrative authority can expel foreigners who are idle and beg in the country. Russia has no law on the subjects, but expels in virtue of an immemorial tradition. So in Portugal the right of expulsion is considered as the natural corollary of the right of sovereignty. In Italy the provincial administrative authorities expel, subject to the control of the Minister of the Interior.

† These provisions regarding the sentence, or rather order of "warning," deserve the attention of the Indian Legislature in connection with the "Habitual Offenders' Bill." "Condemned or named by the public voice" is a phrase worthy of incorporation in the Indian law.

against habitual idlers and vagabonds, those who are fit for work and not provided with the means of livelihood, and those who are notoriously suspected of the commission of offences. A man is said to be notoriously suspected, who is condemned by the public voice as habitually guilty of homicide, ~~hurt~~, intimidation, violence or resistance to public authority, whether he has been actually convicted more than once, or acquitted owing to want of proof, or subjected to inquiries which have resulted in an order for non-prosecution, owing to insufficiency of evidence. He is also regarded as a notorious suspect who is named by the general voice as habitually guilty of incendiarism, unlawful association for the purpose of crime, theft, robbery, extortion and cheating, whether convicted or acquitted as above. The President of the Court at once orders the person charged to appear before him, and show cause why the order of warning should not be passed. If sufficient cause is not shown, the order is passed.

If the order of warning is passed against idlers or vagabonds,* the President directs the person warned to get work within a certain time, to take up a fixed abode, giving notice to the local authority of public security, and not leave it without previous intimation to the same authority. As regards the other persons mentioned above, the order directs them to live honestly, to respect person and property, not to

* In Germany when a sentenced person is placed under the supervision of the police, the latter have the right to prevent his residing in certain specified places, and at any time to make domiciliary visits in his house, and, if he is a foreigner, they may expel him from the Kingdom. German P. C. 39. Under the French and Belgian Penal Codes vagabondage (*le vagabondage*) is a delict. Vagabonds are those who have no fixed domicile or means of subsistence, and who do not habitually exercise any trade or profession. Persons declared vagabonds are, for that fact alone, punishable with three to six months' imprisonment. Such vagabonds may, with the permission of Government, be reclaimed by the Municipal Council of the commune in which they were born, or bailed (*cautionnés*) by a substantial and solvent citizen. Fr. P. C. 269 273. It has been ruled by the Court of Cassation (Cass. 10th January 1852) that the delict of vagabondage does not cease to exist on account of the offer made by a third person to receive the prisoner and give him work. In India Mukhtars or others sometimes offer to take such men as servants, hoping, in some cases, to make a profit out of their bad livelihood. The Criminal Procedure Code of Louisiana defines a vagrant as one "who, having no visible means of subsistence, lives in idleness, or in the practice of drinking or gaming, and who, by the whole of his conduct and character, gives just reason to believe that he gains his subsistence by illegal means." This excellent definition might well be incorporated by the Indian Legislature in sec. 109 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. The definition in Art. 973 of the New York Procedure Code includes persons wandering abroad and not giving a good account of themselves; also persons who have contracted infectious or other diseases, in the practice of drunkenness or debauchery, and requiring charitable aid to restore them to health.

give cause for suspicion, and not to leave the place of their abode without previous intimation to the authority of public security. In all cases the person warned is directed not to associate with persons who have been convicted, not to be out at night later than, or to go out in the morning before, a certain fixed hour, not to carry arms, and not to habitually frequent taverns or brothels. An objection against the order can be made, on the ground of incompetence, or non-observance of the law. It is heard by some judge of the Appellate Court appointed by the President.

The warning ceases to have effect two years after the date of the order, unless the person warned is convicted in the meantime for an offence, or for disobedience to the warning, when the two years runs from the expiry of the sentence. The Court can cancel the warning when the reasons for its imposition have ceased to exist, either on the petition of the person warned, after hearing the authority of public security, or at the instance of the latter. Disobedience of the directions contained in the order of warning is punishable with confinement for a year, which may extend to two in cases of recidivism, together with the special surveillance of the authority of public security.*

* Section 12 of the "Habitual Offenders' Bill," now before the Indian Legislature, empowers Local Governments to make rules as to police surveillance. If the rule as to residence be infringed, the offender may be arrested and removed to the district in which he ought to have resided. This is something like the old *Thana Rahdari Perwana*, except that a Magistrate's order is now necessary for removal. The "obligatory route" procedure might be adopted as an alternative to the removal under custody of the Indian Bill.

The Indian Bill ought to deal more directly with the offence of cattle poisoning. It is to be feared that clause (f) of Section 2 will be a dead letter. A Magistrate will require a good deal of tangible evidence—just what is not forthcoming in the worst cases—before he will condemn a person as "a character so desperate and dangerous as to render his being at large without security hazardous to the community." It is certain that the High Court will say: "These are highly penal provisions: *ergo* we must construe them with exceptional strictness." The phrases in the Code of 1872 were better—"dangerous character" and "notoriously bad livelihood." The Magistrate could deal with professional cattle poisoners, incendiaries, coiners and forgers. There should be some special legislation regarding the sale of poisons. In the case of certain castes, the possession of poisons should be presumed to be for the purpose of poisoning cattle. At present the law cannot touch a *Moochee*, even though arsenic be found in his house.

Offences relating to coin and stamps should be added to the provisions of Section 19 of the Bill. The words "and that the inhabitants thereof or a large class or larger classes of them, are combined to withhold information in their possession which might lead to the detection of the offenders or conspirators," should be omitted, as they are calculated to defeat the objects of the section. Sometimes the villagers do not know who commits the offences. Sometimes they suspect, but are afraid to say. There is in many cases no "combination to withhold."

If the idler, vagabond, or suspected person be under 18 years of age, the warning is given to the father or guardian, who, in case of persistent neglect, can be deprived of his *patria potestas* and *tutela*. In the absence of parents or guardians, the minor can be placed with some respectable family, or in some school of discipline, until he has learnt an art, trade or profession, but he cannot be kept beyond the age of majority. These provisions are also applicable to the minor who habitually practises mendicancy, or prostitution.

Persons sentenced to the special surveillance of the Department of Public Security.—Persons sentenced to the special surveillance of the public security are furnished with a permanent card (*carta di permanenza*) on which are inscribed the directions of competent authority. Such persons can be directed.

1. To get some fixed work ;
2. Not to leave their place of abode without previous intimation to the local official of public security ;
3. Not to be out at night later than, or to go out in the morning before, a certain hour ;
4. Not to carry arms or offensive weapons ;
5. Not to frequent brothels, taverns, &c. ;
6. Not to frequent public meetings or places of amusement ;
7. Not to associate with released convicts ;
8. To be of good conduct and not to give any cause for suspicion ;
9. To appear before the local authority of public security on the days ordered, and also whenever summoned to appear ;
10. Always to carry with him the card of permanence, and to show it whenever required to do so by any officer or agent of the Public Security.

In giving these directions, the antecedents of the person, and his trade or profession, are taken into consideration, so as not to put any difficulty in the way of his gaining an honest livelihood. Disobedience to the above directions is punishable under the Penal Code by the Magistrate of the place where the offence is committed. When there are reasons to suspect the commission of any offence, the authority of public security can proceed to personal inquiries and domiciliary visits. If the suspicions are well-founded, the offender may be taken before the judicial authority. Persons under special surveillance can only alter their residence with the permission of the district authority of public security.

Compulsory domicile.—When dangerous to the public security, those who have twice infringed the directions of warning or special surveillance, or have been twice convicted of offences

against person and property, or for violence or resistance to authority, can be directed to live in a particular place* (*domicilio coatto*). Compulsory domicile lasts from one to five years, and is passed in a colony or other commune of the kingdom. The sentence of compulsory domicile is pronounced by a provincial commission, composed of the Prefect, the President of the Court (or a judge deputed by him), the Procurator of the King, the head of the Provincial office of public security, and the Commandant of the Royal Carbineers. The commission is summoned and presided over by the Prefect. The order is sent to the Minister of the Interior, that he may fix the place of residence. An appeal lies to an appellate commission composed of the Under Secretary of State for the Interior, two members of Parliament, a Councillor of State, a Judge of the Court of Appeal, a Procurator General, the Director General of Public Security, the Director General of Prisons, and of the Head Director of Judicial and Administrative Police.

The office of public security in the place where the person condemned to compulsory domicile has to live, must assist him to get work; and if, through no fault of his own, he is unable to earn anything, the Minister of the Interior provides for his food and lodging for such period as may be absolutely necessary. If he behaves himself well, the Minister of the Interior may grant him a conditional release.† If he leaves the place assigned to him for residence, he may be confined for from one to six months.

TITLE IV.

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS.

This Title contains provisions as to what procedure is to be adopted in cases pending when the law comes into force. A penalty of 50 lira, or ten days' confinement, is imposed for any infringement of the law for which no special penalty is provided. The orders of the authority of public security are subject to revision by the superior administrative authorities.

* See Sec. 12, cl. (f) (i) of the Indian Bill, to which might be added, on the analogy of the Italian law, "and the places to which he may not go."

† Sec. 11 of the Indian "Habitual Offenders' Bill" empowers the District Magistrate to cancel an order for police surveillance. I think he should be empowered to give a certificate of rehabilitation of character—the Italian *riabilitazione* and the *réhabilitation de la caractère* of the French criminal law—which the reformed character could show to the Zemindar, punchayet, and others. He would thereby find it easier to get employment. If he again lapsed into bad habits, such certificate might be withdrawn. The French order for rehabilitation (C. P. C. Bk. ii. tit. vii., chap. iv.) removes all disabilities which have resulted from the conviction, except such as may have been pronounced under Art. 612 of the Code of Commerce.

Certain old laws on the subject are repealed. The Minister of the Interior is authorized to publish rules for giving effect to the law, and to impose penalties of 50 lira, fine or confinement for 20 days for infringement of the same. He is also authorized to promulgate, under the same sanctions, the rules relating to the practice of prostitution, in the interest of public order, public safety, and good morals. Such are the provisions of the law relating to Public Security in Italy, and some of these provisions appear to be eminently worthy of adoption in dealing with the criminal and vagrant classes of India. Greater facility and improvement of communications have extended the scope of the operations of these classes, and each year the Police find greater difficulty in watching and controlling their movements. Offences against property are increasing, and the year 1892 has witnessed a very serious recrudescence of dacoity in parts of the Lower Provinces. The necessity for strengthening the hands of the Police, and placing the surveillance of bad characters on a legal basis, has been recognized by the Government of India, and it is to be hoped that the Bill which is now on the anvil, will be worthy of the great traditions of the Indian Legislative Department, and a fitting adjunct to the Criminal Codes of the Indian Empire.

H. A. D. PHILLIPS.

ART. XI.—THE DEHRA DUN.

III.

The *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXI, 1858: Art. IX. The Dehra Doon as a seat of European Colonisation in India.

Historical and Statistical Memoir of Dehra Doon. By G. R. C. Williams, B.A., Bengal Civil Service, Roorkee, Thomason College Press, 1874.

Gazetteer of the North-Western Provinces, Vols. X and XI.

Reports on Projects for the proposed Dehra Dún Railway, 1885-87.

Final Report of the Eighth Revision of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Dehra Dún District. Allahabad Government Press, 1886.

Reports of the Forest Department.

FISCAL HISTORY.

THE above is the heading of Chapter II of the Settlement Report of 1886. The Chapter begins with an account of the early history of the Dun, taken from the Imperial Gazetteer. This is at first mythological; but an authentic record of comparatively modern times exists, in "the famous Kalsi stone, near Haripur, on the right bank of the Jumna, inscribed with an edict of the Buddhist Emperor Asoka," which, it is said, may mark the ancient boundary between India and the Chinese Empire. "It consists of a large quartz boulder, standing on a ledge which overhangs the river, and is covered with the figure of an elephant, besides an inscription in the ordinary character of the period." This stone is in Janusár-Báwar, a pargana of the Dehra Dun District, but not in the Dun itself, which, historically an integral portion of Sirmur, was conquered in the same campaign as was the Dun, but remained a separate charge until 1829. Authentic history of the Dun begins with the seventeenth century, when it formed a portion of the Garhwal kingdom. I must refer those who want to know what went on in the Dun in the old days, to the Gazetteer, or to Mr. Williams' Memoir, in which there is a more detailed account of its history, including a narrative of the campaign against the Gurkhas, who conquered the country in 1803, and ruled it with a rod of iron. There is also a condensed, but well written, abstract in a "Guide to Masuri, Landaur, Dehra Dun, and the Hill's north of Dehra," by Mr. John Northam, which was published in 1884. This little book gives a very good description of the district and neighbouring hills and Native States, and much useful information.

The Dun was first occupied by the British Government in 1814, and the first Land-Revenue Settlement made was that of Mr. Calvert, for the four years, 1815 to 1819. In 1814 the population did not exceed 17,000, the inhabitants having fled to escape the oppression of the Gurkhas. The total collections in 1815 were only Rs. 22,515-12-0, including Rs. 12,688-10-3 of *sair*, or miscellaneous revenue; so that the Land Revenue was only Rs. 9,827-1-9.

The second Settlement was made by Mr. Moore, Collector of Saharanpur, for five years, and the average collection of these years was Rs. 13,066. The third (also a quinquennial) Settlement, made by Mr. Shore, yielded an average amount of Rs. 13,620 as land revenue. "It was remarkable," says Mr. Williams, "because the position of the *mdlguzars* was then, for the first time, indicated to be identical with that of the Zemindars of the plains, although they retained the name of ~~the~~*thekadars*, or farmers. Before the conquest, indeed, they had often been treated as tenants-at-will rather than lessees.

"The highest rate of assessment was only about 4 annas per *kutchha bigha*" (5 $\frac{25}{100}$ to 1 acre,) "while the *thekadars*' share of the produce in kind never exceeded one-fourth, one-seventh, or one-eighth, and sometimes fell so low as one-eighteenth. But such was the incredible laziness of the cultivating tenants, that they were in a most wretched condition, living from hand to mouth, and completely at the mercy of petty money-lenders. Nothing else could be expected of men who thought it a grievance to work on a cloudy day, remained altogether idle on a rainy one, and never went through more than six or seven hours' honest toil out of 24. The great demand for agricultural labour, due to the large proportion of waste lands, encouraged their indifference by keeping rents down, since nothing was easier than to emigrate to villages where the land was nearly all fallow, and the rates merely nominal.

Mr. Shore, a liberal Conservative, was strongly in favour of creating a rural aristocracy with a permanent interest in the improvement of agriculture, by placing the so-called farmers on the same footing as the Zemindars of the plains, and acknowledging their claims to a transferable proprietary right in the land."

But Mr. Shore proposed not to confer the privileges of a Zamindar on a farmer of a village newly formed, or deserted and repeopled, until the revenue paid amounted to fifty rupees a year, and the village contained not less than five hundred standard *bighas* of cultivated land. Mr. Shore's successor, Major Young, "having radical tendencies, held diametrically opposite views, and dealt a severe blow to Mr. Shore's protégés." Assuming correctly that the proprietary right in the land was vested in Government, he jumped to the conclusion that no one else had any subordinate title to it, and that the next Settlement should, therefore, be made direct with the cultivators, making exception only in the case of *thekadars* of respectability and long standing, whose ancestors had held the post, and who were now resi-

dent landholders, and who should, as a matter of favour and great kindness, be invested by Government with the rank and title of *mokaddam* zamindars. These *mokaddams* were to collect the revenue from the cultivating tenants, and get ten per cent. of it for their trouble. The right of succession to this office Major Young intended to be hereditary, "by entail to the next male heir, without the power of selling, willing it away, or sequestrating it in any manner." Another feature in Major Young's scheme was the appointment of an efficient *staddars*, *patwaris*, village accountants. The immediate result of the new system would, he calculated, be, after deducting cost of collection and accounting, a net revenue of Rs. 16,155.

"One very curious proposal was the abolition of five police *choukis* (stations) which he deemed perfectly useless, for he was convinced they gave more annoyance to the inhabitants than they afforded protection. With the saving of Rs. 1,884, thus effected, he suggested making an addition of $\frac{1}{100}$ to the *mokaddams' malikana*. A still stranger thing is, that the whole scheme was unconditionally approved by Resolution of Government, dated 16th March 1830. The only modification introduced was that the *mokaddams* were to be distinctly regarded as officers of Government liable to removal for misconduct."

Major Young accordingly made the fourth Settlement for ten years, 1830 to 1839. The persons at whose charge and risk the land had been cultivated were recognised as proprietors of it, and it was secured to them and their heirs for ever, subject to payment of rent. The land, after being measured out to each *samindar*, was assessed at 3 annas per *katcha* bigha of $1,008\frac{1}{3}$ square yards, with a few exceptions. Only the lands under cultivation were assessed. The waste lands might be taken up by the nearest cultivating proprietor, on application through the *mokaddam*, at rates increasing to the normal in five years. Mr. Williams remarks that the great error now made was, that prescriptive rights were summarily ignored wholesale, and he refers to Mr. Ross' printed Report of June 1850, for a discussion on the consequent disadvantages, as well as on the defects, of the old system. The disadvantages of the new system consisted "chiefly in the minute subdivision of the *samindari* right, accompanied by equally minute subdivision of responsibility for the revenue." The consequences of Major Young's mistake were not immediately felt, because the *parvenu* landholders, in many instances, did not avail themselves of the questionable boon he had conferred on them, but continued to pay rent as cultivators to the *bonâ-fide samindars*. Besides, the

* This is equal $\frac{1}{4.8}$ of an acre : the present local *kutchâ bigha* in the Dun is $\frac{1}{5.25}$ of an acre.

abundance of good land, without occupants generally, rendered the payment of revenue easy. Mr. Williams continues :—

"But when, in 1837-38, the Government offered land to European grantees on much more favourable terms than those of 1830, while Colonel Young, acting on a misconception of the orders of the Board of Revenue, issued a proclamation inviting natives to come forward and bid against the intruders, the value of land suddenly rose in the market, and the question of proprietary right became important. On the one hand the imagination of European speculators was inflamed by an exaggerated idea of the advantages held out to them; on the other, the ambiguous terms of Colonel Young's proclamation induced natives to believe, that they would obtain land on the same terms as their foreign competitors."

The unfortunate and disastrous results of the grants of land made by Government in 1838, were narrated in the first article of this series. Mr. Williams goes on :—

"Colonel Young, enamoured of his own theories, made another ryotwari settlement for 20 years in 1840. The assessment remained as before, 3 annas per *bigha*, but the following modifications were introduced :—(1) the Dun having been surveyed by Captain Brown in 1838-39, the boundaries of every village determined, the cultivated, culturable, and barren land was measured off, and the survey became the standard of the assessable area instead of the *khasra* measurement; (2) the assignment of one-fourth of the culturable land, free of assessment, to each village for grazing purposes; (3) the offer of the remaining culturable land, first to the old cultivators, and next to other applicants, on indefinite grant terms."

"This settlement was never sanctioned. It lay open to the same general objections as the previous one, and also had other faults."

But it appears to have been acted upon for some years.

"Mr. F. Williams, appointed Superintendent of Dehra Dún on the 16th January 1842, commenced the exposure of these mistakes. Mr. H. Vansittart, who took office on the 16th February 1843 (and who is still a resident of the Western Dún) "went to the root of the evil, boldly questioning the justice, as well as the expediency of the *ryotwari* system."

Convinced of the correctness of Mr. Vansittart's views, Government, in 1845, ordered a revision of Colonel Young's proceedings. Mr. Vansittart set to work and concluded his operations before the end of the year. This made the fifth Settlement :—

"The assessments were lowered, tenures enquired into, and Zemin-dari rights conferred upon the old *málguzars* wherever their claims were proved to his satisfaction.

"His proceedings, however, seem to have been hurried, and in some respects defective, so a second revision was undertaken and brought to a conclusion at the end of the year 1848 by his successor Mr. A. Ross, whose printed Report, (submitted in June 1850), is among the books of reference in every Collector's office." "Mr. Ross's Settlement finally established the Zemindaree system in the Doon." "Only six instances occurred in which cultivators desired to be recorded as subordinate proprietors."

Mr. Ross's Settlement, which was the sixth in succession, appears to have been for thirteen years, from 1848-49 to 1860-61. The demand for 1847-48 had been Rs. 25,957-6-10, and it varied under the new Settlement from Rs. 20,770 in 1848-49 to Rs. 28,116 in 1860-61. The Board of Revenue, in reviewing Mr. Ross's proceedings—after noticing Colonel Young's theories as to tenures, and the policy which he based upon them—said (I quote from Mr. Baker's Settlement Report)

"But in 1845 Government, on full enquiry and consideration, came to the conclusion that proprietary rights in the land were in abeyance only. To the Government of that day it appeared, that, except when arbitrarily disregarded by the Native Princes in the exercise of their irresponsible and unlimited power, subordinate proprietary rights possessing much value existed in the Dún as elsewhere, and that practically the rights possessed by the thekadars of the Dún under the first three Settlements, were of this description. These men exercised unlimited control over their villages; they could sell and mortgage them; they alone provided for their cultivation; and they were responsible, with their persons and property, for the Government revenue. They were, in fact, the Zamindars."

"The proprietary rights conferred in 1830 upon the cultivators had never been generally assumed. The measure, sweeping as it was in its character, was to a very great extent practically inoperative. The rights conferred by it were little valued or understood. In 73 out of 183 estates in which the proprietary right had been thrust on the cultivators, it was never claimed. The right lay in abeyance, and the cultivator continued to pay the proportion of the gross produce payable as rent from year to year, according to the agreement made with the acknowledged proprietors."

Mr. Ross, accordingly, in the sixth Settlement, ruled that cultivators claiming proprietary rights who had been recorded as proprietors in 1830, and who had since exercised their proprietary rights, should continue to be regarded as proprietors; recorded cultivators, settled since 1830, were recorded as tenants only; all settled previous to 1830, who had exercised proprietary rights were recorded either as subordinate proprietors or as cultivators according to the wish expressed by them."

The result was that out of 170 villages in the Dún there were only six instances of cultivators expressing their desire to be recorded as subordinate proprietors, and that the settlement made was similar in most respects to those made throughout the rest of the North-Western Provinces.

In November 1860, Mr. Manderson began a seventh Settlement, which was intended to be for thirty-years; but in July 1862, Mr. C. A. Daniell took over charge of the operations, as well as of the district, and he submitted his report in February 1864. The Settlement was therefore more than three years under preparation. During 1864, the Senior Member of the Board of Revenue visited the district and conferred with the local officers, with the result that Mr. Daniell was ordered to make

further inquiries, and reconsider the assessment he had made of waste lands included in village areas, which, it was believed, had not always been adequately assessed, and also reconsider the disposal and assessment he had made of extensive forest tracts. Mr. Daniell accordingly returned to the Dún in October 1865; but, owing to various interruptions, did not submit his second report until April 1867. The result of this seventh Settlement was to enhance the "demand" to Rs. 31,637, and it was sanctioned for 20 years from 1st July 1866. The cost of the settlement was Rs. 45,083, including the expense of preparing entirely new field maps. No less than 110 estates were reported as fit for permanent settlement, but both the Commissioner (Mr. Fleetwood Williams) and the Board strongly opposed this being carried out; and, though the Government and the Secretary of State seem to have contemplated something being done in that direction, the question appear to have been allowed to drop quietly, as it was not even referred to in the Government Resolution in which the Settlement was sanctioned. The "*jamas*"—total demands—of the seven settlements made in the Dún up to 1866 were as follows:

<i>Period.</i>	<i>Jama.</i>
First	Rs. 11,355
Second	" 11,977
Third	" 13,102
Fourth	" 17,405
Fifth	" 23,538
Sixth	" 20,505
Seventh...	" 31,637

Mr. Williams says that, to the amount given in the above table as the *jama* under the seventh Settlement ought to be added the revenue from ten grant villages, which yielded, in 1866-67, Rs. 4,333, and that the land tax, therefore, really amounted to a total of Rs. 35,970, while, of the actual demand in 1873-74, Europeans were responsible for Rs. 9,546. He remarked on the progress of the district as follows:—

"We thus see that, although the Doon yields a respectable income from other sources, the increase of the land revenue has not kept pace with that of the population, having little more than trebled since Mr. Calvert's Settlement" (1816-1819), "whereas the latter has more than quadrupled; nor is so large an increase, as might be expected from the apparent advantages of situation and climate, ever likely to take place, except from the extension of tea cultivation."

I will presently show that the increased profit to Government from the extension of tea cultivation was, when the next Settlement came to be made, found to be non-existent. Mr. Williams explained that—

"Large tracts are either irretrievably barren, or appropriated to the growth of timber, while elsewhere the more valuable crops, with the

exception of rice and *pāunda* (sugarcane), "will not thrive so well as in the plains, on account of the excessive moisture. There is also a deficiency of manure, and much of the culturable soil is extremely poor, being little better than sand and shingle." (I have seen no sandy tracts in the Dún). "In the midst of this occur those fertile patches, the value of which has sometimes given rise to expectations certainly not warranted by tradition, for when, in former days, every available square of ground between the Ganges and the Jumna was, as is said, under cultivation, the jumma is not alleged to have exceeded Rs. 1,25,000." Mr. Daniell says—"in the Doon land even now is not so prolific as in the plains. The heaviest cereal crops are scarcely high crops, more than 3 to 5 of the plains" (*sic*). "To all this may be added the fact that Mr. Daniell was unquestionably lenient in his assessments."

"A great deal of the improvement that *has* taken place must be ascribed to canal irrigation, though it would be hard to say exactly how much. In his first Settlement Report Mr. Daniell attributes Rs. 4,160 of Rs. 7,941 assessed on an irrigable Khusrah area of 8,143 acres, to the benefits of canal irrigation. He also gives a scale exhibiting the average difference in the growth of the several crops, both irrigated and unirrigated, adding that tea in the third or fourth year fails entirely without water, while sugar-cane, tobacco, and garden produce are, as a rule, entirely dependent on it."

Irrigated, per acre,		Unirrigated, per acre.	
Rice,	maunds, pucca 16·18	6·10	maunds, pucca.
Wheat	" 8·10	4·6	"
Barley	" 6·7	4·5	"
Gram	" 5·6	4·5	"
Oats	" 7·8	5·6	"
Mukka (maize ?)	" 8·10	5·6	"

"In his second report he makes another calculation, attributing a smaller proportion of the increase to canal irrigation :—

Total area of villages in which canal irrigation exists.	Actual area recorded as irrigable within those villages.	Proposed Jumma or demand of the above villages.	Proportion of Jumma attributable to canal irrigation.
Acres.	Acres.	Rs.	Rs.
14,975	8,085	14,831	4,747

Mr. Williams remarks that, in all probability, neither of these estimates is sufficiently favourable to the canals. Frequent alienations of landed property followed the recognition of the zamindari rights of the *malgozaree* in the Settlement of 1848. The statistics of transfers from that year to 1863 are said by Mr. Williams to have been :—

Of whole estates	...	...	60
Of portions of estates	...	...	81
Of biswah shares of estates	...	...	118

TOTAL ... 259

The principal sellers were Rājputs, 141 in number; and the principal buyers—Europeans, no less than 91; the net result being an increase of eighty-three Europeans to thirty-seven *Bania* landowners, with a decrease of 110 Rājputs, who form the majority of the village proprietors. Mr. Williams commented thus:—

“It is indeed a matter of congratulation that here at least the Bunea monopoly over Civil Court sales has been broken through. So far, the progress of European enterprise in the Doon is extremely satisfactory, and its extent will be better understood from a consideration of the fact, that nearly one-fourth of the whole demand of 1866-67 was collected from Europeans. They have, we may conclude, established a firm footing among the landed proprietors of the district; and their speculations would have been more daring, had not exaggerated expectations of the profits to be derived from tea, in the minds of persons wanting the necessary experience of its culture, reacted in the shape of undue despondency, but this feeling of discouragement is happily beginning to wear away.”

Mr. Baker, in his Report on the Settlement of 1886, the eighth revision, said that the last Settlement had worked well; it was a fair, light assessment, under which both proprietors and tenants had had a time of almost uninterrupted prosperity. There had been no occasion to alter or revise the demand in any way. Coercive processes were almost unknown in the Doon. A few Europeans occasionally gave trouble, but irreparable balances never occurred. During the whole period of the Settlement, there had been no sales for arrears of land revenue. 34,940 acres, or 13·7 per cent. of the total revenue-paying land, had changed hands by sale from 1866 to 1883. From a statement showing the transfers in the Eastern and Western *parganas*, and for the whole Dún respectively in three periods, namely, from 1866 to 1871, from 1872 to 1877, and from 1878 to 1883, it appeared that in the last period the number of years' purchase paid for the land bought was as follows:—

	Number of years purchase of <i>Jama</i> .		
	1866-71.	1872-77.	1878-83.
Western Dun	57·1	55·3	108·1
Eastern Dun	49·4	39·7	104·9
Total for W. and E. Duns	55·0	50·4	107·3

Mr. Baker remarks upon the high price paid during the last period, and said it was probably owing to the fact that the land sold contained (bore?) valuable standing forest. But, he said, it was also an indication of the lightness of the assessment. It must be remembered that the number of years' purchase given above is of the land revenue, and not of the rental. Mr. H. G. Ross wrote (in 1885?)—"land has risen considerably in value and is eagerly sought after. The sales that have taken place during the last 20 years show a steady rise year by year. The average price is not less than Rs. 25 or 30 an acre for good ordinary land." From tables given in Mr. Daniell's report, it appears that in the period from 1848 to 1866, the number of years' purchase of the *jama* paid did not exceed ten, and that whole villages, aggregating in area over thirteen thousand acres, were sold for Rs. 73,203, or at a rate of Rs. 5-8-10 an acre; while small patches of cultivated land sold at Rs. 17-10-0 an acre. This comparison shows a very marked rise in the value of the land in the Dún.

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE DISTRICT.

In the introduction to his report on the eighth revision of the Land Revenue Settlement, the actual work of which was performed by Mr. H. G. Ross, C. S., as special Settlement Officer, Mr. Baker notes that Mr. Ross had been superintendent (Collector) of the Dún from November 1869 to November 1880, with the exception of nine months' absence on furlough, and that he took up the appointment of Commissioner of the Kumaon Division in April 1885, as soon as the work of the Settlement was finished, which led to Mr. Baker being placed in charge to complete the preparation of the records, and to write the final report. I do not know where Mr. Ross served after leaving the Dún at the end of 1880; but it appears that he was selected by the Local Government and sent back to the Dún to make the Settlement, because of his long and intimate acquaintance with the district; and he began operations in November 1883. An inquiry had been instituted some years before with the view of ascertaining whether it was expedient to revise the Settlement, and on what principles a revision could be most advantageously conducted. The information placed before Government showed that the rental had so increased as to justify a very large enhancement of the land-revenue, while the village maps and records were usually either obsolete or so inaccurate as to be of no practical value, and a revision was, therefore, for administrative as well as for fiscal reasons, urgently required. It was, therefore, with the concurrence of the Government of India, decided to undertake the revision, and that a re-survey should be made, as a measure preliminary to

the preparation of a correct record of cultivating rights. The cadastral survey was made by the Survey Department, Mr. W. A. Wilson, suveyor, being placed in charge: work was begun on 23rd November 1883. The demarcation of boundaries (?) was completed for both the Western and Eastern Dúns on the 31st January 1884: the last maps and *khasras* for the Western Dún were received in the Settlement Office on 31st December 1884, and for the Eastern Dún on 26th February 1885. The maps were plotted on the scale of 16 inches to 1 mile, and they were made over to the Settlement Department from time to time, as soon as they were ready, so that the work of settlement went on concurrently with that of the survey. The survey staff also compiled the schedules of particulars required as data for making the settlement. Mr. Ross reported that,—

"All village boundaries in the valley" (I may explain that neither the revision of the Settlement nor the re-survey were applied to the hill *pargana* Jaunsár-Báwar) "have been re-traversed with the theodolite. All villages in which the greater portion is cultivated, or where the cultivated land is scattered about and mixed up with the uncultivated, have been re-surveyed on the 16 inch scale. When the cultivated area bears only a small proportion to the uncultivated, or is in compact blocks, the cultivated only has been surveyed on the 16 inch scale, and the remainder has been filled in from Major Thuillier's 4 inch scale map.

"Major Thuillier's map of the Dún is most perfect, and the protractions from it on to our 16 inch cadastral map are, for all practical purposes, absolutely correct. The maps now prepared ought to answer for all time to come, care being taken to add extended cultivation from time to time." In the hills (that is, the south face of the Himalya) "where the estates are sometimes 6 or 7 thousand acres, with two or three hundred acres only cultivated, and where the boundaries are always natural features, the boundaries have not been re-traversed with the theodolite, and the cultivated portion only has been re-surveyed on the 16 inch scale."

Mr. Baker says of the maps of the cadastral survey :—

"The maps are most perfect and complete. It will never be necessary to have a re-survey of the Dehra plateau, or river tract, as there is no great room for increase of cultivation. It will not pay to re-survey the sub-mountain or hill tract, as nothing can ever make cultivation there really valuable. It may then be stated broadly that the Western Dún need never be surveyed again. In the Eastern Dún there is still a large field for extending cultivation, and so probably, after 20 years, it will be found necessary to make entirely new maps."

When the Settlement Report, with the reviews of it by the Board of Revenue and the Local Government reached the Government of India, it was "observed," that in neither of the reviews had any allusion been made to the important question of the maintenance of the maps and records which have been provided by the settlement. The Settlement Officer had said that in the Eastern Dún, owing to extension of culti-

vation, it would probably be necessary to make entirely new maps after 20 years. "His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, however, cannot accept this conclusion, as the *patwari* staff of the district has been largely increased, and the Government of India expects to see that measures are taken for the training of *patwaris* with a view to their keeping these maps and records up to date." I have had occasion to see, in several cases, that the *patwaris* (village accountants) are keeping the maps up to date by adding the new cultivation, which in the Eastern Dún is increasing by "leaps and bounds;" but their work may require inspection and check, by an expert in the field, beyond the scrutiny that can be applied by the district staff. And it is necessary that the alterations of the maps made by the *patwaris* should be accurately recorded on the copies of the maps kept in the *tahsil* and in the Superintendent's Office. There should, therefore, be no scant supply of copies of the maps, and yet it seems that only five copies have been printed by the photo-zinco process. Copies of maps must be wanted on each occasion of transfer of land, and also when land has to be taken up for public purposes, such as for the proposed railway through the Dún. The two spare paper copies will soon be used up.

Mr. Baker said, regarding the new Settlement, that there were no very difficult questions of revenue policy to be dealt with, or intricate problems of land tenures and rights to be solved:

"The work of assessment, owing to the smallness of the cultivated area and the good relations generally prevailing between proprietors and tenants, was comparatively easy. It was also facilitated by the general confidence all classes felt in Mr. Ross, whom they had known for so many years, and by Mr. Ross' own intimate knowledge of the circumstances of almost every village and landholder in the Dún. The final report derives whatever importance it may possess not so much from the magnitude of the financial issues involved in the settlement, as from the fact that it illustrates the progress, and sets forth the present condition of a tract which has largely attracted European enterprise and capital in the past, while, if its natural advantages are turned to the best account, the Dun may yet have a great future in store for it. As a place of residence for Europeans it may be said to possess the potentiality of development in a greater degree than almost any other district of the provinces. It is on this account, and not because any material increase in land revenue is expected from it, that the Dun, in spite of its small area and revenue, may fairly claim to rank high amongst the most interesting districts to be found in Upper India."

From a statement given in Mr. Baker's report, it appears that the total area settled had increased since 1866 from 241,243 acres to 254,143 acres, or by 5.35 per cent., which increase is attributed to the superior accuracy of the professional survey; the barren area had remained almost unchanged, and was

about 100,000 acres; the cultivable waste had fallen from 77,251 acres to 57,062 acres, a decrease of 35·35 per cent.; the cultivated irrigated area had risen from 15,641 acres to 26,166 acres, only 67·29 per cent.; the cultivated unirrigated area also had risen from 32,274 acres to 44,585 acres, an increase of 38·45 per cent.,—the total cultivated area having thus risen from 47,915 acres to 70,751 acres, or by 47·66 per cent.; and the total assessable area had risen from 130,365 acres to 143,322 acres, or by 9·94 per cent. A statement of the areas occupied by the principal crops, at the date of the eighth Settlement, as compared with the areas under the seventh, in the Western and Eastern Dúns respectively, shows that the areas of *khariif* (rainy season) crops had risen from 21,738 acres to 38,965 acres, or by 79·2 per cent. The increase was most conspicuous in rice,—3,614 acres in the Western, and 1,511 acres in the Eastern Dún, or 85·7 per cent. Maize had risen from 335 to 2,233 acres, and tea from 1,167 to 5,496 acres. The area under *rabi* (cold-weather crops) had not risen so much: only from 26,130 to 31,647 acres, or by 21·3 per cent.

The causes which contributed to make the period of the seventh Settlement of the Dún, from 1866 to 1886, one of almost uninterrupted prosperity, are thus stated by Mr. Baker:—

“The assessment was undoubtedly light, and the zemindars were left in possession of ample waste land, jungle and forest, which has turned out of great value. There had been no drought or general failures of crops. Tea, and the Forest Department have led to a large expenditure of capital. There has always been a brisk demand for labour. Good relations have uniformly prevailed between landlord and tenant owing to tenants being in request.”

POPULATION.

The results of this happy state of things were the increase of cultivation already mentioned, and that the population had nearly doubled itself by 1881, the year in which the census had last been taken. The population of the Western Dún had risen from 53,702 to 77,935, an increase of 45·09 per cent.; that of the Eastern Dún from 13,600 to 21,018, or by 54·54 per cent.,—total of the twin valleys,—not of the district as the report says, for the *Jaunsar* pargana is not included,—from 67,312 to 98,953, an increase of 47·06 per cent. The growth of the towns of Dehra and Mussooree accounts for a considerable portion of the increase of population. The following abstract of a table given in the Settlement Report, gives the totals of each of the three great classes under which the population of the two Dúns was enumerated in 1865 and 1881:—

YEAR.	Total population.			Hindus.			Muhammadans.			Others.*		
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
1865 ..	67,312	40,759	26,553	54,831	33,046	21,785	11,462	7,263	4,199	1,019	450	560
1881 ...	98,953	58,585	40,368	81,267	47,759	33,508	15,801	9,701	6,100	1,885	925	960
Increase ..	31,641	17,826	13,815	26,436	14,913	11,723	4,339	2,438	1,901	866	475	391
Percentage ..	47.06	26.49	20.53	39.27	22.15	17.12	6.44	3.62	2.82	1.29	0.70	0.59

* The column headed "Other's" is headed "Christians" in the Settlement Report, but this is evidently incorrect.

The continued deficiency of the female population among the Hindus and Muhammadans is very marked.

Writing in 1874, Mr. Williams said that, although the population of the Dún had been more than quadrupled in fifty-nine years of British rule, the district was far from being densely inhabited, for the people numbered barely 76,413 souls to 673 square miles of country. A rough census taken immediately after the conquest, had set down the population at 17,000, or thereabouts. Another, taken in 1823, gave 20,179 or adding, in 1827, the Sirmur Battalion and their followers, and the Jail population, &c., a total of 24,529. Mr. Shore then attributed the paucity of children (only 6,340 to 13,608 adults) to the slaughter of the adult males during the Gurkha invasion, and to the extensive practice of female infanticide, designed to save good looking girls from falling into the hands of the invaders. (In 1823 the number of girls was less than half the number of boys). Hence, it is said, the district was full of old widows and young unmarried men under thirty years of age. In 1847-48 the population is supposed to have been 32,083. The first regularly taken census seems to have been that of 1865, the totals of which have been already contrasted with those of 1881; and as Mr. Williams, says, the hill stations of Mussooree and Landour were then omitted from calculation, I presume that in the comparison given in Mr. Baker's report, between the populations of 1865 and 1881, they were not included in the figures for the latter year.

In 1827 Major Young estimated the population of the Jaunsár-Báwar pargana at 23,228 souls, "or about the same as that of the Dún." According to Mr. Ross' report of 1849, it had fallen to 17,278 in 1834, but rose to 19,471 in 1848; but the return in the "Statistics, North-Western Provinces," gave 24,684. According to the Census Report of 1865, the population of this parganna had risen to 36,532, and when Mr. Williams wrote in 1873-74,

it was said to be 40,533, which, added to the population of the two Dúns in 1872, namely, 76,413, gives a total for the district of 116,946. In 1881 the population of the Jaunsár Báwar Pargunna (Kalsi *Tahsil*) was found to be 45,117, and increase of 11·31 per cent. since 1872.

The Census of 1881 was taken all over India on the 17th February; but as at that time of the year the Hill Stations in the North-Western Provinces are greatly deserted by Europeans and their followers, a special enumeration of their populations was made on the 17th September 1880. The population of each *pargana*, by sexes, was found to be as follows :—

Name of Tahsil.	Name of Pargana.	Total.	Male.	Female.
Dehra ...	{ Eastern Dún ...	21,018	12,508	8,510
	{ Western Dún ...	77,935	46,077	31,858
	Total Dún ...	98,953	58,585	40,368
Kalsi ...	Jaunsár Báwar ...	45,117	25,400	19,717
	District Total ...	144,070	83,985	60,085

The population of the several *parganas* by religions is not given in the Census Report, but the population by religions of the *Tahsils* was as follows, omitting the distinction by sex for the sake of brevity :—

Name of Tahsil.	POPULATION.				
	Total.	Hindus.	Musal- mans.	Jains.	Others.
Dehra Dún ...	98,953	81,039	15,801	115	1,998
Kalsi ...	45,117	44,714	726	19	188
Total ...	144,070	1,25,223	11,527	134	2,186

The paucity of Musalmans in the hill tracts is strikingly shown in this table: In the Dún they are in the proportion of about 19½ per cent. of the Hindus; but in Jaunsár Báwar the percentage is little over 1½. Of the whole district Mr. Williams said—"the Mahommadan element in the population is very slight. Most of the Mahommadans are chance visitors from the plains." "So late as 1827 there was not a single mosque in the whole valley. Now, however, there are some at Dehra and Rajpore, for example." In 1865 the population of the *parganas*, by religions, was, according to Mr. Williams—

Parganas.	Total.	Hindus.	Musalmans and others not Hindus.
Eastern Dún ...	13,600	12,789	811
Western Dún ...	52,693	42,042	10,651
Jaunsár Báwar ...	36,532	26,812	9,720
	102,825	81,643	21,182

I am unable to reconcile the number of Musalmans and others not Hindus, here given—9,720—with the total of Musalmans, Jains and “others” according to the Census of 1881, which is only 933. I see that in the Settlement Report of 1886, Mr. Baker gives the population of the Eastern and Western Dún *parganas* by religions as follows, omitting distinction of sex :—

	Total Population.	Hindus.	Muham-madans.	Christian and others. (?)
Eastern Dún ...	21,018	19,463	1,515	40
Western Dún ...	77,935	61,804	14,286	1,845
Total ...	98,953	81,267	15,801	1,885

The Municipal towns and the Cantonments of Dehra and Landour are included in the Western Dún entries: their populations, on the 17th February 1881, as stated by Mr. Baker, were as follows :—

	Total Population.	Hindus.	Musalmans.	Others.
Mussooree Municipality ...	3,106	2,022	644	440
Dehra Do. ...	18,959*	13,447	4,801	711
Landour Cantonment ...	1,746	1,078	556	112
Dehra Do. ...	1,724	1,616	80	28
Rájpur Town ...	3,293	2,604	618	71
Total urban population in Western Dún ...	28,828	20,767	6,699	1,362

The total for the Dehra Municipality is incorrectly printed in the Settlement Report, 8,959, instead of 18,959. But there is a worse error than that (a mere misprint) somewhere, for Table 6 of the Supplement to the Census Report of 1881, which gives the population of Municipal Towns by sexes, is as follows :—

Municipality.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Remarks.
Dehra	18,959	11,144	7,815	Including Total Male Female. population of Canton- ments 4,428 3,357 1,071
Mussooree	3,106	2,414	692	
Total	22,065	13,558	8,507	

It thus appears that the population of the Dehra Cantonments was included in that given as the population of the Municipality, and that the total and numbers of each sex were as stated in the column of remarks; whereas Mr. Baker, in the Settlement Report, gives the figures for the Dehra Cantonment separately, and very much lower than those given in the Census Report, totals 1,724 against 4,428. The figures for the Dehra Cantonment ascertained by the census of February 1891 were, males 2,809, females 994; total 3,803, though, during the decade, a second battalion had been added to the 2nd Gurkha Regiment, and a new separate Cantonment had been established for it. Yet, comparing the census returns of the two years 1881 and 1891, the population of the Dehra Cantonment had decreased by 625 souls. This is discouraging; but I will see whether I can extract anything more of interest from the Settlement Report and the Census Returns, which, as regards the period from 1881 to 1891 have not yet been published, except the totals for districts and towns. The totals for *Tahsils* or *Parganas* are not given, so no comparison can be made as regards these details. A regular Census appears to have been made on five occasions, namely, in 1853, 1865, 1872, 1881 and 1891, and the following table shows the progressive increase in the population since 1865—

TOTAL POPULATION.

Years.	Total.	Hindus.	Musalman and others not Hindus.
1865	102,825	81,643	21,182
1872	116,945	.....	.....
1881	144,070	125,223	18,847
1891	168,135	143,718	24,417

Mr. Williams says that the population of the Mill Stations, Mussooree and Landour, was not included in the figures for 1865, which have been above quoted from his book, so that the progress from 1865 to 1872 cannot have been much. The population by sexes was, by the last three censuses—

TOTAL POPULATION.

Years.				Total.	Males.	Females.
1872	...	...	...	116,945	68,691	48,254
1881	...	...	...	144,070	83,985	60,085
1891	...	...	...	168,135	100,324	67,811

The percentages of males and females in 1872 were 58·76 and 41·26, and in 1891, 59·66 and 40·33, respectively ; so that in sixteen years they had become nearly 1 per cent. more disproportionate.

In the "Preliminary Dissertation," or the text of the Report on the Census taken in 1881 of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, as distinguished from the tabular statements, considerable space is given to what is called the "movement of the population," *i. e.*, its fluctuations or changes, and these are shown to have been most remarkable in the seven districts of the Benares Division, always exhibiting increases in the total of persons, varying from 10·71 per cent. in the Basti District, to 34·78 in the Ballia District, 20·06 in the whole Division ; and the result of the analysis of the returns is that it is justifiable to ascribe the increase almost entirely to the great omissions in the previous enumeration, though there had certainly been some real increase, owing to comparative immunity from famine and drought, and also to immigration in the Mirzapur district. A table is then given of the percentage, of increase of population in the remaining thirty districts of the North-Western Provinces (Oudh not included), and Dehra Dún heads the list of 17 increases, with a percentage of 22·2.

The population of the towns and cantonments in the district, as shown by the three last censuses, was as follows ; the population of the towns and cantonments in the Kumaon district being added for the sake of comparison :—

Name of District.	Name of Town or Cantonment.	1872.	1881.	1891.
Dehra Dún	Mussooree Municipality ...	8,601	3,106	5 142
	Landaaur Cantonment ...	.....	1,746	2,033
	Dehra Municipality ...	17,000	14 531	21,881
	„ Cantonment ...	.....	4,428	3,803
	Chakrata Cantonment ...	.....	1,828	1,509
	Rajpur Municipality ...	...	3,293	2,748
	Kalsi Town ...	.....	854	1,129
	Total Dehra Dún District			29,786	38,245

Kumaon	{	Naini Tal Municipality	..	6,000	6,576	7,883
		" Cantonment	...	...	1,398	572
		Almora Municipality	...	4,811	4,813	6,126
		" Cantonment	...	.....	920	1,700
		Ranikhet Cantonment	...	.....	5,984	2,333
		Total	...	.....	19,691	18,614
		Ramnagar	• ...	.....	.....	5,343
		Halwani	...	.....	.....	4,947
		Total Kumaon	..	.....	.....	28,904

In the above table I have separated the Municipal and Cantonment populations of Dehra, for 1881, which, as already shown, were lumped together in the Settlement Report, and I suspect that 17,000, entered as being the population of the Dehra Municipality in 1872, also includes the population of the Cantonment. The figures for Naini Tal Cantonment in 1881 appear to be those taken in September 1880, while those for 1891 are cold weather figures. The figures for the urban populations of the Dehra Dun and Kumaon districts are complete for 1891 only; and, in comparing them, it must be remembered that they are those of the month of February, when the towns and Cantonments in the hills are comparatively empty. In view of this fact, an extra census was specially taken on the last two occasions in the month of September, in order to ascertain the population of the Hill Stations during the "season." The following are the figures enumerated on 5th September 1890; but Almora, with its Cantonment does not appear to have been "censed" in the "season," and it is therefore missing from the list. Almora, however, being the district head-quarters town, corresponds to Dehra, in the Dehra Dun district.

District.	Town or Cantonment.	POPULATION		
		Total.	Male.	Female.
Dehra Dun	Mussooree Municipality	10,084	7,507	2,577
	Landaur Cantonment	4,190	3,017	1,173
	Chakrata Cantonment	4,837	4,154	683
	Total Mussooree Group	19,111	14,678	4,433
	Naini Tal Municipality	12,408	8,757	3,651
	" Cantonment	789	625	164
	Ranikhet Cantonment	7,387	5,783	1,604
	Total Naini Tal Group	20,584	15,165	5,419

In comparing the populations of these two groups of Hill Stations, it must be kept in view that Naini Tál has been for many years the head-quarters of the Local Government for half of the year, and that the Secretariats and many other offices migrate thither annually, and also that Kumaon is the head-quarters of an administrative division, whereas the Dehra Dún is merely a district of the Meerut Division, the Commissioner of which brings only a camp office up to Mussooree for part of the season. Moreover, many more European troops are permanently quartered at the Ranikhet, than at the Chakrata Hill Station. So that, on the whole, it may be said that a large portion of the population of the Naini Tál, or Kumaon, group of Hill Stations is, there from compulsion, whereas the Mussooree, or Dehra Dún group is resorted to voluntarily. Nor must it be forgotten that for many years Naini Tál has had the benefit railway communication, by the Rohilkhand and Kumaun Railway, which runs from Bareilly to Katgodam at the foot of the Himalaya, some twelve miles only from Naini Tál by bridle road, and about twenty by a good driving road and cart road; whereas Mussooree is fifty-five miles from the North-Western Railway at Saharanpur, with the Siwálik range of mountains intervening. Mussooree is clearly the favourite station with the general public. The Christian population of the Dehra Dún and Kumaon group of Hill Stations is contrasted in the following statement, which I have compiled from the Census Return of 15th September 1890:—

District.	Name of Town or Cantonment.	Total.	CHRISTIAN POPULATION.		
			European.	Eurasian.	Native.
Dehra Dún	Mussooree Municipality ...	2,756	2,595	nil.	161
	Landour Cantonment ...	952	870	nil.	82
	Chakrata Cantonment ...	1,656	1,617	12	27
		5,364	5,082	12	270
Kumaon	Naini Tál Municipality ...	2,023	1,664	185	194
	Ditto, Cantonment	239	230	nil.	9
	Ranikhet, Cantonment ...	2,294	2,249	nil.	45
		4,556	4,143	185	228

It appears from the above that, in spite of the preponderating official element in Naini Tál, the total Christian population of Mussooree in the season, is greater by 733 than that of Naini Tál, the excess of Europeans in the former place being 931. I cannot understand how it came to be reported that there were no Eurasians in either Mussooree or Landaur :—the Deputy Superintendent of Census operations makes no remark on the omission.

SETTLEMENT 1886.

Returning, after this long digression on the subject of population, to the subject of the present Settlement of the Dún, I find the financial result of it stated in the following Table :—

TOTALS OF THE EASTERN DUN.

	REVENUE PAYING ESTATES.		WASTE LAND GRANTS.		FEE-SIMPLE GRANTS.		REVENUE-FREE ESTATES.		TOTAL.	
	Amount.	Rate on Cultivation.	Amount.	Rate on Cultivation.	Amount.	Rate on Cultivation.	Amount.	Rate on Cultivation.	Amount.	Rate on Cultivation.
	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.
Revenue at Settlement ...	7,000	0 11 1	3,181	3 7 2	170	...	1,313	1 6 2	11,884	0 15 6
Existing revenue...	7,080	0 8 1	3,291	1 2 8	170	1 12 11	1,343	0 12 10	11,884	0 10 3
Revenue given out	11,474	0 13 1	8,207	2 14 8	200	2 2 0	2,230	1 5 3	22,111	1 3 1

TOTALS OF THE WESTERN DUN.

Revenue at Settlement ...	24,603	0 14 10	4,083	0 13 1	4,149	4 4 8	3,211	0 15 10	36,046	1 0 1
Existing revenue...	24,159	0 10 11	4,075	0 8 6	4,149	0 11 9	3,211	0 14 6	35,594	0 10 1
Revenue by sanctioned rates ...	42,886	1 3 5	10,387	1 5 8	9,515	0 10 9	5,924	1 10 9	68,712	1 5 1
Revenue given out	40,014	1 2 1	7,481	0 15 7	7,137	1 4 6	5,733	1 9 11	60,365	1 2 6

TOTALS OF DISTRICT.

Old Revenue at Settlement ...	36,693	0 13 4	7,264	1 3 6	4,319	4 7 5	4,554	1 1 3	47,830	1 0 0
Existing revenue...	31,239	0 10 1	7,366	0 11 3	4,319	0 12 5	4,554	0 14 0	47,498	0 10 9
Revenue by sanctioned rates ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Revenue given out	...	...	...	...	7,337	1 4 8	...	1 8 5	82,476	1 28

technical in its language, but

experts will understand it. The following table appears to show the results of the Settlement as regards the revenue-paying estates only, excluding the Waste Land Grants, the Fee-simple Grants and the Revenue-free Estates :—

Pargana.	Old Revenue.			Rate on Cultivation.			New Revenue.			Rate on Cultivation.			Increase of Revenue.
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	
Western Dun ...	24,603	0	0	0	13	1	*40,014	0	0	0	15	5	62'6
Eastern Dun ...	7,090	0	0	0	9	8	†11,474	0	0	0	10	0	61'8
Total ...	31,693	0	0	0	12	3	‡51,488	0	0	0	14	1	62'4

* The Revenue on Forests, amounting to Rs. 3,807 is included in this, but the rate on cultivation has been calculated without it.

† Rs. 1,629, revenue on forests, have been included in this.

‡ Rs. 5,436, being the assessment in forests, have been included in this.

The revenue "given out" for the Dehra plateau, and the river and submontane tracts, the details of which I have not given, is said to be Rs 10,713 below what it would have been at the "sanctioned rates." It is said—

"This is due to the rates having been cautiously applied to each individual village, and allowance having been made for its special circumstances found called for. The points to which attention drawn in the orders of Government sanctioning the rates were carefully attended to. Mr. Ross himself did not trust absolutely his rates. After referring to his long experience of the Dún and management of an experimental farm, he says—"With the knowledge thus acquired I felt perfectly competent to assess any village in Dún on its own merits, according to the method generally adopted by the people themselves of fixing rents. Indeed, as this is the way of assessing, I was at first inclined to dispense with rent-rates altogether, and to simply frame my assessments village by village, after a full and careful consideration of the circumstances of each. As, however, other assessments have been based on rent-rates of some kind previously submitted for sanction, I felt it my duty to do my best to comply with the practice which has prevailed hitherto; though, as before stated, I must claim that the Dún cannot be judged, so far as the preparation of rent-rates is concerned, by the standard of districts where cash-rents are prevalent.

The Local Government had asked that the condition of the tenantry in the Dún, and the extent to which enhancement of cash-rents and commutation of produce-rents (which still prevail in many of the villages) were likely to follow the re-assessment of the revenue, should be carefully and carefully noticed. They said that most of the tenants were teemed with complaints about the harsh manner in which the landlords treated their tenants, the bad feeling between them, and the fraudulent devices practised

of the other, nearly always resulting in loss to the tenant. Mr. Baker reports that in the Dún there has been nothing of this kind.

"The *Zamindars* and tenants live on the happiest terms, disputes about the appraisement and weightment of grain are unheard of, complaints about illegal exaction, harassment by delaying appraisement of crops, &c., are unknown.

"Rents in kind still preponderate in the Dún and are liked by the people, though in the course of the expiring settlement, they have been largely commuted into cash in the case of occupancy tenants."

have lately become cognizant of the case of a large estate going to Europeans, in which no difficulty was found in changing the system of produce-rents to money-rents. In this instance landlords' share of the produce used to be fixed by appraisement of the growing crops, and not by weightment of the thrashed

But in a neighbouring and much larger estate, belonging to the largest native land owner in the Dún, weightment rule. Mr. Moens, in his report on the settlement of the Bareilly district, is said to have mentioned several countervailing advantages of the *batai*, or rent-in-kind system, which seem to be summed up by stating that the system creates a tie of self-interest between landlord and tenant.

"The landlord is more directly concerned in the well-being of his tenants and the good cultivation of his estates. He exerts himself to promote "the cultivation of the better crops." "He exerts himself to provide irrigation at the right time, because he knows his share of the produce will be increased at once thereby, and his supervision and authority direct the tenants, and better results are produced for all, than where each petty cultivator of six or seven acres has to look out for his own interests, unaided by the influence and capital of the *Zamindar*. This is always strongly exemplified in years of drought, when the *batai* villages always get more water than the money villages. In those years the *Zamindars* of the *batai* villages fed their cultivators; those of the money-paying villages left them to starve. They knew the places of the dead would soon be filled up by immigrants from other districts, and they actually profited by the deaths, for they demanded and got increased money-rents for the vacant fields."

Mr. Baker remarks that so long as tenants are in demand in the Dún, as they have been, the full benefit of the advantages of the *batai* system will be felt; but that, in time, population is sure to press upon the land there, as elsewhere, and cash-rents will then come to prevail.

"For another twenty years at least there is every reason to suppose tenants will be well off in the Dún. As the working of our rent law is more and more understood, kind-rents will be commuted into cash, but it must be many years before rents approach the competition stage, or rack-renting becomes possible. The condition of the tenantry in the Dún at present gives no cause for anxiety." "Presuming that prices keep up to the present figure, there will be room for

Dehra plateau there will be but little increase to the actual area but the soil will be improved by continued careful cultivation. The present settlement of 20 years, at fairly light rates, will have enabled occupancy tenants to recoup themselves for their labours, and Mr. Ross feels sure that at its termination, a rise of from 10 to 15 per cent. could be made without any settlement operations at all. In the river tract and some of the submontane villages there will be increase in the cultivated area and also some improvement, but not to a great extent. The superintendent of the Dún for the time will be able to assess the increased revenue that may be received without any outside aid. In the Eastern Dún, if the extension anticipated takes place, it will probably be necessary to have a new settlement."

Elsewhere, in his Report, Mr. Baker refers to Mr. Ross having pointed out that the prosperity of the Dún had shown in one very unfavourable light, namely, the excessive consumption of spirits. Mr. Williams, in 1874, remarked that it yielded extraordinary returns in proportion to the small population. The total excise revenue was then Rs. 53,117. For the year 1885 Mr. Baker said, it rose to Rs. 1,02,086. It appears that much of the liquor which pays duty in the Dún finds its way to neighbouring hill states. The incidence per head of the excise revenue in 1884-85 was double that of any other district in the North-Western Provinces, being 8 annas and 10 pies per head, while Benares came next, with 4 annas and 5 pies per head. Mr. Williams had attributed the largeness of the incidence "not so much to the general prosperity of the people, as to their intemperate habits;" but Mr. Baker thought that—

"The high excise revenue may be regarded rather as a proof that the people have more and more money to spend in luxuries, than as a sign that the vice of actual drunkenness is increasing to any serious extent. Although excise receipts are larger and larger year by year, convictions for drunkenness in the towns of Dehra and Mussooree have not risen in proportion. In the Dún all classes drink alike; the well-to-do as well as those of the lower callings to whom drinking is chiefly confined in other districts. Hindus and Muhammadans, Brahmans and Rajputs, have all cast their scruples aside in regard to liquor, and the actual drinking population in the Dún is probably as large or larger than in districts where the total population is very much greater, the drinking of spirits being looked upon as almost a necessity to keep off the effects of malaria. The rapid growth of excise revenue shows that times are prosperous for the people, who can afford to spend yearly increasing sums in this way."

Another sign of prosperity noted by Mr. Baker is the increasing number of masonry houses, of which at one time there were hardly any in the district. And I may add that though the Dún is a land of thatching grass and poles suitable for roofing, of late years roofs of squared timber and galvanized corrugated iron have appeared. The dwellings of the cultivators generally seem to belie the statement that their inmates are, as a rule, well off. But, says Mr. Baker:—

"In the poorness of his dwelling really lies the cultivator's great strength and safeguard against oppression. A few mud walls, or grass *tattis*, *i e.*, screens, are all he has to lose when he gives up his holding, which he does not hesitate to do if not treated well according to his own ideas. Land can easily be procured elsewhere, and another hut as good as the last run up in a few days." "A well-built house and highly-cultivated fields by no means ensure a happy lot and freedom from the exactions of the landlord. The Dún cultivator, badly housed and a poor tiller of the soil though he may be, is probably more free from care, and has less reason to dread the approach of rent-day than many of his brethren in the plains, who are apparently more comfortably off."

Masonry is cheap in the Dún, because rubble-stone and lime are plentiful. The stone is everywhere present, in the shape of boulders in all the *raos* and ravines, large and irregular in shape near the Himalayas, and small and rounded in the bottom of the valley. The boulders are chiefly quartzite; but among them are many of limestone, which are carefully picked out and burned for lime. Other boulders are slate, perhaps not truly cleavable; but they are split and used for rough purposes. The beds of all the streams are full of gravel, the siftings of which make good building sand; and with this, and the boulders, and the lime, masonry good enough for small buildings is turned out at twelve rupees per one hundred cubic feet. Suitable earth for brick-making is found in many places, exposed in the ravines, generally underneath the boulders and gravel; and bricks are used along with rubble-stone masonry in the better class of buildings. Good examples of this sort of work are to be seen in the stables which were built in 1881 for the accommodation, during the hot weather and rains, of the horses belonging to the Viceroy and Staff, which annually sent to Dehra when the Government of India rates to Simla. There are two buildings, with two ranges of loose boxes separated by a wide passage in each, giving space for 56 horses, and there are subsidiary buildings for the servants and granaries and a hospital. These buildings are roofed with thatch, for coolness-sake. A more recent and more ornamental example of the combination of rubble-stone work and brick-work is the Sub Judge's Court house. After many years experience of thatched buildings, I strongly recommend intending settlers in the Dún to put permanent roofs on any thatched buildings they may buy. With provision for ventilation and a good ceiling, even an iron-covered roof can be made cool enough, and from a sanitary point of view plenty of ventilation is a necessity. Thatch, especially (as is usually the case) if laid over rough framing, made of poles and bamboos, requires a fresh coat every three years; and it rarely happens that the triennial period passes without considerable outlay in repairs being necessary. The *garâmîs* (thatchers) are the greatest rogues unhung, and are

even suspected of interested incendiarism. Fires in Dehra seem, in some years, to be almost epidemic. They are one of the drunken classes denounced by Mr. Williams, or as Mr. Baker would say, one of the prosperous classes, who can afford to be luxurious.

A few words may be said about "lime," which is one of the chief exports from the Dún in general. Mr. Williams wrote :

"The Dún trade naturally runs in two channels : *firstly* between the valley and the hills ; *secondly*, between it and the plains. The exports to the plains are principally timber, bamboo (sic), lime charcoal, catechu, rice and, above all, tea. In return the Dún receives, among other things, hardware of all sorts, cotton cloth, blankets, salt, sugar (*kand* and *gur*), grain, tobacco, dried fruits, and spices. All "(some of all these?) " again are sent into the hills, whence come coarse blankets, rice, ginger, turmeric, red pepper, pipe stems made of a reed called *ringal*, birch bark, walnuts, honey, wax, lac, gum, resin, many kinds of roots and mosses," (?) "besides other colouring or medicinal substances."

Before saying anything about lime, I may observe that there is no mention of oil as an import : Now-a-days kerosine oil is a large item. Rice, ginger, and turmeric grow very well in the Dún itself, but I am aware that red pepper is a condiment as to which there are various and curious tastes. Long ago, when I belonged to Burma, I used to see immense quantities of *chili*, going up and down the coast, and being landed and embarked at each port the steamers stopped at. On inquiry, I was told that the people of (say) Akyab, preferred the red pepper of Tavoy, or Chittagong, and *vice versa*, to the great profit of the carrying Company. Further commenting on the above quoted passage, it seems strange that Mr. Baker should write "a reed called *ringal*." Whatever a "reed" may really be, I can understand how he should not have known that a *ringal* is a small bamboo, of which there are several species in the hills. One species is common in Mussooree, and is very useful for floor matting and basket work, and it is well-known as a decoration in ball rooms and for other festive occasions. In return to the item of lime in the list of exports,—Mr. Baker says that, besides timber and forest produce, lime and tea are the most valuable exports, and he gives, as of interest, a short account of the trade in lime, which he says has always been manufactured in the Dún. Limestone is to be found in the beds of all (?) the streams running down from the Himalayas, and the abundant supply of firewood close at hand renders manufacture easy. I may remark that the firewood is to be found, at least within the boundaries of the forests, in the beds of the streams alongside the limestone boulders, in the shape of trees and branches washed down during the rains. Limestone in the Dún is a forest product, just as firewood is, and the

right to collect it from the beds of the *raos*, or streams, is sold by auction annually. The sums realised, in the three years before Mr. Baker wrote, were in 1883-84—Rs. 1,185; in 1884-85—Rs. 3,674; in 1885-86—4,221. There are, says Mr. Baker, nine lime-kilns in the Western Dún, and 27 in the Eastern Dún, all belonging to *samindars*: 5 of these, near the foot of the Himalaya, were supplied by quarrying. For all the others the limestone was obtained by collecting small boulders in the river-beds. By kilns, I imagine, Mr. Baker means sites, or separate places, where lime is burned. The *samindars* are said to receive a royalty of one-anna per cart-load, or 8 annas per 100 maunds, on all stones collected; or, sometimes, a certain length of river is leased out for a fixed sum. Mr. Ross says the right of picking up limestone in good streams, near roads, fetches as much as two and three hundred rupees a mile of dry bed. The process of manufacture is rough enough. A pit is dug, or a hole made in the bank of a river, and filled with layers of firewood, limestone and boulders, a hole being left below for draught. The burning may take a week or more, and the outturn of a pit of 1,000 c. ft. capacity may be 200 maunds of lime; but much depends on the weather. Strong wind and hot weather are said to affect the outturn injuriously. The smoke from these kilns by day, and the glare by night, are quite features of the Dún landscape as seen from Mussooree. Mr. Baker puts the cost of each burning at Rs. 40 to 50, the outturn selling for Rs. 60 to 65. The profits, he says, are precarious. "Lime burners seldom grow rich, and a good many fail." Firewood is getting scarcer every year, and when it had to be fetched from a distance, the profits would all be swallowed up by the expense of cartage.

"The Dún exports approximately about 200,000 maunds," of lime = 2430 tons, "every year, to Saháranpur, Ambála, Muzafarnagar, Meerut, the Punjab, and sometimes even as far down as Agra. The lime is taken away chiefly on bullocks, camels, and carts which bring grain." "The price of lime fluctuates somewhat according to the season, but averages from Rs. 35 to 40 per 100 maunds."

I may add that much of the lime traffic by pack animals goes from the Dún to the plains by various bye-passes over the Siwálík range, thus escaping both tolling and telling. Much of the lime which was used in building the large bridge, on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway, over the Ganges at Bálawáli, a structure of masonry foundations and piers, with iron (or steel?) girders, was obtained from the Eastern Dún.

The apparent leniency of the settlement proposed by Mr. Ross seems to have considerably shocked the Board of Revenue, who, in forwarding the Settlement Report for the orders of the Local Government, said that the Commissioner of the Meerut Division had justly criticised the confusion of rates and

calculations which characterised it. The Commissioner said that Mr. Ross had thrown away all considerations as to rates, and made his assessments on what he considered each village was individually able to pay. The figures on which calculations ought to be based gave one set of results, and the decision finally come to was something quite different. The Commissioner said that the assessment was at least 30 per cent. lower than it should have been, and the Board thought there was much force in these criticisms. "The figures for the Dehra plateau" (one of the four tracts into which Mr. Ross had divided the Western Dún) "are sufficiently clear on this point";

"These give, at 50 per cent." (the theoretical share of the rent yielded by the land which Government expects to get) "the following revenues :—

			Rs.
" On recorded rental	...	...	19,067
On corrected rental	...	...	17,869
On rental by soil-rates	...	...	17,730
On rental by crop-rates (or estimated assets)	...	...	20,658
Average			18,835

whereas the revenue actually assessed was Rs. 16,833 only."

And the Board said that Mr. Ross's explanation, that he could not bring himself to assess on conjectural rentals, and that he assessed each village on its own merits, practically amounted to a surrender of the whole position.

"Not only did Mr. Ross in many cases set aside the rates for which he had obtained the sanction of Government, and so render, more or less, useless the elaborate enquiries which were set on foot as a preliminary to the completion of the rent-rate report, but the assessment finally given out is considerably lower than the *jama* which, in the rent-rate report, it was expected would be realised."

The rent-rate report had given the following *jama* assessments for the revenue-paying villages of the Dehra Plateau :—

	Old <i>Jama</i>	Estimated new <i>Jama</i> .	Difference.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Dehra Plateau ...	9,027	17,360	+ 8,333

Whereas the final report gave the following :—

	10,338	16,833	+ 6,495
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With regard to the Commissioner's criticism on the assessments of the Eastern Dún, the Board of Revenue said that, if

they were to be judged solely with reference to the statistical returns, they would have to be pronounced extremely low. But it appeared that in many cases special allowances had been deemed necessary, in consideration of such circumstances as the unhealthiness of the climate, the consequent difficulty of retaining tenants, the precariousness of the means of irrigation, the ravages of wild animals, the expenditure of capital, or the lowness of the existing revenue demand.

"Mr. Ross possesses a very intimate knowledge of the tract, and the Senior member" (of the Board) "would be reluctant to interfere with his decisions, especially when the increase which he has imposed is in itself very considerable." "The district of Dehra Dūn is peculiarly situated, and the Board are obliged to admit that the more ordinary rules of procedure have to be relaxed. Mr. Ross is an officer who possesses unique knowledge of the District, and it is probable that these assessments will be found to work as well or better than those carried out on more scientific principles in other districts of the Provinces. It may be a matter of regret that so much labour should have been spent in framing rates and estimates to which so little attention was paid in fixing the actual assessments. Had the position been clearly stated at an earlier stage of the operations, some labour and correspondence might have been avoided, and the results of the settlement operations would have been made known at an earlier date."—"The cost of settlement was comparatively heavy, the total outlay being Rs. 1,39,711-10-6 of which the amount debitable to the Settlement Department is Rs. 69,710-3-9, and to the Survey Department Rs. 70,000-7-3. Five years will elapse before this sum, even without interest, is repaid by the increased revenue and cesses."

But the survey must have been worth its cost; and if, as Mr. Ross anticipated, the next settlement can be made, without any inquiry, by the District Officer, by merely increasing the demand, part of the cost incurred in 1884-85 will really be debitable to it. The Board of Revenue said that Mr. Ross's assessments must either be accepted *en bloc* as the awards of an officer of special local knowledge and familiar acquaintance with the people and their villages, or they must be widely rejected, and the whole work of assessment be done over again, but, looking to the heavy rise already obtained, namely, 64·8 per cent., and to the special reasons for leniency already mentioned, the senior member (Mr. Daniell), who had personal acquaintance with the district, and who had himself made the previous settlement, would not recommend any alteration or revision of Mr. Ross's work. But the Board did not recommend confirmation of the assessments for a longer period than twenty years.

In a long Resolution, reviewing the Settlement Report and the remarks which had been made on it, the Local Government came to the conclusion that the sum assessed amounted to 45 per cent. of the "recorded rentals." But they noted that Mr. Ross, instead of giving effect to the orders of Government which allowed a reduction of 25 per cent on the revenue assessed

on lands in the cultivation of proprietors, had found it more convenient in such cases to assess below the full 50 per cent ; and they said that as the area held by proprietors was about one-fifth of the total cultivation, a reduction of one-fourth in the land revenue assessed on it would amount to a reduction of about one-fifth on the total assessment, and that Mr. Ross's method produced about the same result as the more regular process would have done, and the Government said—

"When the hypothetical character of a large proportion of the recorded assets is taken into consideration, and allowance is made for their special liability to fluctuate from year to year, it does not seem probable that it would have been safe to demand a higher revenue, even if the severity of the enhancement" did not furnish another sufficient reason for moderation

"The Lieutenant-Governor desires to acknowledge the care and judgment with which Mr. Ross has carried out the work entrusted to him." "After making necessary deductions on account of proprietary cultivation, and of the precarious character in some tracts of the agricultural profits, the revenue demand amounts to about a half of the available assets, and is light to the people, without being unfair to the State." "The period for which the present settlement has been proposed is 20 years, and, in consideration of the very backward character of the greater part of the district, and of the considerable immediate development of agricultural wealth which may be expected from the conversion of grain into cash rents, and the improvements and extension of cultivation, it does not appear just to the State, or necessary in the interests of the proprietors, to fix a longer term. The Lieutenant-Governor is therefore pleased to confirm it" (?) "till June 30th, 1906."

When the Settlement Report and the Resolution of the Local Government reached the Government of India, it was recorded that the Governor-General in Council was disposed to agree in the view that the new assessment was a lenient one ; but, having regard to the exceptional local knowledge possessed by the Settlement Officer, and to the fact that the increase on the old demand amounted to 64·8 per cent., the settlement was confirmed as had been recommended, for 20 years from 1st July 1886. The Government of India noted that the assessment of *Sal* forests in the possession of the proprietors of revenue-paying estates had been fixed at a very small fraction of their estimated annual value at the lowest computation, and that no conditions appeared to have been imposed with the object of securing the maintenance of these forests ; and they said,

"The question of the preservation of private forests has recently been under the consideration of the Government of India, and the suggestion has been made that, in order to prevent, in the public interests, the reckless exhaustion of such forests, the Government revenue should be assessed at full rates annually on the actual outturn, or, if fixed for a series of years, should be based (at lower rates) on a working plan, prescribing the outturn for a definite number of

years, which the land owner should be required to accept. The Government of India presumes that in the Dún the necessity does not exist for special provision for the protection of private forests as such ; but should any measures of protection be deemed necessary, these suggestions are commended to the consideration of the Local Government."

—The change of views since *Sal* forest was considered by Government to be an incumbrance of the ground to be cleared away as quickly as possible, which is disclosed in the above quotation, is very remarkable ; but it is undoubtedly good for the Dún that it has come about.

C. W. HOPE.

ART. XII.—ON CRITICISM.

THE famous saying, that critics are people who have failed in art, turns out, on a little careful examination, to mean either too little or too much, according as we please that it should be viewed.

If it be taken as implying that proved incapacity for production is an indispensable qualification for the office of a critic, the view is too wide. As truly might it be said that Judges are people who have failed at the Bar. Lessing, St. Beuve, Matthew Arnold, and many others, could be cited in refutation.

If, on the other hand, the meaning of the epigram be interpreted more narrowly, as merely stating the essential difference between synthesis and analysis, that is a truth that much resembles a truism. Of course, we must not call on the critic to be for ever showing that he can do better work than the work which he is judging. Criticism and production are distinct functions, of which the former has been devised for the express purpose of advising the public as to its choice of books to be studied or avoided. To confine that duty exclusively to persons who had distinguished themselves in production would be to preach "Art for Art" in its very worst form. The only serious question can be, whether the office of the critic be, or be not, a responsible one, requiring to be exercised on certain principles and under certain rules.

So far as the criticism of France and Germany goes, the matter, may be, calls for no discussion: the accepted critics of those countries having reduced their practice to something like fixed laws. But, really, when we turn to the critics of our own country, we might think the question still open.

It is our most distinguished reviewers who, in the matter of books at least, have been most noticeable as blind leaders. The *Monthly Review* of the last century, if not exactly in the circle of distinction, was yet the best adviser of British readers a hundred years ago. This was what the *Monthly* thought of Burns in 1788:—He was a "humble bard;" and his "simple strains, artless and unadorned, seemed to flow without effort from the native feelings of the heart." But the reviewer was concerned to notice that much of the contents of the volume was disfigured by dialect: "We much regret that these poems are written, in some measure, in an unknown tongue."

The discovery of the original MSS. has since shown that this estimate was not only inadequate, but incorrect. Burns was a most painstaking and laborious writer, and none of his

poetry was so highly laboured as that in the Northern dialect ; the pieces written in what he meant for English showing, for some reason which can only be conjectured, much less appearance of care.

The same *Review*, perhaps the same reviewer, took in hand an examination of the *Lyrical Ballads* of Wordsworth and Coleridge, in 1799, a few months after their original appearance. Taking no account of the doctrines announced in the book, the critic could fairly say that "he was extremely entertained with the fancy, the facility, and (in general) with the sentiments of these pieces ;" but he hardly regarded them as poetry. . . . In particular *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* "is the strangest story of a cock and bull : " another work from the same hand (*sic*) would be welcomed if "written on more elevated subjects, and in a more cheerful disposition." The critic did not perceive that two men's work was blended in the volume ; but he instinctively preferred the part attributed to Wordsworth—if he could only have had it in another style—a style that was not Wordsworthian. Nearly twenty years later, the *Monthly* broke a lance with Coleridge, riding in his own armour. *Christ-abel*, the critic could not away with : "We hereby declare, to all whom it may concern, that it is not even bombastic verse, only bombastic prose, and a precious production." The only thing the critic can abide is *The Pains of Sleep* ; and even here he is far from "the least approving the spirit."

Next comes the famous old *Edinburgh*, worked by Sydney Smith, Brougham, and Jeffrey. These young lions spared no one. On Southey, indeed, they are generally just ; bearing testimony to his "amiable mind, cultivated fancy, and perverted taste." But, when they approach more stately prey, they are puzzled. Of Byron it is blankly observed that "the poesy of this young lord is of the class which neither gods nor men are said to permit. . . . His effusions are spread over a dead flat, and can no more get above or below the lead, than if they were so much stagnant water." The saying of Johnson about the respect due to noble authors is quoted ; with this addition, that it is solely on account of his rank that his Lordship's work is reviewed, and on condition that "he do forthwith abandon poetry, and turn his talents to better account." On the other hand, the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, *Marmion* and the *Lady of the Lake* almost paralyse the *Edinburgh Reviewers* with what we must describe by an untranslatable French word, and call "*engouement*." Wordsworth ultimately became something like a favourite with Jeffrey ; who, however, pronounced sentence on the "*Excursion*," and who, in a notice of Burns, in 1809, contrasted the Lakist most unfavourably with his brother Revenue Officer. Readers of Burns were assured

that they might look long enough among his nervous and manly lines before they would find any "stuff about dancing daffodils. Let them think with what infinite contempt the powerful mind of Burns would have perused the story of Alice Fell, etc.; etc. Let them contrast the fantastical personages of hysterical school-master, and sententious leach-gatherers with the authentic rustics of the *Cottars' Saturday Night*." And so on.

What, at the same time, was the estimate of the worthy Laird of Ashestiel? "Mr. Scott has manifestly outstripped all his competitors and stands already upon a height to which no other writer has attained in the memory of any one now alive." And this—be it remembered—only applies to Scott as the writer of two or three tales in verse; *Waverley* was not published till four years later, and was then by no means certainly attributed to Scott.

The review of the *Lady of the Lake* (published in the Autumn of 1810) had been preceded by a less acceptable notice of *Marmion*, for which it was perhaps intended to make amends, now that Scott was going to have a Review of his own. It is nevertheless remarkable that so accomplished, and—even then—so leading, a critic as Jeffrey should have ventured—with whatever motive—to exalt Scott at the expense of Wordsworth, whom he must, in later years, have come to regard as a much truer and greater poet.

The first number of the *Quarterly* appeared in February, 1809, and its appearance soon led to some fresh display of short-sight on the part of the most distinguished critics. The *Quarterly's* essay on *Endymion* came out in the Spring of 1818, preceded by one at least equally blind and scornful in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, which had been started, on Tory tomahawk lines, the year before. The *Blackwood* article was, if anything, more contemptuous and less careful than that in the *Quarterly*; but the latter has received all the blame; and has been so often taxed—and by such great writers—with having caused the poet's death, that the case has, indeed, become classical, and one is almost afraid of including it in one's list of damnable instances. The *Quarterly* article is now known to have been from the pen of Croker; that in *Blackwood* has been ascribed to Lockhart, and even said to have been inspired by Scott—which one would fain hope to be a mistake.

Whoever were the inspirers, or composers, of this celebrated piece, there was but little ground for objecting to the reasons for which Croker had condemned *Endymion*. In 1819 Shelley, whose passionate sympathy with Keats was afterwards to find deathless expression in *Adonais*, recorded an almost equally adverse opinion,

"Much praise is due to me for having read it, the author's intention appearing to be that no person should possibly get to the end of it." This was scarcely less strong than the *Quarterly's* declamation :—

"We have made efforts almost as superhuman as the story itself to get through it." And, in a letter to Gifford, Shelley pronounced the *Endymion* to be "considerably defective" and perhaps deserving of "all the censure that the Review recorded against it." The work appeared to him (Shelley) to be "replenished with bad taste." If about fifty pages of extracts could have been published, he might have been led to an undue admiration of the poet, "of which there is now no danger."

So far, there is not much to choose between the friendly and the unfriendly critic. Nay, Keats himself, in his manly way, pronounced the sentence of his imperfect work. "His own criticism," he declared, had given him "more pain, without comparison, beyond what *Blackwood* or the *Quarterly* could possibly inflict," and he proceeded to produce work in which the faults of *Endymion* were avoided. But, even supposing that the rudeness of the attack did Keats nothing but good, yet what could be the use of the coarse manners and language, and how small now appears the acumen of even these great critics. The point which they quite neglected, and the neglect of which vitiated all their criticism, was deftly noted by Shelley. The contemptuous tone, and the omission of due praise made all the difference between their bungling butchery and the neat dissection of the brother-bard. "The promise of ultimate excellence," most truly added Shelley, "is such as has rarely been afforded : " and he proceeded to give instances in support of an opinion now become a commonplace of competent criticism.

Those days are, indeed, past. The old *Quarterlies* continue to contain grand articles on literary subjects, no less than on history and art. But their practice of only appearing once in three months, added to the massive character of the essays which they produce, leaves something to be desired by the student anxious to keep up his studies, as also by the man and woman of society in search of dinner-table or tea-table conversation. The larger monthlies distribute an impartial hospitality among Dukes, dilettanti, and day labourers, but do not offer us much pure literature. Criticism is rarely provided even by the Magazines : the authority of *Ebony* as a critic is gone ; *ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius*. What criticism we have now, is uttered in the weekly and daily newspapers ; and the wonders occasionally discovered by the writers there are not remembered much longer than their scathing sarcasm, and their flowers of speech.

The method of the newspaper reviewers is sometimes conscientious, well informed, and therefore instructive. But often it has none of these merits, and reminds us of nothing more important than bad conjuring. A certain quantity of isolated quotations lie about, like boughs broken from their stem: on these the writer performs his feats of legerdemain, or dances and tramples upon them, his feet shod with clumsy epigrams. Not a word of the author's subject or undertaking; no estimate of the manner in which he has executed it; not the remotest reference to anything true or useful that he may have said; no attempt to administer sympathetic censure that might do him good in a second edition, or in a newer enterprise. The author who goes to such advisers may, perhaps, know no better: he may cry with the Psalmist *Corripiet me justus in Misericordiâ*: "Let the righteous smite me, it shall be a kindness" (as the Revised English has it). But he will soon feel inclined to finish the text according to the Prayer-book version, and to add, "Let not their precious balms break my head." Thus a source of amendment and of better work which is always at the disposal of Continental writers, in the best kind and in unstinted amount, has to be doled out to the British author from rare and sometimes broken cisterns: and he has to make the best of trade-notices and scrappy comments, of which the most favorable character that can be given is, that some of them are workmanlike and well meaning, if not all.

Our modern criticism is, moreover, more "up to date" than that of Jeffrey's time. Is it more correct, or more honest? The reception accorded, on their first appearance, to such men as Burns, Wordsworth, Keats, Byron and Shelley ought, at least, to make critics modest in estimating their own taste and powers of prediction. At the very least, it must tend to caution the public against expecting too much of criticism, or trusting its verdicts too implicitly. The public has but little leisure, and still less capacity, for a serious inquiry into the claims of works produced for its consumption. It therefore turns, naturally enough, to recognised organs of the Press, which it believes to contain the advice of experts. A few of such periodicals may be trusted: the practice of printing the names of the writers at one end of the articles or another gives a guarantee of responsibility, and enables the reader to decide whether or no he will consult the opinion of one who, whatever else he may do, tells us who he is. But the practice of the anonymous journals—and they are still the more numerous—is too often secret and suspicious. There is but too much reason to fear that the system is fatal to genuine "criticism;" meaning the honest and competent examination of work, whether

musical, pictorial or literary. In respect of books, especially, one fears that they are sent out to young friends of the editor who may be willing to pass a perfunctory sentence upon them for a very feeble consideration. Anxious to swell the receipts by selling the books, these gentlemen avoid cutting the leaves, so that they miss even the slight advantage of "smelling the paper knife." Then, there are grudges to be worked off, envies to be gratified; or the reviewer has secreted a fund of smartness which he is anxious to vent, or he has manufactured a style which he wants to use as a parachute to break the fall of his own intellect. Matters may not be as bad as in the old "Ebony" days; but, at least, there were then critics who called themselves Wilson, Lockhart and Southey. It sometimes seems as if we, of the current epoch, had the malice and self-reliance of these men without their intelligence or vigour. Were a great genius like Burns or Byron to appear now, it is very doubtful whether he would be recognised (log-rolling apart). Aloes and myrrh would be offered him rather than frankincense and gold; or perhaps a pillory and a basket of stale eggs would be set up, in lieu of even that bitter epiphany.

It is quite intelligible, however little flattering to human nature, that the readers of newspapers may like to see an author misrepresented and ridiculed. The faying of Marsyas was viewed with concern—if we are to believe the poets—by Moenads and Fauns: but then the poets may be giving interested testimony about the matter. On the other hand, it is certain that the most refined of the Romans witnessed with enjoyment the tearing to pieces by wild beasts of the primitive Christians. And so, it may be, when "Master Johnny" was told that his writings could not be read, and recommended to go back to the apothecary's shop, people who heard of him for the first time experienced an ignoble pleasure. But it would be a libel on civilisation to plead seriously that such joys were deserving of consideration at the hands of those whose business it is to take stock of Art and its productions. By all means let the wares offered to the public be carefully watched, tested, and described. But the young men who read new books, without cutting the leaves, and write about them with no purpose but to display their own smartness, discharge none of these duties: they do not watch, they do not test, and they are neither willing nor able to describe carefully.

H. G. KEENE.

ART. XIII.—SOME NEGLECTED INDIAN RECORDS.

BETWEEN the historical enquirer and the State, as the custodian of one of the most important sources of the material for history, there exists an immemorial feud. The extent to which it is capable of mitigation in any particular instance, depends largely upon the state of the public archives themselves; but, at the best, perfect harmony can hardly be hoped for. Liberty of search, for any but the privileged official, necessarily presupposes the separation of documents which policy requires should be kept secret, from those which may be safely divulged. Where such a separation has been effected, all that is needed to make a working understanding of some sort possible, is the requisite measure of sympathy with historical research on the part of the State Departments concerned. But even where both these conditions exist, abundant margin for difference must almost inevitably remain. On the one hand, the separation in question, cannot be made once and for all. What it would be mischievous to divulge to-day may be safely published to-morrow; and sometimes even the contrary change may occur. Periodical re-classification thus becomes necessary, if neither the interests of the State are ever to suffer, nor the truth is ever to be needlessly withheld. But such a reclassification can be made only by men who at once are experts and enjoy the confidence of the State; and the men who combine both these qualifications have rarely leisure for the task.

Then, again, the historical enquirer, whose standpoint is that of truth, and the statesman, whose standpoint is that of policy, can hardly be expected to draw the line between the two classes of documents exactly in the same place. Thus, even in the best regulated archives, from the one cause there must generally be large masses of documents which might properly be placed at the disposal of the enquirer, but are unavoidably withheld, and, from the other, there must always be many which the enquirer will be apt to think are wrongly withheld.

In England, sympathy with research on the part of the State, has never been very strong. It is not until within a comparatively recent period, that any systematic attempt has been made to render the contents of the State archives available for the purposes of the student, and anything like the loving care and liberality which has made Venice a treasure-house of historical material for the rest of Europe, and which the rest of Europe has but ill requitted by its comparative neglect of the Italian language, is hardly to be hoped for.

In India, it is to be feared, partly owing to the absence of a strong literary class, interested in such enquiries and capable of pressing its claims upon the Government, and partly owing to other special causes which need not be detailed, the case is a great deal worse. There is, probably, not one of the great departments in which the simple separation to which we have referred, has ever been regularly carried out, at all events in the case of vernacular documents, though, in recent years, much has been done, with excellent results, towards an examination of certain classes of old documents by experts, notably by the able and indefatigable Director of Records with the Government of India.

a That is to say, though the bulk of the records in most departments are more or less accessible to every petty clerk, documents once classed as secret commonly remain so classed, through mere *vis inertiae*, combined with official exclusiveness, to the end of the chapter. Thus the bulk of the records that are likely to contain anything of real historical interest, are sealed against the eyes of all but privileged officials, who cannot be expected to have eyes, in the historic sense, or the time to use them, till they are finally devoured by white ants, or are sold by tons for waste paper.

The irreparable loss of valuable materials which must have already taken place, from time to time, in the latter way, is a subject upon which, for the sake of his own peace of mind, the enquirer who has his heart in his work, will instinctively shrink from dwelling. The destruction of the earliest records of the British Settlement in Calcutta by the great cyclone of 1737, again at the capture of Calcutta in 1756, are calamities which, as they could not have been prevented by ordinary human foresight, will excite only his regret. But feelings of a bitter kind must rise in his breast when he reads Colonel's list of the heads under which the 500 tons (!) of papers in the India Office, destroyed under the orders of the Secretary of State in 1859, were classified, or when he thinks of the periodical mutilation and sale of public documents in India under a standing order, and reflects how little competent the Committees which direct the operation are likely to be to pass judgment on their value from any but a narrow official standpoint, and how very imperfectly, in most cases, they can even be acquainted with their contents.

But it is not in obedience to official orders only that the work of natural decay, or unpreventible accident, is supplemented by that of human agency. As the Rev. Mr. Long years ago remarked, the pilferings of duffries and the sin of borrowing without returning are perpetual causes of loss; and

to these may be added the carelessness with which documents are removed, often in open carts, from place to place.

In a letter which he, sometime ago, addressed to the late Colonel Yule, but which, owing to the death of that gentleman, was never despatched to its destination, Babu Gour Das Bysack, a gentleman well-known for his researches into the history of Old Calcutta, writes: "In carting away massive records, especially in loose forms, from old to new repositories, much irreparable loss often takes place. It is apprehended that, in carting away the heaps of the old Supreme Court records, and of the still earlier Mayor's Court, to the new High Court buildings, losses or mutilation . . . had taken place."

Instances of the injury done to the cause of investigation by the state of the public records in this country, and by the restrictions which it entails, might be freely cited. When, many years since, so distinguished a traveller and savant as the late Sir Richard (then Lieut.) Burton, applied to the Bombay Foreign Office for permission to examine the journals of another traveller, an officer of the Indian Navy, who had been despatched on a mission to Central Asia long years before, and had not since been heard of, he was simply assured that no such papers existed. But permission to search for them was refused him. There were strong reasons for believing that the papers did exist, and they possibly may exist still, but the point is that Lieut. Burton was not allowed to search, and that the condition of the archives in the Foreign Department was alone enough to render the assurance given him wholly inconclusive.

To come down to our own time, when, not very long ago, an application was made to the Board of Revenue in Calcutta on behalf of Babu Gaur Das Bysack, for permission to examine the old records of the Board for the purposes of his enquiries into local history, the application was refused. The grounds of the refusal will be seen from the following letter from the Secretary of the Board:—

BOARD OF REVENUE, L. P.

2, Bankshall Street,

10th July 1890.

MY DEAR ———,

In your letter of the 30th June, you sent me a note to you from Babu Guru Dass Bysack with reference to his desire to have access to the Board's records for the purpose of the historical enquiries in which he is engaged. I have therefore looked carefully into the matter and laid it before Mr. Halliday. But I am afraid that the Babu's request cannot be complied with. The papers he wants to see are very old, dating back to the 17th and 18th centuries, and are in the vernaculars. They have always been regarded as *confidential* in this Office and have been kept under special custody, and the Board would not feel justified in treating them otherwise. Nor have they the establishment—nor have the officers the time—to superintend the Babu's proceedings, and examine minutely the extracts he purposes to make from these records.

It is not the practice in offices to allow papers of a confidential character to be examined by outsiders, and the Board would prefer not to introduce any innovation in this respect.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) C. E. BUCKLAND,

Now, though it is barely possible that there may, be among the records in question, an occasional document which is really and properly of a confidential character, and not merely classed as such from a remote date, we have no hesitation in pronouncing secrecy in respect of the revenue papers of the 17th and 18th centuries *in the mass*, to be the veriest affectation. A more perfect illustration of the working of the rule, once confidential, always confidential, it would, in short, be impossible to conceive.

There is no question, it should be insisted, of either the sincerity or the qualifications of Babu Gaur Das Bysack. The papers which he has already published are sufficient earnest of his purpose in wishing to examine these records, which, it may be safely said, no European is competent to examine, and the only reason for refusing to allow him to examine them, is that they have "*always* been treated as confidential," and that the Board would "prefer not to introduce any innovation."

No blame, it need hardly be said, attaches to the Members of the Board who directed Mr. Buckland to make this reply to the application, unless it be the blame of not seizing the opportunity to initiate an important reform. The fact is, there is a real difficulty which may possibly justify the rule appealed to, though for the existence of the difficulty itself, there can be no justification whatever. The difficulty arises from the fact that the papers in question have never been examined and classified; and if, Mr. Buckland says, no doubt with perfect reason, there is no one in the office with time to superintend Babu Gaur Das Bysack while he examines them, or to check the extracts he desires to make from them, *à fortiori*, it may be inferred, there is no one in the office with the time to examine and classify them. So, unless the Board can be brought to recognise the fact that it has a duty to perform as regards these papers, beyond that of merely safeguarding them, they must remain absolutely useless to anyone on earth, till they rot, or fall a prey to some of the other accidents to which we have referred, or are deliberately destroyed as an encumbrance.

No one, probably, in the Board or out of it, has any but the most general knowledge of what these papers contain, or are likely to contain. We doubt whether it would be even in the power of the Board to specify a single one of them, that is properly confidential, and to show, by a description of its contents, that it is so. Still less can anyone in the Board say that these papers contain nothing which might be beneficially made public. And this, in itself, strikes us as being—we will not say a scan-

dalous state of things, but—a state of things which is less than creditable to an enlightened administration.

We do not suppose that these records contain anything the knowledge of which would revolutionise Indian society. In all probability there is nothing to be learnt from them which would materially help the Government either to solve the Currency problem, or to provide against the next Famine. But it is at least highly probable that they contain matter of antiquarian interest, and it is morally certain that they must contain matter of very considerable economic importance.

Even if our knowledge of the early history of the Settlement in Bengal were much more copious and exact than it is, these probabilities would, in themselves, amply justify a systematic examination of the records in question, and of any other masses of old official documents, of which there are many in the vernacular, that have long lain unexamined. But, as a matter of fact, our knowledge of this history is of the most fragmentary character, and, such as it is, is based mainly upon English records only.

There are long periods, covering most important events, which are little better than absolute blanks. Thus, to draw from a memorandum on the subject by Babu Gaur Das Bysack: though the English first obtained their Charter to trade in India in 1600, the early history of their trade and settlement in the Bay of Bengal has as yet been traced back only as far as the period between 1630 and 1650, and the earliest mention of Calcutta by name is contained in a document in the East India Office, of the 16th August 1688.

Again, the first known mention of the name of Calcutta is in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, where it appears as one of the Mahals of Sarkar Satgong, along with two other villages, Barbakpur and Bakua. But the presumption is that these villages must have existed long before the time of Akbar, and Babu Gaur Das Bysack thinks it not improbable that anterior records exist which would clear up many doubtful points regarding them, and throw a great deal of light on their previous history. The tables of Sarkars in the *Ain*, comprising the results of Todar Mull's settlement, were compiled from *qanun-goi* papers of an earlier date, and he suggests—though this, it strikes us, is almost too much to hope—that these papers may be found among the vernacular records in the custody of the Board, or in the Collectorate of Calcutta, or of the 24-Perganahs, or of Murshidabad. Or, he says, "if a clue to the names of the zemindars from whom the East India Company obtained the different component villages of the city be got hold of, the records in the possession of their representatives may be examined for information."

In the subsequent period, again, that it is to say, the period between the date of Todar Mull's assessment and that of Ferok Shere's grant in 1717, there is a gap of more than a century and a quarter in the history of Calcutta and its neighbourhood, and even of the names of the villages we get no mention till we come to Mir Jaffir's time. This hiatus could, not improbably, be partly filled up from the old chittas, survey papers, and rent rolls in the possession of the Board.

There are numerous instances in which specific documents are known to be missing from the Library of the India Office. Such are the Firman of the Emperor Shah Jehan of the 2nd February 1634, giving the English permission to trade in Bengal; the Letters Patent of Azim-us-Shan granting them liberty to purchase the villages of Calcutta, Sutanutty and Govindpur from the Zemindars, and probably, the original grants of the 24-Perganahs and the 55 villages—Panchannogram—constituting the suburbs of Calcutta.

These and other important missing documents, or copies of them, or extracts from them, may still be buried in the archives of one or other of the Government Departments in Calcutta, or Madras, or in one of the Collectorates mentioned.

In the chapter on the Documentary Memoirs of Job Charnock, in the 2nd volume of Hedge's Diary, the late Colonel Yule laments the absence of any record of Charnock's relations with the Nawab at the time of his retirement to Hidgelee and afterwards, or of his second sojourn in Calcutta (at Sutanutty), or of his doings for a period of three years after his second return to Calcutta in 1690.

Referring to these and other missing papers and breaks in information, Babu Gaur Das Bysack, in the letter to Colonel Yule already referred to, says: "It is my belief that, a regular haul-down be made in our Sadr Board of Revenue and in the Calcutta Collectorate and the like places in Madras, of old records, the nether limit being that of the date of the last negotiation of the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis, and the upper as far as the obscurest bit of paper of the oldest date that could be found, some document or other would be forthcoming to fill the gaps as yet interrupting the connected history of, in various aspects, the most interesting period of the foundation of Calcutta. There is a class of papers of an humble character usually dealt with by common accountants,—the chittas, or Survey papers, and jamabandiés, or rent-rolls, and karchas, or ledgers of rent collection, copies of pattas and kabuliyats relating to the three towns, and others in their neighbourhood, which gradually entered into the bounds of Calcutta until its boundaries became legally fixed. These and cognate papers in the Ben

galee language are to be found in the Calcutta or 24-Parganahs Collectorate, and those of very old date, in Persian or Urdu, perhaps, in the Khalsa records of Murshidabad, which, with other valuable papers, were brought and deposited in the Board after the accession of the Dewany of the East India Company. The papers I have described are of a nature which give most desirable information respecting the topography and financial statistics of the old villages that constitute Calcutta. The history, in some respects, of almost every plot of land, can be traced backwards and forwards in a connected link by the chittas if their successive files can be found. The castes and the manner in which they were financially dealt with, are set forth in the clearest manner in other documents."

It may be that neither these papers, nor any others among the archives of Government, in the Board or elsewhere, would yield all, or most of the information thus indicated. On the other hand, it is probable enough that they would yield much other information of equal or greater value. It would, perhaps, be unreasonable to expect the Board of Revenue to undertake a minute examination, or a detailed classification, of masses of papers, the great bulk of which are probably useless. But this is not required. What is required, and what may reasonably be expected of it, is that it should take the one step necessary to render their examination by outsiders permissible, that is, that it should separate from the rest the documents which are still of a really confidential character, and not merely classed as such, and that, subject to reasonable rules, it should allow qualified enquirers who are willing to undertake the labour, to examine, and, if necessary, make copies of, or extracts from, those which are not confidential; and a similar course might, with advantage, be adopted in every Government Department which possesses old records.

THE QUARTER.

IF for nothing else, the Government deserves unbounded credit for the success of its efforts, during the past ten weeks, to preserve a cheerful countenance under unusually trying circumstances.

We refer especially to the second stage of the Jury question, and to the work of the Legislative Session, which, paradoxical as the statement may seem, has been at once, singularly interesting, and, as far as completed results go, singularly barren. The fact is, an unexpected change of circumstances has imposed upon the Government the necessity of a complete re-orientation. All the really important measures of the Session, including the Land Acquisition Act Amendment Bill, introduced, under the auspices of Mr. Bliss, last year; the Habitual Offenders' Bill; the Small Cause Courts Bill, and, in the Bengal Council, the Mofussil Municipalities Bill, have been hung up, some of them after a more or less extensive re-adaptation to the altered conditions of the hour; some of them, it may be, for a more convenient season.

But no one not in the secret would for a moment suspect that the laudable anxiety of Sir Philip Hutchins to be guided by public opinion in dealing with the criminal classes, or the refreshing candour of Mr. Woodburn's admission that the most vital feature of last year's Land Acquisition Bill is quite unnecessary, to be merely a graceful mode of obeisance to the inevitable. As for the Bengal Municipalities Bill, Sir Charles Elliott was in the happy position of being able to say that, in condemning the most important provision of the original Bill, the Secretary of State had merely done what he himself had already made up his mind to do on similar grounds. But we will return to these matters later on.

A Resolution of the Government of India in the Home Department, of which the following is the essential portion, appointing a Commission to enquire into and report upon the system of Trial by Jury in Bengal, was published in the *Gazette of India* of the 25th ultimo :—

RESOLUTION.

In a letter, No. 35J, dated the 2nd January 1893, addressed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to the Government of India, His Honour, with reference to the Notification issued by him on the 20th October 1892, withdrawing certain offences from trial by jury in eight districts of Bengal, wrote that he desired—"as far as possible, to reconsider the question from the new light thrown on it by the fact

"that the distress and dissatisfaction caused by the partial removal of what is valued as an important privilege had been so great and "so much beyond his expectation;" and, after making various suggestions for the modification of the provisions relating to juries in the Criminal Procedure Code, His Honour concluded his letter in the words quoted below—

"A suggestion has been made to the Lieutenant-Governor that a Commission might be appointed with instructions to consider such questions as those indicated above, and to report to Government on the feasibility of any scheme which would be generally acceptable, and yet would safeguard the Government from a recurrence of the scandalous verdicts and grievous failures of justice to which attention has been drawn in the published correspondence. There are obvious difficulties attending the appointment of such a Commission, but it seems not impossible that it might result in the formulation of an authoritative report which the Government could accept, and if such a result could be obtained, it would be more satisfactory and would tend more to re-assure the public mind than a decision arrived at by Government alone. The Lieutenant-Governor, therefore, thinks it his duty to submit this suggestion for the consideration of the Government of India, and to say that, should they accept it, nothing will be wanting on his part to afford the Commission such assistance as is in the power of the Bengal Government."

The suggestion thus made seemed to the Government of India well worthy of consideration, not only for the reasons which had been stated by His Honour, but also because the Governor-General in Council was aware that the residents of the Jury districts had made it a special ground of complaint, that the Notification of the 20th October had been issued without their having been allowed an opportunity of showing cause against it. The following paragraph was, therefore, added to the Despatch of the 4th January, transmitting to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, a memorial adopted by the public meeting held at the Town Hall of Calcutta on the 20th December, in which the memorialists protested against the Notification of the 20th October 1892:—

"Since the above paragraphs were written, we have received from His Honour a suggestion that if an enquiry is to be made into these points, it might be conveniently entrusted to a Special-Commission. Sir Charles Elliott's proposal, provided the scope of the enquiry carefully defined, seems to us well worthy of consideration. We shall, however, take no further steps until we have heard from Your Lordship in reply to this and our former Despatch."

2. The Governor-General in Council has now received from the Secretary of State an intimation that the course above proposed approves itself to Her Majesty's Government, and is in a position to issue orders on the subject. His Excellency in Council has decided to appoint a Commission, consisting of the following gentlemen:—

The Honourable Mr. Prinsep, President,

Maharaja Sir Jotindro Mohun Tagore, Bahadoor, K.C.S.I.

The Honourable Sir Griffith Evans, K.C.I.E.

Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, Kt.

Mr. C. A. Wilkins, Indian Civil Service, District and Sessions Judge.

The services of Mr. H. C. Streatfield, of the Indian Civil Service, will be placed at the disposal of the Commission as Secretary.

3. The Commission will be instructed—

(1) To consider the classes of offences triable by jury in the several districts of Bengal in which the system of trial by jury has been intro-

duced, and to report whether any, and, if so, what changes in the classification which now obtains are desirable :

(2) To consider and report whether any, and if so, what modifications of the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code relating to the trial of offences triable by jury before Courts of Session, are desirable for the purpose of preventing miscarriage of justice.

4. The whole of the correspondence which has recently passed on the subject of the working of the Jury system in Bengal, and which is read in the preamble of this Resolution, as well as reports subsequently received from the Madras and Bombay Governments on the same subject, will be placed at the disposal of the Commission by the Government of India and the Government of Bengal, and the High Court of Calcutta will be requested to afford the Commissioners all the assistance in their power in the prosecution of their enquiries.

It will be left to the Commission to decide whether or not they should take oral evidence.

5. The Governor-General in Council is desirous that the Commission's report should be submitted with as little delay as possible, and therefore considers it advisable that their sittings should commence at once, and be as continuous as they can arrange without inconvenience.

—Into the secret history of this Resolution, the appearance of which was preceded by the publication of an official *communiqué*, announcing that it had been decided to appoint a Commission, it is neither necessary nor desirable to enquire too closely. It may be accepted as certain that the arrangement announced in it was not arrived at exactly in the way which its terms might seem to indicate, or without much discussion between the Government of India and the Secretary of State on the one hand, and the Governments of India and Bengal on the other, which it would have been inconvenient and contrary to custom to disclose.

Rumour has it that there was absolute refusal to sanction the Notification on the one side, and a threat, or threats, of resignation on the other : but the probability is that, though there was a serious difference between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, matters did not reach this extreme stage on either side. In all probability, the Secretary of State gave the Government of India distinctly to understand that, on the evidence which had been placed before him, it would be impossible for him to uphold the Notification. Nor is it easy to see how he could have adopted any other course, for, far from being sufficient to justify the action of the Government, the evidence in question was such as to point to a conclusion diametrically opposed to that arrived at by it.

The Government may have, and probably has, a stronger case than appears on the surface, but if it has such a case, it is based largely upon evidence of a kind which is not presentable to the world ; and the Secretary of State is keenly conscious of what the Government seems unaccountably to have forgotten, that, in a matter in which he is responsible to Parliament, evidence

which is not presentable is, for justificatory purposes, as good as no evidence at all.

That, had the Secretary of State been more compliant, the proposal for a Commission would never have been heard of, is likely enough. But it does not follow that Sir Charles Elliott is not perfectly sincere in his profession of a desire that the matter should be reconsidered "in the new light thrown on it by the distress and dissatisfaction caused by" the Notification.

But let us leave the history of the Resolution and examine its substance. It is impossible to read the document attentively without being struck by a curious discrepancy between the premises and the conclusion. What Sir Charles Elliott proposes is a *reconsideration* of the question in the light of certain new evidence. It is this proposal which the Governor-General in Council accepts and recommends to the Secretary of State, and to which the Secretary of State, in his turn, gives his assent. But, when we turn to the terms of the reference, we find that what the Commission are instructed to do is, not to *reconsider* the question with which Sir Charles Elliott dealt in his Notification, but to *consider* a widely different question. The question dealt with by Sir Charles Elliott in his Notification was, whether a particular alteration in the classification of offences triable with, and without a jury respectively, then obtaining in the jury districts, was advisable or not. The question on which the Commission are instructed to enquire and report is—whether any, and if so, what alteration in the classification of offences now obtaining in these districts is desirable. Though these two questions overlap one another, not only are they not identical, the difference between them is enormous, and concerns matters of the utmost moment to either side. To analyse them in detail and point out exactly what this difference is, would carry us beyond the limits of space at our disposal. All we need say is, that it is much to be deplored that, after having proposed and justified one course, the Government should, without explanation, adopt another and widely different course; and that such a change of front is especially to be deplored where, as in the present instance, it is calculated to lend colour to the suspicion that the ostensible reasons for its original proposal were not the real reasons. Beside this consideration, it is a matter of small moment that an important State paper should be so hopelessly inconsequential as that under notice.

The ambiguity of the terms of the reference seems to have attracted attention in England. For, a few days after the publication of the Resolution, a question was put to the Under-Secretary of State in the House of Commons, the precise nature of which has not been reported, but which drew from him the declaration that the Commission "was empowered to deal with

the whole question, including the power to report that the Notification of Sir Charles Elliott be rescinded."

The composition of the Commission has been challenged by the Native press, mainly with reference to the selection of Mr. Prinsep to represent the High Court, on the ground that, in his Minute on the Jury question, he had pronounced against the system. An examination of his Minute, however, shows that, though he commented freely on the shortcomings of the system from a judicial point of view, which no one denies, he did not advocate its abolition, or any re-classification of the offences triable under it.

The Commission, whose sittings are private, held its first meeting on the 6th instant and is expected to submit its Report in a few days.

Returning to the Legislative business of the past three months, the most important of the measures that have occupied the attention of the Viceregal Council is probably the Habitual Offenders' Bill, which was introduced by Sir Philip Hutchins on the 12th January. There has been a growing conviction, for some years past, on the part of the district officials, that the omission from the Criminal Procedure Code of 1882 of the provision which empowered Magistrates to require security from persons of 'notoriously bad livelihood' or 'dangerous characters,' has materially impaired the ability of the police to cope with crime; and it is further felt that the operations of certain classes of criminals have been greatly facilitated, and the difficulty of dealing with them has been correspondingly increased, by the improvement of means of communication in recent years by railways and telegraphs. The main object of the Bill, as explained by Sir Philip Hutchins, is to provide a remedy for this state of things; and it proposes to do this partly by providing for the surveillance of persons judicially proved to be habitual offenders, and by certain modifications in the procedure for their trial and punishment, and partly by re-enacting Section 110 of the Code of 1872, with certain alterations and additions, and by introducing two new provisions, one empowering the Court to substitute police surveillance for imprisonment in the case of persons who have been ordered to give security, but are unable to furnish it, and the other authorising the Magistrate, in certain cases, to make an order of surveillance by the police, instead of giving the accused the option of furnishing security. There is also a provision to provide for the repression of certain offences against property in particular localities, where, owing to a combination of the inhabitants to withhold information, the offenders cannot be detected, by empowering the Magistrate, after due enquiry, and subject to the confirmation of the Com-

missioner, to assess compensation on the residents of the locality generally, exclusive of any persons whom he may find to be beyond suspicion of complicity in the offence.

It may be admitted at once that the grounds urged for wishing to strengthen the hands of the police are both substantial and valid grounds; while neither to the Sections of the Bill which provide for the surveillance of habitual offenders judicially proved to be such nor to the Section which empowers the Courts to substitute surveillance for imprisonment, can reasonable exception be taken. The provisions of the Bill which are most open to criticism, and which have actually excited very severe criticism, are Section 2, which re-enacts Section 110 of the old Code, with certain important alterations; Section 3, which empowers the Magistrate to order surveillance, instead of requiring security, in the case of the classes of persons described in Section 2, and the last Section, for dealing with combinations to shield certain classes of offenders in localities that have been notified.

As regards Sections 2 and 3, there would seem to be nothing *per se* unreasonable, or unduly arbitrary, in the powers they would confer. The objection to them depends entirely on the character of the subordinate instruments through whom they would be brought to bear. Those instruments are the police, who would supply both the information on which the Magistrate would act, and the evidence on which the proof of the facts would depend; and it is impossible for any one who is acquainted with the character and the methods of the police, to doubt that the Sections would place in their hands a practically tremendous power of oppression, which they would not be slow to use.

Section 2 adds mischief to the classes of offences, the commission of which would make the offender liable to be called upon to furnish security, and persons who habitually protect or harbour thieves, or aid in the concealment of stolen property, to the classes of persons from whom security may be demanded, while for the class of persons "of notoriously bad livelihood," or "dangerous characters," included in that category under the old Code, it substitutes persons "of a character so desperate and dangerous as to render" their "being at large without security hazardous to the community." It is claimed that the latter definition is less vague, and less liable to abuse, than the former. It is certainly less vague; but it is questionable whether it is less liable to abuse. As long as the law allows evidence of reputation, as distinguished from overt acts, to be treated as sufficient proof against an accused person under the Section, it matters little what kind of character has to be proved. It is as easy for a witness who is tutored, to swear

that a man is a desperately dangerous character, as that he is merely a notoriously bad, or a dangerous character; and the police who would suborn the one kind of evidence, would not scruple to suborn the other.

It need hardly be added that the power which it is proposed to confer on the Magistrate by Section 3, would add largely to the terrors of Section 2.

The objection to the last Section of the Bill comes chiefly from the people of Bengal, where, it is contended, combinations of the kind aimed at are unknown, and the extension of the provision is therefore unnecessary. Though, as the Section could be put in force only in the localities to which it might have been specially declared applicable by notification, the objection partakes somewhat of a sentimental character, it is not altogether unreasonable.

Sir Philip Hutchins announced in Council on the 23rd ultimo, that the Bill would not be proceeded with this Session, and, from certain remarks which he made, it seems not improbable that, among other modifications, the Section just referred to will be omitted from it, and made the subject of a separate Bill for the Punjab, from which the demand for the power comes.

The Select Committee on the Bill to amend the Land Acquisition Act of 1870 presented its Report to the Council on the 2nd ultimo. The Bill, it will be remembered, proposed not only to dispense with the assessors, with whose assistance the Collector, under the existing Act, makes his award, but to make the Collector's award final, subject to the right of an aggrieved owner to bring a regular suit in the Civil Court to set it aside. The latter proposal, as might be expected, excited severe criticism; and, on the recommendation of the Select Committee, it has now been decided to abandon it, and to provide, instead, that the Collector shall refer to the Civil Court only when a person dissatisfied with the award asks that it shall be referred, and that the award shall be final in all other cases. This will obviate the inconvenience arising from the provision of the present law which requires a reference, not only in case of disagreement, but in the event of any of the persons interested not appearing before the Collector.

Another important alteration made in the Bill by the Committee is connected with the interpretation of market value. This was defined in the original Bill. But it has been determined to make no express definition, but leave it to the Collector primarily, and ultimately to the Court, to decide what is a fair price. As thus amended, the Bill which has been ordered to be republished, is unquestionably a great improvement on the existing law.

A Bill to amend the Presidency Small Cause Courts Act which

has excited considerable dissatisfaction, not to say alarm, was introduced into the Council by Sir Alexander Miller, on the 12th January. The ground put forward for legislating on the subject is the dissatisfaction which has existed for some time past with the working of the Small Cause Courts. This dissatisfaction is real enough and certainly calls for remedial action. It is felt, however, that the remedy proposed in the Bill would be likely to prove worse than the disease, not, perhaps, in its immediate effect on the interests of suitors, though this would in some respects be unsatisfactory, but in the ulterior consequences which would be likely to follow from it.

"Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes."

The Bill would preserve to the Small Cause Courts their present extended jurisdiction ; but, as a further security against injustice, it would grant a right of appeal to the High Court in cases of the value of Rs. 1,000 and upwards, and at the same time provide that, in such cases, the Judge should take a note of the evidence and record the substance of his judgment. It is felt, however, that to impose this duty on the Judges would hinder materially the work of the Court, and so render it less efficient as a Small Cause Court ; and there is a further apprehension that, when this came to be recognised, advantage would be taken of the fact to set up a separate Court, after the fashion of the Madras City Court, to which, in the fulness of time, it would be found convenient to transfer suits of still higher value, at present triable exclusively by the High Court. The High Court would thus be still further weakened, which may suit the policy of the Government, but is opposed to the interests of the public.

The Bill, against which the Anglo-Indian Defence Association and the Calcutta Trade Association have entered their protests, and which is also opposed by the Chamber of Commerce, further provides that the Chief Judge must be a barrister, and that no one shall be appointed a Small Cause Court Judge who has not five years' standing as a barrister, or as an Advocate, attorney or vakil of an Indian High Court, or as a Subordinate Judge, whereas at present the only restriction is, that at least one-third of the Judges must have been barristers or advocates. It seems questionable whether, on the whole, this change would furnish a guarantee of greater strength. Another provision of the Bill, which appears to meet with general approval, is that the High Courts shall have power to make and alter the rules of procedure of the Small Cause Courts.

The provisions of the Bengal Municipalities Bill, by which it was proposed to vest the local Government with the power to deprive Municipalities of the right of appointing their own

Chairman and of varying the boundaries of Municipalities, have been abandoned, under the circumstances already referred to, and here, we are disposed to think, the change robs the Bill of its chief merit, and is more likely to injure than to promote the cause of local self-government.

In the Viceregal Council, on the 2nd ultimo, His Excellency the President announced that, owing to certain legal difficulties which had been unexpectedly discovered, the arrangements which had been agreed upon for the reconstitution of the Councils under the new Act could not be carried out for some little time to come. At the same time His Excellency stated and explained the rules which had been framed, and which have since been published, for the discussion of the Financial Statement, and for the exercise of the newly conferred privilege of interpellation.

The former are, (1) ; the Statement shall be explained in Council every year and a printed copy given to each member ; (2), after the explanation has been made, each member shall be at liberty to offer any observations he may wish to make on the Statement, and (3), the Financial Member shall have the right of reply, and the discussion shall be closed by the President making such observations, if any, as he may consider necessary.

On the second head the rules are, that questions must be so framed as to be merely requests for information, and must not be put in an argumentative, or hypothetical form, or in defamatory language. That no discussion will be permitted in respect of an answer given to a question. That a question of which notice has been given by one member, may, if he so desires, be asked by another member on his behalf. That the President may disallow a question on the ground that it cannot be answered consistently with the public interests.

In the Local Legislatures members are also precluded from asking questions with regard to matters, or branches of the administration, not under the control of the Local Government concerned ; and in matters which are, or have been, the subjects of controversy between the Governor-General in Council or the Secretary of State, and the Local Government, no question shall be asked, or answer given, except as to matters of fact.

The rules have been criticised by a section of the press as calculated to restrict the right of interpellation too narrowly ; but it is difficult to see that any of them could be conveniently dispensed with, though, perhaps, that which prohibits the putting of questions in hypothetical form might be qualified with advantage.

At the last meeting of the Viceregal Council, the Government had a foretaste of what is likely to be the practical re-

sult of the grant of the right of interpellation ; and it must, we imagine, have felt that there was some ground for apprehending that the opportunities of the Councils for actual legislation would be reduced within very narrow limits, a consummation which, to some minds, may seem not altogether an unmixed evil.

On the 3rd ultimo an influential deputation, appointed at a public meeting held some days previously at the Calcutta Town Hall, under the auspices of the Indian Currency Association, and representing the large majority of the merchants, traders, ship-owners, bankers, and land-owners of Calcutta, waited on the Viceroy to urge the closing of the Mints to free coinage, in view of the failure of the Brussels Conference and the state of the silver market, and met with a reply which was so far encouraging, that it showed that the movement had the sympathy and active support of the Government of India, which, however, was known before. At the same time the Viceroy was unable to give any assurance as to the policy which the Government would adopt ; and it is clear from the terms in which he spoke, that the Home Government has no intention of giving the Government of India a free hand in the matter. In the meantime, rumour has it that Lord Herschell's Committee, on which all eyes were turned, has failed to arrive at an agreement, and that the *status quo* is therefore likely to remain undisturbed for some time longer.

A motion by Sir H. Meysey Thompson, expressing the desire of the House that the Government should use its influence to procure the re-assembling of the Brussels Conference and impress on the delegates the necessity of adopting measures to arrest the divergence between the values of the two metals, has been rejected in the House of Commons by 229 votes to 148. Mr. Gladstone made a speech on the occasion, in the course of which he declared that bimetallism would involve serious loss of capital invested by England in foreign countries, and which may be regarded as having given the *coup de grâce* to the hopes of its advocates. Mr. Goschen, on the same occasion, declared it to be the duty of England to do every thing in her power to extend the use of silver.

Subsequently the House unanimously agreed to a Resolution to the effect that any meddling with the existing standard was open to grave objection.

Fortunately, in America there seems to be no immediate prospect of the repeal of the present Silver Law ; but unless some marked change for the better in the prospects of the market should take place, this is sooner or later inevitable. There is, however, some reason for thinking that the production of the metal has reached its maximum, and would be

likely to contract with any further fall in price, if it is not already contracting.

A representative deputation, on behalf of the European Civil and Military servants of the Government, also waited on the Viceroy to urge their claim to an adjustment of salaries in view of the heavy fall in exchange, and His Excellency's reply amounted to an assurance that the Government recognised both the justice of their case, and its obligation to provide a remedy in the direction sought, failing relief from other causes.

No further communication has reached the Government from the Amir of Kabul on the subject of his reception of the proposed mission; and it seems unlikely that any further attempt will be made to press the matter on him. It is believed, however, that Mr. Pyne, the Amir's Engineer, who is on his way to Calcutta, *en route* for England, is the bearer of despatches for the Viceroy, on the subject of the recent communications of the Government of India.

A valedictory banquet was given to Lord Roberts by the European community of Calcutta yesterday evening, when an address was presented to His Excellency by Mr. Mackay, who also proposed the health of the guest of the evening, in a short, but graceful, speech, to which Lord Roberts replied in terms at once feeling and informing.

Regarding the views of the retiring Commander-in-Chief on certain military political questions, there may be wide difference of opinion. There can be none as to his merits as a military administrator; as to the immense improvement, moral, physical and technical, which he has effected in the army in India; as to his care for the well being of the soldier, or as to his popularity with both rank and file of the service; while Lady Roberts will always be well remembered, both for her private charity and for her more public efforts on behalf of the soldier and those belonging to him.

It has been determined, we see, to erect a bronze statue to Lord Roberts on the Maidan.

At home political interest centres in the Home Rule Bill, which was introduced by Mr. Gladstone, in a densely-crowded House, on the 13th ultimo. Into the details of the measure, which, by this time, must be familiar to every reader of the *Calcutta Review*, we need not enter here. It is distinctly more hostile to Imperial interests, than the former Bill, and is a measure which certainly cannot become law without a dissolution, though it may, not improbably, pass the Commons, and which can hardly become law without provoking Civil War in Ireland.

Its fatal defects are, that it withholds from the other parts of the United Kingdom the only boon which could render any scheme of Home Rule tolerable to them, viz, the exclusion of

the Irish members, or at all events of all but a small quota of them from the Imperial Parliament, and that it leaves Ulster practically unprotected. These are not the only respects in which the Bill is dangerous or unworkable, but they are enough to condemn it.

The other measures introduced by the Government include a Registration Bill, which proposes to abolish the rating qualification, to reduce the qualifying period for all classes of electors from twelve or six months to three months, ending on June 24 in each year; to render successive occupation of different qualifications in the same electoral area sufficient, and to abolish the requirement, that a lodger should claim to be put on the register; an employer's Liability Bill, abolishing the doctrine of common employment, prohibiting contracts by which a workman renounces his statutory rights, and simplifying the procedure by which a workman can pursue his statutory remedies; a Local Option Bill, and a Suspensory Bill, to pave the way for Welsh Disestablishment.

In the domain of foreign politics, the most striking event of the Quarter has been a crisis in Egypt which threatened, at one time, to lead to a rupture between the British Government and the young Khedive, but which was sharply terminated by the promptitude and firmness of Lord Cromer. The indisposition of the Prime Minister, Mustapha Fehmy Pasha, was seized upon by the Khedive as a pretext not only for superseding him by a politician of notoriously anti-English proclivities, who had been dismissed for his obstructiveness two years previously, when he held the portfolio of Justice, but for reconstructing the entire Ministry. Lord Cromer at once demanded that the publication of the Khedivial decree should be withheld, pending instructions from England, and subsequently he visited the Khedive and presented him with an ultimatum, demanding the cancelment of the appointments within twenty-four hours. The Khedive appears at first to have hesitated, but, finding himself without the foreign support on which he seems to have reckoned, he agreed to the demand of the British Minister, only stipulating that, to save his dignity, Fakhri Pasha, who had, in the meantime resigned, should be replaced by Riaz Pasha, instead of by Fehmy. Popular feeling ran high in favour of the Khedive for some days, and it was thought necessary to re-inforce the British garrison in order to prevent a hostile demonstration, but matters have since quieted down, and Lord Cromer's action has met with the general approval of the Continental Powers, France excepted.

The obituary for the Quarter includes the names of—

Lord Brabourne; Mr. H. F. Blanford, F. R. S., late Meteorological Reporter to the Government of India; Sir Walter

Barttelot; Sir Peter Benson Maxwell; Mr. Thomson Hankey; Mrs. Pierce Butler (Fanny Kemble); Ex-President Hayes; General Francis Young; Sir John Peter Grant, K. C. B., formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; Mr. Hawley Smart; Major General W. L. Briggs, C. B.; Mr. Montagu Williams; Mr. John Gibson; Sir Richard Owen, and Mr. John Emile Lemonine.

CALCUTTA: }
12th March 1893. }

J. W. F.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report on the Administration of Bengal, 1891-92.

ONCE upon a time a man reputed sensible by his fellows, declared a big book to be a great evil. We are not prepared to declare the yearly increasing bulk of Bengal Administration Reports an altogether avoidable evil, but we certainly think more might be done than is done towards mitigation of their obesity, by application of a Banting system, by less assimilation of petty detail, by suppression of fads. There may well be other short cuts available: we have but indicated one or two that, without impairing their usefulness, might help toward reversion to such salient brevity as found favour in Sir George Campbell's reign. Most of the matters reported and minuted on between the red covers of the *Report of the Administration of Bengal, 1891-92*, have already been noticed in the *Calcutta Review*.

The year of review was the last of the last Provincial Contract period, and was distinguished by a little friction with the Government of India on the subject of its rights and wrongs, and commendable refusal on Sir Charles Elliott's part to allow the interests of his Province to be sacrificed to bureaucratic Simla greed. The dispute, or difference of opinion, or whatever it ought to be called, is still, so to speak, *sub judice*; still, we may, without contempt of court, give expression to our opinion that Sir Charles deserves well of Bengal for having fought its financial battle valiantly, in the teeth of a powerful opposition, and having, at any rate, won the honours of the war, while over his pet scheme of Survey and Settlement has scored incisively. In the course of the year, pains were taken, and legislative measures, to improve the working of the Police and Criminal Justice Departments, and to bring the village police into closer relations with District Magistrates: reversion to the old dispensation that worked well a quarter of a century ago, and the objection to which then taken was that old and proved lamps could not be as good as new and untried ones. Sir Charles Elliott has ordained that the village chowkeydar is not longer to consider himself a hewer of wood and drawer of water, and runner of messages for huzoor the "*Connesaveel*"; who, in his turn, is to get better pay, and clothing allowance more commensurate with market rate. None too soon. Meanwhile, there has been an increase of dacoitee in every division except Chittagong; and Sir Charles considers it would be more to the purpose did the

police devote their supererogatory energies to the prevention of the export of arms to native States, rather than to the institution of prosecutions for unlicensed possession of worn-out, useless matchlocks and other antiquated weapons :—

Proposals have been made for holding more frequent sessions. The general powers of committal which were hitherto exercised by all Magistrates of the second class, have been withdrawn. It has been arranged that more attention should be devoted to the prosecution of police cases, and the experiment of transferring a large portion of the Court Sub-Inspector's work to the Magistrate's office, and setting the Court Sub-Inspector free from the multifarious details which now engross his time, so that he may have leisure to prepare cases and conduct prosecutions, was ordered for six months in six selected districts. The attention of District Magistrates has been drawn to the unnecessary detention of criminal lunatics while under observation in jail. They have been given to understand that jails and lunatic asylums are intended, not for village idiots, who are accused of petty offences, possibly because their fellow-villagers have grown tired of supporting them, but for dangerous lunatics, who are charged with violent or homicidal acts or attempts, and that it is a part of their duty to see that none but such lunatics as come within the above description are admitted into them. It has been pointed out that accused persons are often detained before the courts for an unreasonable time, while enquiries are being made by the police about their antecedents. It has been enjoined on Magistrates and Sub-divisional Officers that they should watch the proceedings of investigating police officers with greater care, and issue such instructions as they may think fit. The necessity of carefully watching over the work of their subordinates has been impressed again and again on District Magistrates with especial reference to delays in trying cases and unnecessary remands. At the suggestion of the Lieutenant-Governor, the High Court have issued instructions to Sessions Judges that they are authorised and expected to inspect the Courts of Magistrates subordinate to them. Above all things, Sir Charles Elliott has insisted that there shall be no avoidable delay in the disposal of cases.

There is a pleasing ring of practical philanthropy pervading that rescript. The year was marked by a considerable increase in the jail population, the number both of admissions and of prisoners remaining in custody at the end of it, having been greater than in any of the ten preceding years. Nevertheless, the death-rate was the lowest on record. Jails, their sanitation, discipline, &c., are matters that have engaged the earnest attention of His Honor and his advisers, in and out of Council. Our readers are aware that sensible, substantial reforms and ameliorations have resulted. *Re* the abandonment of criminal proceedings against the *Bangobasi* for preaching sedition, it is written : "There is reason to believe that this act of lenity was appreciated by the community generally, and that it exercised a healthy influence on the tone of the Press at the time." Under the heading Civil Justice in the Summary preparing Reports, we read :—

Sir Charles Elliott is desirous of concentrating the establishment of Munsif's Courts as far as possible at district or subdivisional head-quarters, and with this object has hesitated to sanction proposals put forward for rebuilding or constructing isolated offices on a large scale. It is at head-quarters only that a good bar can be obtained, and proper inspection and supervision can be exercised over the proceedings of the lower Courts. As the Hon'ble Judges have intimated to Government that they are in general accord with the prin-

ciple of concentration at head quarters, it may be expected that the number of outlying munsiffs will be gradually decreased, and that new buildings will in the future be more often at the sadar or subdivision stations than in distant localities.

With reference to the Calcutta Small Cause Court, it is written :—

He considers that the chief point which requires amendment in the procedure of the Court relates to the delay in dealing with contentious cases, and as a remedy for this delay His Honour has recommended that legal powers should be given to the Judges to deal with undefended cases in a more summary manner; that all cases should be placed on cause lists, the number suited to the average capacity of a Court, being fixed for each day, and that a rule should be made that cases postponed from one day must be heard the next day; that a single Court, if it gets into arrears, must sit later than usual to try its cases; that if the whole Court gets into arrears, it must enjoy fewer holidays and sit for more days and for longer hours; and finally, that power should be given to the Chief Judge to frame rules of procedure, from time to time, with the sanction of the Local Government. Sir Charles Elliott has also strongly pressed for the appointment of a permanent fifth Judge, and has insisted on a reduction in the ministerial establishment employed, which, as shown by the Finance Committee, was excessive in comparison with that entertained in other Presidencies.

With reference to the amount of public interest shown in Municipal elections in Calcutta, it is noticeable that a comparison of the election statistics of 1889 and 1892 shows that, while the proportion of Hindus actually voting to the number entitled to vote rose from less than one-third to nearly one-half, the proportion of Mahomedan voters declined in an inverse ratio, and that of Europeans (including Eurasians) remained stationary, *i.e.*, they have become too sick of the windbag to care to pump up any interest at all. The Fire Brigade Act was amended: the Calcutta Hackney Carriage Act is held to have been, also. The collection of vital statistics was transferred from Mofussil Municipalities to the Police—a nice derangement of epithets, from which it is hoped that practicality will be evolved. By way of *quid pro quo*, the municipalities are henceforth to contribute somewhat towards the cost of giving primary education to children born within their boundaries. Orders were promulgated for sanitary purification of the Hindu Holy of Holies at Puri. Considerable attention was devoted during the year to questions of drainage and water supply; somewhat was actually done at Dacca; schemes and surveys are notified from other centres of provincial light and leading. Furthermore, arrangements have been made to place at the disposal of an embryo sanitary Board, for loan and on approval, a complete set of surveying instruments.

Last year, the average incidence per head of Municipal taxation of all kinds in Behar was Rs. 0-12-4 against Rs. 0-11-11 in 1890-91 :—

In the revised edition of the Bengal Famine Code, which was issued at the

end of the year, the duties of District Boards, in times of scarcity and famine, were defined. It was laid down that District Boards must be regarded as forming an integral part of the administration, and that it becomes their duty, as it is that of other departments of Government in time of serious scarcity, to subordinate the ordinary objects and methods of their expenditure to the special consideration of saving life. District Boards, it was held, are the primary agency available for coping with famine, and must be expected in such a crisis to direct their whole resources, subject only to the maintenance of absolutely necessary works in non-affected tracts, to affording relief. This primary obligation having been carried out, it remains for Government to supplement the resources of Boards, if necessary, so as to enable them not only to combat famine, but also to perform their ordinary functions connected with the up-keep of district communications. Before, then, an appeal is made by the Boards to Government for funds, all possible expenditure, beyond that absolutely necessary for bare maintenance and establishment charges, should be diverted from non-affected to affected areas, and from ordinary works of construction, such as bridges, which require the employment of skilled labour, to those which can be carried out by the unskilled labour of the ordinary rural population who are affected by the scarcity; and on the opening of relief operations the district budgets should be remodelled with this object.

It was also ordered that the relief operations carried on by District Boards, whether in the form of gratuitous relief, poor-houses, kitchens for children or relief works (whether civil agency or professional agency) should be regulated by the provisions, and their officers should be subject to the rules laid down in the Code. But though the agency of the District Boards is utilised in carrying out gratuitous relief, it is not considered that the cost of such relief falls legitimately upon their finances, and they will be recouped for such expenditure from Provincial funds.

The Lieutenant-Governor's views on P. W. D. red tape and reform are set forth in the following paras:—

The waste of time and labour involved in the preparation of projects which had not been first of all submitted in the rough, and received the stamp of approval from the Local Government, was noticed by the Lieutenant-Governor, and the procedure has now been so altered as to require officials needing alterations or additions to buildings used by them or new accommodation, to prove the necessity of their requirements through the head of their own Department, the local Engineers merely providing them with rough plans and approximate estimates to enable them to do so. When the necessity for a work is proved, administrative sanction is given, and the Public Works Department is then called upon to prepare a detailed scheme and to provide funds, if possible.

The Lieutenant-Governor took exception to the existence of a duplicate executive and superintending agency in most parts of the Province, for the carrying out and control of works in connection with buildings and roads. Almost all the roads and all Local Fund buildings, such as dispensaries, daks bungalows, &c., had been handed over to the District Board, and placed under the care of District Engineers, while Imperial and Provincial buildings, such as Post and Telegraph offices, Churches, Courts and Jails, remained under the charge of Executive Engineers. The result of this was that Executive and District Engineers constantly travelled over the same ground, and competed with each other for labour for adjacent buildings, two officers being employed on work which could easily be done by one, while the charges of Superintending Engineers and Inspectors of Local Works were found to overlap. This waste of power has been checked by handing over the care of Provincial and Imperial buildings to District Boards, and abolishing all but two of the Inspectorships of Local Works, relegating their duties to Superintending Engineers. By this re-arrangement it has been found possible to considerably reduce the *cadre* in the Roads and Buildings Branch, and the saving in the cost of establishment has been about Rs. 52,700 per annum.

The fuller utilization of jail labour on public works was another matter that engaged the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor; and orders were issued with

a view to the employment of strong adult prisoners on such operations as brick and tile making, stone breaking, and soorkee pounding, which had hitherto been carried out by means of free labour; also on construction and repairs required to be done inside the jails, and on new buildings and earth-work outside, but situated within two miles of it.

The net revenue derived from customs duties amounted to Rs. 2,85,50,883; an increase of Rs. 11,02,870 on the previous year, but still ten per cent. less than the revenue of 1881-82, the year previous to the abolition of the general import duties.

Sir Charles Elliott believes in the possibility of great developments of the mining industry in Bengal, and, with view to their advent, sanctioned, as a tentative measure, a scheme proposed for the training of mining engineers in connection with the Sibpur Engineering College. With a view to the encouragement of drainage, (as an element of education, in connection with the advancement of arts and industries, His Honor has decided :—

- (1) That drawing and allied subjects should be generally introduced in high schools, and eventually in middle schools;
- (2) That drawing should be made a compulsory part of the course in training schools, sanction being at the same time accorded to the expenditure of a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,000 per annum for teaching drawing in the eight training schools of the first grade;
- (3) That for the purpose of awarding the Government junior scholarships, the marks gained in drawing by each candidate who takes up the subject at the Entrance examination of the Calcutta University, should be added to his total; and
- (4) That a drawing master should be appointed in each high school, the expenditure being met from provincial revenues, if the institution has not a surplus income after the deduction of fees.

The Sanskrit *tois* of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa being reported *in extremis* and in danger of collapse, His Honour has, with a view to their resuscitation, and in the hope of stimulating national liberality for a distinctively national object, sanctioned sundry grants, stipends, and rewards to teachers and pupils of *tois*. His Honor has failed to recognise the existence of an amount of pauperism among the domiciled European community of Calcutta and Howrah—"far larger than what is believed to be the amount of similar destitution in England," as a danger to the State, and is, unlike his usual self, lukewarm with regard to remedies, proposed and possible.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Rulers of India, Lord Lawrence. By SIR CHARLES AITCHISON, K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D., formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. Oxford : at the Clarendon Press, 1892.

MANY books, big and little, on altogether hero-worshipping lines, and in a more matter-of-fact spirit, have been written with the career of Lord Lawrence of the Punjab for text ; but it was felt at the Clarendon Press, as well as beyond, that the " Rulers of India " series would be incomplete whilst lacking memoir of a man who has left the impress of his character so strongly marked on Indian history, as Mr. John Lawrence ; the man who was able to do more than all his compeers to save the Empire from ruin in 1857-58, and who afterwards became *de facto* ruler of that Empire.

Than Sir Charles Aitchison the lot could have fallen on no one better equipped by temperament and intimate knowledge for undertaking the record of the official life and achievements of the Chief he served under for many years, through the Mutiny whirlwind, and afterwards as Foreign Secretary at Calcutta and Simla.

We pass over the chapters dealing with Lawrence's work as District Officer, Commissioner, Chief Commissioner ; pretermit even the chronicle of that clear prevision and strong statesmanship in a chaotic time that led him to concentrate his energies and the forces at his command at the siege of Delhi, and to dare so many grave responsibilities in order to its successful issue. Not that the plan of these chapters is ill conceived ; not that they have no worthy matter to tell, or consist of vain repetitions. They inform with vigour and insight distinctly their own, and are well worth reading. But the apprenticeship phases of Lawrence's Civil Service career have been dilated on sufficiently by Bosworth Smith, Robert Cust, Dr. George Smith, Captain Trotter, Sir Richard Temple. With so great a personality *en train*, the road they have shown their paces on can never be hackneyed ; but we prefer to invite attention to that portion of the ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab's book which is concerned specially with affairs coming under Foreign Office purview, and with his acts and policies and proclivities as Viceroy of India ; and more particularly with regard to Frontier, Feudatory, and Foreign affairs, with the initiation and conduct of which Sir Charles Aitchison had so much to do, that had he not been

modest, he could very warrantably have said—*quorum pars magna fui*. In a preface to the study before us, a wish that his Chief's Foreign Office policy should be accorded precedence when men weigh in the balances of after-thought the motives actuating Lawrence's policy and its issues, seeming and real, is given vent to* in these words :—

It may be thought that in the chapter on Afghán affairs I have not observed due proportion. There is ground for this. Sir John Lawrence's policy and action have been so much misunderstood, that I have thought it best to give a plain narrative of facts with quotations from documents. It is essential to know not only what Sir John Lawrence said and did, but the time at which, and the circumstances under which he said and did it. If my own conclusions be thought to be those of a disciple, the facts are there, and the reader will judge for himself.

The term of Sir John Lawrence's Viceroyalty was, through the natural law of reaction, an uneventful one from an epoch-making point of regard ; a time of consolidations, safe guardings, insurances of sorts. Border forays at various points on the North West frontier, however, did occur, pointing to the moral, " Ready, aye ready." Sir John did what in him lay to avoid them ; but to extirpate border crime is beyond human power. Frontier raids, as Lord Dalhousie observed, are no more to be regarded as interruptions of the general peace in India, than the street brawls, which appear among the every-day proceedings of a police court in London, are regarded as indications of the existence of civil war in England. Punitive expeditions are a necessity of the situation. They will not cease till the other side of the line is held by civilised governments.

N. W. Frontier border forays and their complications, after all said and done on that salient subject, resulted in only two collisions with authority that seriously disturbed the public peace. The Bhutan expedition, on quite another frontier, was an unacceptable legacy from the milk and water policy predecessors in office. Moreover,

Military men, smarting under a temporary check in which we had lost guns, condemned Lawrence for granting the Bhutanese terms which they thought too easy. But the guns were restored as a preliminary condition of peace ; and Lawrence, ' rich in saving common sense,' fought for peace, not for prestige. Nothing was to be gained by the prosecution of a war with the Bhutanese at any time, least of all when India was overwhelmed in commercial and financial troubles. The best proof that the terms were just, lies in the fact that our relations with Bhután have ever since been better than they were before. During the recent difficulties with Tibet, the Bhután Government resisted the pressure put upon them to adopt an unfriendly attitude towards us.

Apropos of the continuance, by Canning's virtual successor in office, of Canning's policy of clemency and non-intervention, we shall do well, in any estimate made of the force of character

* " Being called on, towards the end of my service, to govern the Punjab, found there still the impress of his masterhand, weakened indeed by time and change, but not obliterated."

and conscientiousness of soul appertaining to that successor to bear in mind that :—

"In his early public life Lawrence was an annexationist. He drank at the same fountain as Lord Dalhousie, and imbibed the principles of his great master and friend. As Magistrate of Delhi he had seen the worst side of a licentious Court, and the rampant evils caused by a multitude of petty Native Chiefships which the British Government preserved from extinction, but abstained from guiding or controlling. He had seen with satisfaction the little Chiefs of the Cis-Sutlej States reduced to the position of ordinary subjects. He had refused to re-establish the principalities in Kangra, which the Sikhs had destroyed. He had advocated the annexation of the Punjab, and one of his first acts as Chief Commissioner had been, to deprive the Nawab of Mamdot of sovereign power, which he had abused, and to bring his territory under British jurisdiction. He had seen, without a pang of regret, the Kingdom of Oudh absorbed within the red line. 'Anything short of it,' he wrote, 'is a mistake. Will not all the people rejoice, except the fiddlers, barbers, and that genus? I wish I was thirty-five instead of forty-five, and had to put it in order.'

Awful Mutiny lessons converted John Lawrence to a sense of the value of whole-hearted native allies, and induced reversal of his previous convictions as to the Bourbon-like unteachability and failure as to character of that too-privileged class.

In the book under review the story of the new Viceroy's dealings with Sher Ali, Azim Khan, Abdul Rahman, and other aspirants after arbitrary power in Afghanistan, is told at length. His manner of dealing with such men may fitly be summed up in Lawrence's own opportunist words :—"Our relations should always be with the *de facto* ruler of the day, and, as long as the *de facto* ruler is not unfriendly to us, we should always be prepared to renew with him the same terms as obtained under his predecessor."

Rulers of India. Albuquerque. By H. MORSE STEPHENS, Lecturer on Indian History at Cambridge, Author of "A History of the French Revolution," "The Story of Portugal," etc. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press: 1892.

IN a previously published "Story of Portugal," Mr. H. Morse Stevens, lecturer on Indian History at Cambridge, approved his fitness for chronicling the achievements of Portugal's greatest pioneer Captain in the East, Affonso de Albuquerque. Albuquerque, the man himself signed his name, by the way. Successful statesman he, as well as successful Commander in the field; a ruler of men, politic, far-sighted, broad-minded, endued

with liberal ideas far in advance of his fellow-men, and a willingness for statecraft's sake to walk in the ways of a wide religious toleration, as foreign to the crusading spirit of the Portugal of the sixteenth century as to his own personal hatred of "Moors." Had they not slain in battle, at his very side, a younger brother whose blood appealed to Heaven for vengeance? And for him, all followers of the false prophet, Mahomed, were Moors, whether opposed to Christian nationalities in Castille, or in filibustering expeditions under the ægis of the Cross in Africa or Ind. Yet, sixteenth century devout though he was, he was neither persecutor in religious name, nor proselytizer at the sword's point. He sank the man, the old Adam, in his Viceroyalty: his enemies were those, and those only, who stood in the way of his Sovereign's aims, the establishment of Portuguese power and trade monopolies, and checks on Moorish ambition. Putting these ends in the forefront of all his endeavours, he courted the alliance and co-operation of Hindu princes, as a counterblast to Mahomedan ascendancy. He kept faith with the heathen as long as they would keep faith with him. When he exacted retribution for broken pledges, violated treaties, customary treacheries, he went into the business, as into all the business he undertook—thoroughly, unrelentingly. It is the only method that is efficacious with Asiatics, as our constantly-recurring frontier outbreaks ought to have taught us by this time. Albuquerque, three centuries ago, divined that, in such guerilla warfare, initial relentlessness is, in the long run, the most merciful policy, as being the only policy that convinces Asiatics of power and the futility of kicking against pricks. The idea of employing sepoy troops to fight the battles of Europeans in India originated with the Portuguese Captain General. He indebted on the mother country for schoolmasters, and educated natives up to fitness for employment, to some extent on administrative, as well as on clerical, work, on Western world lines. Out of financial chaos he evolved a soundly economic and trustworthy fiscal system; which, but for the venal corruptibility of subsequent administrations, might have preserved Portuguese India from putrefaction and dry-rot. In brief, Albuquerque, as a statesman, inaugurated many traits of administrative faculty which Englishmen are prone to consider peculiar to English rulers of India of a later and better developed historic period.

Believers in heredity who recognise Albuquerque's merits as a wise politician and a capable administrator of affairs, may find in his ancestry some warrant for the faith that is in them. One of his forbears was, that King Diniz, known in history as "The Labourer." Another married a daughter of the King.

of Castille and made his mark on contemporaneous events. Bars sinister on an escutcheon may have bearing on the order of precedence at a Court function: they have not the effect of impoverishing the blood, or attenuating those hereditary energies that avail to push men to the front and make their careers distinguished. Albuquerque's energies were immense, and helped greatly towards the adequate fulfilment of his endeavours, enabling him to cope with such extraneous difficulties on his chosen path, as mutinous lieutenants, traducers at Court, and so forth, as well as what we may be allowed to term legitimate hindrances.

He possessed an intuitive knowledge of the best way to deal with Asiatic peoples. He understood the importance of pomp and ceremony, and the influence exerted by the possession of the prestige of victory.

Throughout there was something of the grandiose in his nature and his views. His project of establishing an Empire in India naturally seemed absurd to his contemporaries. And the attempt to realise it exhausted the Portuguese nation. But the existence of the English empire in India has shown that Albuquerque's idea was not impracticable in itself; it was his nation which proved inadequate to the task. Albuquerque's courage and his cruelty, his piety and his cunning were not peculiar to himself; they were shared by other men of his time and country. But his tenacity of purpose, his broadminded tolerance, and his statesmanlike views, were absolutely unique, and helped to win for him his proud designation of Affonso de Albuquerque the Great.

For an appreciative study of Albuquerque's mission in India and its bearings on the history of the world, students will do well to consult Mr. Morse Stephen's pages, which, over and above the immediate subject, give a skeleton sketch of the doings of Governors who succeeded him.

The Bow of Fate. By SURGEON-MAJOR H. M. GREENHOW, London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place. S. W., 1893.

THE hero of Surgeon-Major Greenhow's novel is a gentleman belonging to the Central Provinces, described as of a light brown colour, with decidedly handsome features, and the mark of a high-caste Brahmin on his forehead, Bhagat by name.

He makes his bow to the reader in a drawing-room in Scotland, and is introduced as the heroine's—bearer. In this capacity, he—in Scotland, in Winter time—delights an aristocratic audience by performing the famous trick of Indian jugglers, making a mango tree grow out of nothing, and blossom, and bear fruit, which fruit an old Anglo-Indian present pronounces as fresh and luscious to the taste as any he had aforetime eaten in Bombay. This juggler Brahmin's brother, "Ram Dyall," is a Rajput, and a Hussuldar in a Native Cavalry

Regiment. Chapters II and III tell of the voyage out round the Cape and adventures in a dâk gharry. Chapter IV is headed "A Polo Match," and details the fortunes of a game supposed to have been played in the Central Provinces (not far from Lucknow, by the way) years before polo was dreamt of anywhere outside Manipur or Baltistan.

In the course of this anachronous game, Sekunder Khan, a lover of the Eurasian heroine, his Colonel's niece, deliberately rides down the Englishman she is in love with, very nearly succeeds in killing him, and, by doing so, gains, rather than loses, favour with his officers and the ladies. Another ardent admirer, a middle aged, somewhat morose Major, thinks he can more effectually "mash" Miss Lilian Langford by tying a bell round his neck, pretending to be a bullock, and going into the jungles alone, at night and on foot, to shoot a man-eating tiger. After an absurd chapter (VII), devoted to the description of an impossible nautch given by native officers to the station, in the thick of the Mutiny, the time comes (Chapter IX) for Jahmere also to be involved in the tide of rebellion and massacre—naturally an opportunity for graphic, sensational writing not missed. At Jahmere, some of the mutineers, caught red-handed, are blown from guns on the parade ground, and Lilian, failing in her endeavour to save one of them, repairs one night to a Mutineer "Brahmin's temple" for consolation and counsel. The priest there, a sort of Catholic father confessor in a dhoty, advises her to put poison in a curry she is going to make with her own hands next day for a burra khana to be given by her uncle to all the station.

On her refusal, after a lot of shilly-shally on one side, and hocus-pocus on the other, the priest delivers her over as a prize to the lust of a Mahomedan.

Conveyed *vi et armis* to his house in the city, and then locked up,

She raised the purdah, and was in the act of trying to push open the door, by which there appeared to be no handle, when she felt a sudden blow from behind, and on reeling backwards was confronted by an enormous lizard, whose jaws opened ominously, and whose bloodshot eyes rolled and winked at her in a manner startling and unearthly. Again she felt a smart concussion, and perceived it was due to the sharp whisk of the creature's scaly and massive tail; nor did the blows cease till, in sheer horror, she dropped the purdah and fled to the other side of the chamber, where, piling the cushions one on top of another, she strove to make a place of safety for herself.

Surgeon-Major Greenhow deserves all the credit due to the creation of a brand new sensational incident.

By way of illustrating his conception of Brahmin methods of dealing with well-educated Colonel's daughters, we give another quotation:—

"You, my child," said the Brahmin, "are to be commissioned with the making of the curry for the party at your uncle's; for is the dish not called after your name?"

"Yes," she replied, "that is true; I always make the curry."

"You will," continued her instructor, looking calmly at her as with a profound salaam he took from the very altar of the god, a small round glittering bottle, which he handled with the utmost reverence, "carefully mix with it the contents of this sacred phial, and you will do this unseen and unknown by any person. Do you fully comprehend my meaning?"

The unhappy girl gazed half in wonder, half in awe, as he raised before her the mysterious vessel, which she perceived was carefully closed.

"Is it from the god?" she asked at last, in a trembling voice.

"Directly from the god himself," answered the Brahmin, without hesitation "and with his blessing fresh upon it."

There was a pause, which Lillian broke.

"But you spoke of dying—that the Feringhis are to die!" she said; "and now you tell me I am to mix this medicine with the curry! Oh, father, what is it you mean? Why do you deal in such mystery?"

"My child, you have sworn to trust me, though warned that the conditions must be hard, that the sacrifice on your part may be almost more than you can conceive possible. Is it not so?" he asked, glaring at her from under his shaggy brows.

"It is so," she replied, frightened by his savage look; "it is so indeed!"

"And, lucky girl!" continued he, softening into a smile, "have you not been specially favoured, inasmuch as the god, in his goodness, has entrusted to you the task I am imposing on you, and placed in your hand the precious means wherewith to carry it out?"

Speaking so, he gave her the mysterious phial, which she saw was of beautiful silver filigree work, with innumerable glistening facets scattered over its surface.

"The god has been very kind," she murmured, overcome by sensations it were difficult to define; "and—yet—I cannot—I dare not—promise!"

"Not promise!" hissed the foul Brahmin in her ear; "not promise, after you have given yourself over absolutely to the service of the god, have lost your personality in his, and have taken into your possession at once the holiest symbol and the most sacred instrument of his will that it is possible for him, in his gracious favour, to bestow!"

Records of Tennyson, Ruskin and Browning. By ANNE RITCHIE. London: Macmillan and Co., 1892.

THAT amalgamation of hero worship and fondness for gossip to which average humanity is prone may be indulged in without a blush by investors in Mrs. Ritchie's "*Records of Tennyson, Ruskin, and Browning.*" We should have been glad of a much larger amount of critical exposition than is accorded; especially upon "*The Promise of May,*" considered in the light of an assault on latter day strongholds of Free-thought.

These "*Records of Tennyson, Ruskin, and Browning*" have been brought out by Macmillan and Co. on thick, toned, wide-margined paper, and are printed in a clear type, grateful to eyes accustomed to, and yet intolerant of, the flimsy material and slovenly typography of daily newspapers. External count for more than mere comfort, often for more than we are willing to allow. We are almost tempted to think that Remembrances might have been a more appropriate word than *Records* on the title page of Mrs. Ritchie's affectionate souvenirs of her connection with three artist lives. With four, we would

rather say; for though Thackeray's name does not find a place on the title page, we get pleasant glimpses at him, and reminiscences of the way he took with the world, throughout the book, which is prefaced, as it were, by two extracts from his works. The first of these is so very germane to the purpose of the succeeding Records, that we need offer no apology for quoting it here:—

"Mind that there is always a certain *cachet* about great men. They speak of common life more largely and generously than common men do—they regard the world with a manlier countenance, and see its real features more fairly than the timid shufflers who only dare to look up at life through blinkers, or to have an opinion when there is a crowd to back it."—(*English Humourists*).

The least personally reminiscent of the Records is the first; yet in it Mrs. Ritchie, although she was never, in the flesh, at Somersby, gives a word picture of the Lincolnshire parsonage, and the Tennysons' early home life, which is better than realistic, which one feels to be real, and the literary influences, the moral bents derived from which, one can trace in the Laureate's poetry. We cannot recalcitrant to mind previous mention of Thomson's "Seasons" as an early source of inspiration for Tennyson, or any other poet. That honour is accorded them in Mrs. Ritchie's pages. In the immature years, Byronic influence succeeded, superseded, Thomson's Seasons, and other relicts of a defunct, pseudo-classical style. One of Tennyson's titles to honour is that he rescued the conception of old world Hellenic thought current in his time from maudlin-French derived travesties, and well enough meant, but execrably perverse parodies. But that by the way. Byron, John Bull at bottom Byron, Hellenistic, though he believed himself to be on one side at least of his not very complex character, had enough of both qualities with a profession of Radicalism in politics thrown in, to enchant that always ardent lover of liberty and culture, Alfred Tennyson. Byronic influence permeated the susceptibilities of the generation in which he was growing up to be a man; the youthful Tennyson was of that day and that generation and was affected by its tides and entrainings. "Byron was dead! I thought the whole world was at an end," he once said, speaking of these bygone days. "I thought every thing was over and finished for every one, that nothing else mattered. I remember I walked out alone, and carved 'Byron is dead' into the sandstone." He was soon to awake to knowledge that he himself was a greater than Byron. As to that not unfulfilled conceit, it may be remarked that the self-confidence that is the appanage of genius was, throughout his long life, strongly marked characteristic of the man. When he went up to Cambridge, Whewell, then master of Trinity, "Whewell who was a man himself and who knew a man when he saw him, used to pass over in Alfred Tennyson certain informalities, and

forgetfulness of combinations as to gowns and places and times, which in another he would never have overlooked." Archbishop French, Lord Houghton, the Lushingtons, Kinglake, James Spalding, are numbered amongst the friends of the late Poet Laureate's College days. Arthur Hallam, the bosom friend, though but 23 when he died, had even so won for himself respectful deference from not too deferential reviewers, even from that dread Olympian *Quarterly* which Mr. Rigby of Coningsby renown, better known to us as John Wilson Croker, was wont to vaunt as so incomparably "slashing." To men of the passing generation it is a revelation to be remembered of the rich Lord Tennyson of our time, living in proud poverty in London, less than half a century ago, "with his friends and his golden dreams."

It was about this time that Carlyle introduced Sir John Simeon to Tennyson one night at Bath House, and made the often-quoted speech, "There he sits upon a dung-heap surrounded by innumerable dead dogs"; by which dead dogs he meant "Cæone" and other Greek versions and adaptations. He had said the same thing of Landor and his *Hellenics*. "I was told of this" said Lord Tennyson, "and some time afterward I repeated it to Carlyle: 'I'm told that is what you say of me.' He gave a kind of gasp. 'Eh, that wasn't a very luminous description of you,' he answered."

The story is well worth retelling, so completely does it illustrate the grim humour and unaffected candour of a dyspeptic man of genius, who flung words and epithets without malice, who neither realised the pain his chance sallies might give, nor the indelible flash which branded them upon people's memories.

The world has pointed its moral finger of late at the old man in his great old age, accusing himself in the face of all, and confessing the overpowering irritations which the suffering of a lifetime had laid upon him and upon her whom he loved. That old caustic man of deepest feeling, with an ill temper and a tender heart and a racking imagination, speaking from the grave, and bearing unto it that cross of passionate remorse which few among us dare to carry, seems to some of us now a figure nobler and truer, a teacher greater far, than in the days when his pain and love and remorse were still hidden from us all.

Tennyson once asked an opinion on Carlyle's *French Revolution* of Hallam; who replied—"Upon my word I once opened the book and read four or five pages. The style is so abominable I could not get on with it." Carlyle's criticism on *The History of the Middle Ages* was, "Eh! the poor, miserable skeleton of a book!"

Mrs. Ritchie avowedly felt herself more at home with the Brownings and their common sense than in a Tennysonian atmosphere that was transcendental, in spite of itself and strong proclivities toward the naturalness of Nature. Being her father's daughter she was and is, naturally enough, possessed of a mind better attuned to robust physics and the kindly vein of satiric humour therefrom to be learnt, than she is to the poetic vein that finds outlet only in Atlantis, and sentimental topsey turveydom of cosmogony.

To the writer's own particular taste there never will be any more delightful person than the simple-minded woman of the world, who has seen enough

to know what its praise is all worth, who is sure enough of her own position to take it for granted, who is interested in the person she is talking to, and unconscious of anything but a wish to give kindness and attention. This is the impression Mrs. Browning made upon me from the first moment I ever saw her to the last.

A generous humility of nature, translated by him into cheerful and vigorous goodwill, and utter absence of affectation, are the qualities suggested as keynote to the reading of Robert Browning's disposition. His greatness consisted in reaching the reality in all things, instead of keeping, as mediocrities are so sedulously careful to do, to the formalities of life. To the girl, Annie Thackeray, and her sister, the hours spent in Mrs. Browning's sitting-room seemed warmer and more full of interest and peace than they might attain, elsewhere. "Whether at Florence, at Rome, at Paris or in London once more, she seemed to carry her own atmosphere always, some thing serious, motherly, absolutely artless, and yet impassioned, noble, and sincere. It is suggested that the secret of Mrs. Browning's magnetic social power was that she kept her poetry for publication, and did not scatter scintillations from it in the way of conversations where it was not wanted. Mrs. Ritchie, more or less discerns that Browning possessed fully that dramatic faculty for lack of which Tennyson fell short in full admeasurement of the cosmological bearings of the word *ποιητής*. His plays do not accommodate themselves to theatrical "business," on its newest interpretations; but that by no manner of means vitiates their inherent dramatic excellence. In a letter of Lady Martin's (née Helen Faucit) rescripted here from the records, admiration is begged for theatrical representations of Mr. Browning's plays. Assuredly, Robert Browning, the man who could concern himself poetically (?) with Scroodge, the medium, and so forth, was less of an artist poet than Alfred Tennyson: possibly a greater poet, on diverse, analytic lines. Meanwhile, let us get a peep behind the scenes, through Helen Faucit's spectacles.

"At the rehearsals, when Mr. Browning was introduced to those ladies and gentlemen whom he did not know, his demeanour was so kind, considerate, and courteous, so grateful for the attention shown to his wishes, that he won directly the warm interest of all engaged in the play. So it was that, although many doubtful forecasts were made in the greenroom as to the ultimate attraction of a play so entirely turning on politics, yet all were determined to do their very best, to insure its success.

"I can see my gown now in Lucy Percy, made from a Vandyck picture, and remember the thought bestowed even upon the kind of fur with which the gown was trimmed. The same minute attention to accuracy of costume prevailed in all the characters produced. The scenery was alike accurate, if not so full of small details as at present. The human beings dominated all."

Ap[ro]pos of the views on spiritualism imputed to Browning and his wife, the Miss Thackeray who, with wide open, as yet

infantile, eyes, was waiting on the developments of that evangel, writes:—

"Mrs. Browning believed, and Mr. Browning was always irritated beyond patience by the subject. I can remember her voice, a sort of faint minor chord, as she, lisping the 'r' a little, uttered her remonstrating "Robert," and his loud, dominant baritone sweeping away every possible plea she and my father could make; and then came my father's deliberate notes, which seemed to fall a little sadly—his voice always sounded a little sad—upon the rising waves of the discussion. I think this must have been just before we all went to Rome—it was in the morning, in some foreign city. I can see Mr. and Mrs. Browning, with their faces turned towards the window, and my father with his back to it, and all of us assembled in a little high-up room. Mr. Browning was dressed in a rough brown suit, and his hair was black hair then; and she, as far as I can remember, was, as usual, in soft falling flounces of black silk, and with her heavy curls drooping, and a thin gold chain hanging round her neck.

Miss Thackeray, on the occasion of a parting and break up of social circles, occasioned by her father's departure on a lecturing tour in America, remembers feeling "as young people do, utterly hopelessly miserable, and then suddenly very cheerful every now and then." That sort of self-revealed temperament fits in well enough for application to the manufacture of fairy tales out of every-day circumstance, and such like transmigration and carrying beyond themselves of weary work-a-day souls. Thackeray *père* was man of the world enough to be interested in many matters seemingly outside his immediate purview; made sceptically personal concern of stories told *re* spiritualism and table-turning.

Not long after her birth Mr. Moulton succeeded to some property, and took the name of Barrett, so that in after-times, when Mrs. Browning signed herself at length as Elizabeth Barrett Browning, it was her own Christian name that she used without any further literary assumptions. Her mother was Mary Graham, the daughter of a Mr. Graham, afterwards known as Mr. Graham Clark, of Northumberland. Soon after the child's birth her parents brought her southward, to Hope End, near Ledbury, in Herefordshire, where Mr. Barrett possessed a considerable estate, and had built himself a country house. The house is now pulled down, but is described by Lady Garmichael, one of the family, as "a luxuribus home standing in a lovely park, among trees and sloping hills all sprinkled with sheep;" and this same lady remembers the great hall, with the great organ in it, and more especially Elizabeth's room, a lofty chamber, with a stained-glass window casting lights across the floor, and little Elizabeth as she used to sit propped against the wall, with her hair falling all about her face. There were gardens round about the house leading to the park. Most of the children had their own plots to cultivate, and Elizabeth was famed among them all for success with her white roses. She had a bower of her own all overgrown with them; it is still blooming for the readers of the lost bower "as once beneath the sunshine." Another favourite device with the child was that of a man of flowers, laid out in beds upon the lawn—a huge giant wrought of blossom. "Eyes of gentianella azure, staring, winking at the skies."

Renewing her acquaintance with Ruskin after fifteen years of growing from girlhood to matronliness, an interval he had spent in the Lake country, Mrs. Ritchie was "struck by the change for the better in him; by the bright, radiant, sylvan look which a man gains by living among woods and hills and pure

breezes." She makes a pleasant picture of Brantwood nestling amid green hay fields and the wooded slopes of Coniston with yewdale for a background, Coniston Old Man on the other side of the lake rising like a Pilatus above the village, and soaring into changing lights and clouds. Out of the picture frame steps the master of Brantwood, "meeting us with a certain old-fashioned courtesy and manner, but he spoke with his heart, of which happily, the fashion does not change from one decade to another." Does it not? Is the heart exempt from the play of evolutionary laws? At the tiny landing pier, bucolic Timothy, from the farm, sent forward to pilot the visitors, told them, with a sympathetic grin, that Mr. Ruskin—"Rooskin, I think he called him—had built t' pier, and set t' stoans himsel' wi' the other gentlemen, but they had to send for t' smith from the village to make the bolt fawster." The moral appears to be that superior persons delight to honour themselves at their superiors' expense, in every walk of life.

The pier is fast enough, running out into the lake, with a little fleet safely anchored behind it, while Brantwood stands high up on the slope, with square windows looking across the waters. Just on the other side of the lake, wrapped in mysterious ivy wreaths, where the cows are whisking their tails beneath the elms, rise the gables of the old farm, once the manor-house where "Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother," once dwelt. Sir Philip Sydney used to come riding across the distant hills to visit her there so tradition says. The mere thought of Coniston Water brings back the peaceful legends and sounds all about Ruskin's home—the wash of the lake, the rustle of the leaves, and rushes, the beat of birds on their whirling wings, the flop of the water-rats, the many buzzing and splashing and delicious things. A path up a garden of fruit and flowers, of carnations and strawberries, leads with gay zigzags to the lawn in front of the Brantwood windows.

The house displays itself, white, plain, comfortable, absolutely unpretending—a dwelling place planned for sunshine, the scarce sunshine of England. "I remember noticing with a thrill the umbrella stand in the glass door. So Mr. Ruskin had an umbrella just like other people!" Upon the drawing-room walls Turners and water colour pictures in "curly" frames; in the dinning-room, a noble Titian and "an absence of any of the art diphthongs and peculiarities of modern taste: only the simplest and most natural arrangements for the comfort of the inmates and their guests." In these, perfectness. Even in the furniture of a homestead character finds expression.

Who can ever recall a good talk that is over? You can remember the room in which it was held, the look of the chairs, but the actual talk takes wings and flies away. A dull talk has no wings, and is remembered more easily; so are those tiresome conversations which consist of sentences which we all repeat by rote—sentences which have bored us a hundred times before, and which do not lose this property by long use. But a real talk leaps into life; it is there almost before we are conscious of its existence. What system of notation can mark it down as it flows, modulating from its opening chords to those delightful exhilarating strains which are gone again almost before we have realised them?

Ruskin actively protests against the shabby print and paper lovers of reading are content to "live with;" busies himself, *inter alia*, in getting printed *de luxe* editions of good books, for the delectation of shepherds living in the neighbourhood of Brantwood. "Let us trust these fortunate shepherds are worthy of their print and margins." The Lord of Brantwood is not concerned to determine their degree of worthiness; preferentially believes in the inherent, self-assertive power of his æsthetic gospel. He is so utterly unconventional that 'tis odd he has never been suspected of the Philistines of madness. A demonstratively practical vein in his character and disposition of worldly affairs, inherited from "that entirely honest merchant," that man of rare gifts and attainments, his father, it is, probably, that has saved our latter day Mæcenæas from such opprobrium. Everyone has heard of the son's practical* philanthropic work in the world, and although professional political economists do not hold with his politico-economic teachings, any more than they do with one another's, they are yet fain to treat them with respect—after such manner, shall we say, as an Anglican Church, by law established, treats decrees of its conscript fathers to which it is not presently inclined—Luther's and Zwingle's in favour of polygamy; for instance. The master's teachings are many-sided, catholical. One day at Brantwood,—

It was some book of Indian warfare that he brought down from its place, and as he opened it he then and there began his sermon; spoke of the example which good Christian men and women might set in any part of the world; quoted Sir Herbert Edwardes, whom he loved and admired, as an example of what a true man should be. He spoke of him with kindling eyes, warming as he went on to tell, as only a Ruskin could tell it, the heroic history of the first Sikh war. What happened in India yesterday he did not know; he said he sometimes spent months without once looking at the papers, and in deliberate ignorance of what was happening and not happening in their columns.

I further remember, among other things, after his little lecture upon "True Knights," a delightful description of what a true lady should be. "A princess, a washerwoman," he said—"yes, a washerwoman! To see that all is fair and clean, to wash with water, to cleanse and purify wherever she goes, to set disordered things in orderly array—this was a woman's mission." Which sentence has often occurred to me since then at irritating moments of household administration.

Ruskin's confessed masters in art have been Tintoret, Thomas Carlyle, and Turner. Modern party politics, as interpreted for the *οἱ πολλοί* by the new journalism and its Pope, W. T. Stead, he is so blessed as to be able not to care a fig for. They are too parochial, too purposeless, too bizarre, to kindle

* Miss Octavia Hill went to him once to ask for his co-operation in an eleemosynary scheme of hers for acquisition of cottage property in London, by working men. He at once came forward with all the money necessary, and took the whole risk of the undertaking on himself; but was careful to point out at the same time that it would prove far more useful if it could be made to *pay*. A working man, he said, ought to be able to pay for his own house.

interest in his mind. Opinionatively, he is not without pride in professing himself, "a violent Tory of the old school, Walter Scott's school, that is to say, and Homer's."*

As Mrs. Ritchie reads "*Præterita*," it seems to her as if John Ruskin wrote his history not with ink, but painted it down with light and colour.

Its author has chosen to christen the story *Præterita*, but was ever a book less belonging to the past and more entirely present to our mood than this one? Not Goethe's own autobiography, not even Carlyle's passionate reminiscences, come up to it in vividness. There are so few words, such limpid images are brought flashing before our secret consciousness, that we seem to remember as we read. Or are we actually living in its pages, in the dawning light of that austere, yet glorious, childhood? Half a century rolls back, and we see the baby up above at the drawing-room windows, standing absorbed, watching the water-carts, and that wondrous turncock, "who turns and turns till a fountain springs up in the middle of the street;" and as we still watch the child, gazing out with his blue, deep-set eyes, the brown brick walls somehow become transparent, as they did for Ebenezer Scrooge, and we are, in the same mysterious fashion, absorbed into the quiet home and silent life.

"He should have been a Bishop," that entirely honest merchant father was wont to say of his artist son. It may well be that in his books, in the manner of his life, John Ruskin has preached more effective sermons than it had been in the scope of his genius to deliver from sectarian pulpit. The law of perfection is his favourite text. "There is also all the extraordinary influence of his personality in his teaching. Oracles, such as Mill and Spencer, veil their faces when they utter. Poets and orators like Ruskin uncover their heads as they addressed their congregations."

Constable's Oriental Miscellany of Original and Selected Publications. Vol. IV. Letters from a Mahratta Camp during the year 1809. Westminster: Archibald Constable and Company, 14, Parliament Street, S. W., 1892.

MATHEW Arnold defined the State as "the power most representing the right reason of the nation, and the most worthy therefore of ruling." In *Letters from a Mahratta Camp* we are allowed to trace the application of this dogma in the India of sixty years ago. The lesson may have its uses, since there is among us a school of Englishmen whose leading tenets are disparagement of English institutions and exaltation at their expense of foreign methods.

A favourite paradox with these quidnuncs is that India was much better governed by its ancient† chiefs before the days of

* "My own teaching has been, and is, that liberty, whether in the body, soul, or political estate of man, is only another name for death—Putrefaction; the body, spirit, and, political estate being healthy only by their bonds and laws."—1875 *For's Clavigera*, Letter 411.

† It is a very curious fact that among the principal States of Hindoostan the

the Hon'ble John Company Bahadur than ever it has been since then. We would recommend these faddists to read, mark, and learn the story set forth in the book before us. A record of chartered, continuous rapine, lawlessness, oppression, blackest crime, on the part of a native ruler and his colleagues, certainly unparalleled for enormity in Europe, even in the days of Louis the eleventh of France, or any worse period, if there ever has been a worse one—a record that loses nothing in impressiveness because of its chronicler's staid, matter-of-fact, business-like way of relating it. The story is told in a series of letters to a brother in England. Their author, Colonel Broughton, a quondam Etonian, a "Dowb" with good connections in the Company's service, and at the India House, was Commandant of the escort of the British Resident detailed to accompany Scindia's Camp in its restless wanderings to and fro about the land, seeking whom it might devour.

These wanderings were sometimes, to all appearance, quite purposeless, more frequently were directed towards levy of tribute and blackmail, *e. g.*, let the 14th letter speak: it deals with a period immediately succeeding conclusion of a treaty of peace between Scindia and the Maharaja of Jeypore.

"Mark the consistency and good faith of this Durbar; in the evening Seendhiya receives an entertainment from an Ambassador, upon the occasion of a peace being concluded; and the very next morning wantonly plunders a miserable little hamlet, for we are still in the Jypoor country, that chances to be in his road; then, to complete the farce, writes letters to Meer Khan (whose troops are playing the same game in the vicinity of Oojyn, Seendhiya's own capital) remonstrating upon the unfriendliness and impropriety of his conduct."

Scindia was not an exceptionally unprincipled ruler of the period, as the following gloss on Jeypore's renderings of his treaty obligations, will show.

"The mode in which the Jypoor Durbar is accustomed to execute such agreements is quite notorious. They pay one half, and agree to pay a quarter, after a certain number of months; and the remainder after another lapse of time. The payment of the second instalment is generally delayed, upon various pretences, for about a year, and for the last, they fight again, and if worsted, enter into another treaty."

Colonel Broughton approves himself in his letters a lover of

greater part should be now governed by Princes whose right to the dignity they enjoy is at least disputable. I have already mentioned the young pretenders to the Rajpoot states of Juddpore and Jypoor, and the usurpation of Zalim Singh in the province of Kota. The government of the little principality of Bopal has been wrested in the same manner from its legitimate ruler by the Minister, Wazeer Moohumed, and the Nuwab himself excluded from all participation in it. The assumption of supreme power in the Mahratta confederacy by the *Peshwa* has continued so long, that it is now scarcely considered as such. Holkar is a natural son, and having gotten the reins of government into his own hands, has secured them by the murder of his brother and his nephew; both of which events took place very lately, and are universally attributed to him. The right of Seendhiya himself to his rank and station is denied by many, who assert that Raja Desmookh, the grandson of Madoojee Seendhiya, ought to have succeeded before his grand-nephew.

justice and honesty, a man with some faculty of observation, not altogether deficient in sense of humour, though too dignified to indulge in humour, on his own account, far less in exaggerations. His testimony is entitled to respect. It shows the normal conditions of life and morals at a typical Indian Court in the second quarter of this nineteenth century to have been degraded, lost to sense of shame, to a parlous extent;—an extent we should hesitate to credit, had it not been measured by a non-political, and obviously disinterested on-looker, neither in sorrow nor in anger, merely as integral part of the day's work—disgusting, uncongenial work, for deliverance from which he was eager. In July 1829 the Dewan Surjee was murdered, mobbed to death, with the connivance, even if the intent went no further, of his father-in-law, Scindia, who, by the way, always sought to evade or postpone responsibilities of all sorts. The murdered Dewan's mistress—

Was sent for to the *Denoree* on the 29th, and, in the presence of the Bae, severely beaten with a cane, and afterwards, as a greater mark of indignity, received several blows from a slipper; report adds, though I trust unjustly, inflicted by the hands of the indignant Princess herself. The Muha Raj, on his part, threatened her with the loss of her ears and nose, but contented himself with plundering her of a considerable sum in jewels and money, which she had contrived to collect during her short hour of sunshine and prosperity; and then satisfied with this manly vengeance, generously ordered her to be set at liberty. Khueratun, who shared her confinement, has also shared her punishment, and has been plundered of property to the amount of nearly a lakh of rupees. She exclaimed vehemently against the injustice of taking from her what she termed "the honest gains of her profession, amassed during twelve long years of constant practice."

Another brief extract, illustrative of Mahratta Court morals and manners, must be given :—

I went yesterday with the Resident to the Durbar, which was held in a small tent made of *Kus*,* and being kept constantly wet, was exceedingly cool and pleasant. While Captain C—was conversing with Surjee Rao, one of the Muha Raja's favourite companions came into the tent, and stood before him, and his Highness immediately began to amuse himself by making most indecent signs and gestures, and winking at him, whenever he thought himself unperceived.

In Colonel Broughton's letters a deal of curious information is afforded concerning Mahratta habits, customs, festivals, superstitions, folklore, &c.

The only constant fashion in Scindia's Camp was chronic impecuniosity; not dearth, but absolute, lack of money to pay the wages of indispensable soldier-bailiffs and equally indispensable troops of nautch women. This resulted in chronic mutiny, sulking, and frantic attempts to raise the wind by means of I. O. U's. The Maharaja's *hundis* were seldom

* The well-known *Khaskhas*, the roots of a plant *Andropogon muricatus* (Retz), made into screens or mats which, when wetted, emit a fragrant odour. See *Bernier*, Vol. i., C. O. M., p. 247.

marketable in the Bazar for cash at more than a fifth of their expressed value, and with difficulty found acceptors even at that ruinous discount. Indians, say the apostles of India for the Indians, fared so much better in past time under native rule than they do under English! The Commandant of the Resident's escort, who lived behind the scenes and was not dependent on vain imaginings for his information, wrote to his brother :—

You will be no longer at a loss to conceive the distresses of a government supported by such a system of finance as this ; or that the bankers, by whose means it is entirely conducted, should be the richest and most powerful set of people attached to it. But you will probably be a little at a loss to understand how such a government exists at all. And this is a problem which, I confess, I am totally unable to give any satisfactory solution of ; unless, indeed, we pitch upon force and habit : the former exerted in the lawless and violent contributions levied by this government upon all the neighbouring States without exception ; the other exemplified in a starving army, still clinging round the shadow of a lately powerful State, under whose standard they were formerly led to frequent victory and to constant plunder. Two such rotten props as these, however, must fail sooner or later ; and indeed their insufficiency begins already to be pretty evident. Seendhiya is almost deserted by his Hindoostanee troops, whose reports throughout their own provinces must, in time, operate so as to prevent any but the most needy and desperate adventurers, from seeking such a service ; and, probably, even his Dukhnee troops will soon find it more to their advantage to remain quietly upon their own estates, or enter the services of the more fixed governments of the Peshwa and the Bhonsla.

Scindia's Camp never staid long in one place—in the nature of things locusts can't do that. Men, women, children, impedimenta, were kept continually on the move.

A Mahratta line of march exhibits a collection of the most grotesque objects and groups that can possibly be imagined : and at no time is the difference in the treatment of women, between the Mahrattas and other natives of India, more strikingly displayed. Such as can afford it here, ride on horseback, without taking any pains to conceal their faces : they gallop about, and make their way through the throng with as much boldness and perseverance as the men. Among the better sort it is common to see the master of a family riding by the side of his wife and children, all well mounted, and attended by half a dozen horsemen, and two or three female servants, also on horseback : and I have often seen a woman seated astraddle, behind her husband, and keeping her seat with no small degree of grace and dexterity, while he was exercising his horse at a good round gallop. The Mahratta women are, generally speaking, very ugly ; and have a bold look which is to be observed in no other women of Hindoostan.

The steeds in use were for the most part '*tut,hoos.*' Colonel Broughton's transliterative vagaries are startling ; a course of them might be warranted to reconcile the most obstructive of Philistines to the Hunterian system of spelling. The Colonel by the way styles the primitive hackery, a "*cabriolet.*" Good word that.

Constable's Oriental Miscellany of Original and Selected Publications, Vol. III, Aureng-Zebe, a Tragedy, and Book II. of the Chase, a Poem. Westminster : Archibald Constable and Company, 14, Parliament Street, S. W., 1892.

IT strikes us that reprints, as a bookmongering fashion, are being somewhat overdone. There is nothing in Dryden's

fustian, unnatural tragedy "Aurang-Zebe" that should render it worth rescuing from its appropriate limbo ; and 20 pages of Somerville's *Chase*, tacked on to Dryden's dreary play, seemingly as an afterthought, can have but archæological interest for the modern sportsman—if they have even that much to recommend them. Here is a sample of the sport depicted :—

Incessant Shouts

Re-echo thro' the Woods, and kindling Fires
Gleam from the Mountain Tops ; the Forest seems
One mingling Blaze : like Flocks of Sheep they fly
Before the flaming Brand : fierce Lions, Bards,*
Boars, Tigers, Bears, and Wolves ; a dreadful Crew
Of grim blood-thirsty foes : growling along,
They stalk indignant ; but fierce Vengeance still
Hangs pealing on their Rear,† and pointed Spears
Present immediate Death.‡

Both works derive plot and incident from adaptations of *Bernier's Travels*. Only, Bernier does not affect high saluting, while both Dryden and Somerville do. As M. Taine puts it, in Dryden's plays everything is extravagant ; with a lavish supply of indecencies thrown in.

The Free Trade Struggle in England. By M. M. TRUMBULL.
Chicago : the Open Court Publishing Company, 1892.

IN a preface to the second edition of his protest against Protection, Mr. Trumbull writes :—

To keep this book abreast of the debate, I have revised it, and have given some additional facts bearing on the lesson to Americans which is given them in the study of the Free Trade Struggle in England. Had the English arguments for Protection been preserved in Mr. Edison's phonograph, the unwinding of the machine would not have more faithfully reproduced than than they have been reproduced by the American protectionists in the debate in Congress—excepting this one, "the foreigner pays the tax." In all the debates in Parliament between 1841 and 1846, I cannot find it on record that any member was foolish enough to think that, or daring enough to say it.

Mr. Trumbull's recapitulations may prove interesting to people who prefer the glorification of theory to the teachings of facts.

A Brief History of the Indian Peoples. By SIR WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., M. A. Oxon., LL.D. Cambridge. Oxford : at the Clarendon Press, 1892.

A TWENTIETH edition (seventy-eighth thousand) attests the serviceableness of Sir W. W. Hunter's *Brief History of the Indian Peoples*, which is, in the slang of the day, up to date, and brings the chronicle of events down to the recent

* *Pard*, a leopard, from the Sanskrit *Pardāku* a tiger, through the Latin *Pardus*.

† *Hangs* . . . *Rear*, follows them up with loud shouts.

‡ *Present Immediate Death*, threaten them with immediate death if they attempt to break through the line that is hemming them in.

expansion of the Indian Legislative Councils; an admirable school book, lucidly condensed, and containing all things in Indian history necessary to students at examinations; provocative of thought too, possibly, as in this para. at the end of a chapter treating of the Mughal dynasty.

CAUSES OF ITS FALL.—Akbar had rendered a great Empire possible in India by conciliating the native Hindu races. He thus raised up a powerful third party, consisting of the native military peoples of India, which enabled him alike to prevent new Muhammadan invasions from Central Asia, and to keep in subjection his own Muhammadan Governors of Provinces. Under Aurangzeb and his miserable successors, this wise policy of conciliation was given up. Accordingly, new Muhammadan hordes soon swept down from Afghānistān; the Muhammadan Governors of Indian Provinces set up as independent potentates: and the warlike Hindu races, who had helped Akbar to create the Mughal Empire, became, under his foolish posterity, the chief agents of its ruin.

Sir William, now, as ever, can skim over delicate ground airily, *e. g.*, in his peroration:—

In 1892 the British Parliament passed an Act which increased the number of the members of those Councils, and introduced a stronger non-official element. But it left the question of the election or the nomination of such members to be worked out by the Local Governments in India, in accordance with the needs and conditions of the separate provinces. Side by side with this political movement, efforts (which to a partial extent have been embodied into legislation by Lord Lansdowne) are being made to reform certain evils in the social and domestic life of the Hindus, arising out of the customs of the enforced celibacy of Hindu widows and the marriage of very young children.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Asoka-Charita, or the Life of Asoka. By Krishna Behari Sen.

Printed and published by S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta, 1892.

HISTORY and biography are two branches in which Bengalee literature is still very poor. The habit of looking upon life as a fleeting show, a mere illusion, has been at the root of the indifference which Hindus from olden times have shown to the task of recording events and incidents and the achievements of men, except such of them as in their eyes had a religious significance. This indifference is ingrained in the Hindu national character, and cannot, therefore, be easily eliminated. But if life is an empty dream to the Hindu, it is real and earnest to the Englishman; and English education would have exerted little influence on the literary taste of the Bengalees, if, during its eighty years of life, it had not brought home the importance of biographical and historical literature into their minds so forcibly as to animate some of them with an ambition to remove the poverty of their own literature in this respect. Within the last ten years, a regard and a taste for biography and history have begun to manifest themselves, and well-written lives of great men—both Indian and Foreign—and works on historical topics, have been published in Bengalee.

Asoka was not merely a great Indian King, but one of the greatest monarchs whom the world has ever produced. He occupied the same position in relation to Buddhism as Constantine the Great did with respect to Christianity. Each gave the religion he followed a stimulus, the force of which has not as yet exhausted itself, though many centuries have elapsed since they lived and worked. It is true there are few or no Buddhists among the Bengalee-speaking population; but the story of Asoka's life, which forms one of the most important chapters in the history of Ancient India, must possess an interest for every Indian, to whatever faith or creed he may belong. It is highly gratifying to us to observe that, in Baboo Krishna Behari Sen, M. A., Rector of the Albert College, in Calcutta, Asoka has found a biographer who, without being a believer in the religion which the great monarch of the Mourya Dynasty adopted and made it the great mission of his life to preach and propagate, has the catholicity to rate at their proper worth the noble qualities that distinguished his character, and has genuine sympathy with much of what he believed and taught. The author has not merely brought into a focus the

scattered and divergent rays of light struck out by some distinguished European orientalists from the darkness that enshrouded the period of Indian History when Asoka flourished, but has made them to shine out the more brightly by his own independent and original researches. The work affords unimpeachable testimony of much study and investigation, and some of the chapters bear proofs of thought which materially contributes to the value of the book. The ability shown in clearing up obscure points, with regard to the memorable period with which the book deals, is deserving of special commendation. We deem it, however, desirable to point out that the author's style is not blameless, and that he is guilty, in our eyes, of Anglicisms, or anglicized expressions, which in Bengalee are incalculably more repugnant than Scotticisms in English.

Before we conclude our notice of this able and interesting work, we will briefly comment on two points of interest raised incidentally by the author in the course of his observations on the career of his hero.

Whatever may be the actual practice of the Hindus, the belief that the destruction of the life of the lower animals is a sin had prevailed in India from a remote past. It, however, remained for Buddhism to reduce the doctrine into a religious principle, to be strictly adhered to by all true followers of that religion. Babu Krishna Behari, in discussing the subject, raises the interesting question, why it is that the Indians have shown a more compassionate regard for the life of the lower animals than the English and other civilised races of the West. According to him, it is the Indian's belief in metempsychosis, common both to Hinduism and Buddhism, that has prompted the religious teachers of India to include the killing of dumb creatures in the category of sins. There can be little doubt that this is one of the causes; but the primary and chief reason that led to it is, to our mind, the fact of the Indians, by reason of the climate of the country they inhabit, not having experienced the absolute necessity of a meat-diet. The inhabitants of colder climates found in animal food a means of sustenance exactly suited to their physical requirements, and as man all the world over has been pre-eminently guided by the law of self-preservation, they could, under the circumstances, never have conceived any very high regard for the life of the lower creatures. In India, too, when the early Aryan settlers inhabited the cold regions of the Punjab, flesh-eating was freely indulged in by them, and, naturally enough, during that age no idea of the sanctity of lower life entered their minds. It was when they extended their dominion and peopled every part of North India and found a meat-diet disagreeing with their constitution under the climate of their new settlements, that they

gradually ceased to be flesh-eaters. • And when they once found themselves in this predicament, it was nothing extraordinary that they came to look with a feeling of pity upon all beings belonging to the lower orders of creation, for it is almost invariably seen that the better nature of man asserts itself and sometimes with a vengeance, where his lower nature is subdued, either by moral force or the force of circumstances. We entertain not the least doubt that, should the Europeans and other civilised races who now chiefly subsist on animal food, be somehow compelled to eschew it, they would soon begin to entertain the same scruples about the destruction of the life of the lower animals as many Hindus and all Buddhists do.

Niti Padya. By Eshan Chunder Bose. Published by the Author, Bhowanipore.

IS a small book of verses on moral topics, intended for school children. We observe that the publication has already undergone several editions, and that is a good proof of its popularity. As the book has secured a large patronage, we should like to see it rendered more full and complete, by the introduction of pieces on those important moral subjects which have not been touched upon. We would point out that the author has omitted to treat on such subjects as Sense of Duty, Conscience, Gratitude, Friendship, Prudence, Anger, Pride, Vanity, and Ambition.

Prabâser Patra. By Nobin Chunder Sen. Published by Suresh Chunder Samajpati. Calcutta, 1299 B. E.

IS a descriptive account of a tour made in Northern and Western India, and written in the form of letters to the author's wife. There are only a few books of travels in the Bengalee language, not more than half-a-dozen, that are worth reading, and we can unhesitatingly pronounce the book under notice sufficiently interesting to occupy a place among them. Baboo Nobin Chunder, the author, is one of the best Bengalee poets of the day, and his *Prabâser Patra*, which is, of course, written in prose, bears evidence of his natural poetic turn of mind. An ordinary book of travels is a description of scenery, of peoples and their manners and customs, and a narrative of incidents, but Mr. Sen's production is something more than this: it is also a record of the impressions made upon his heart by all he saw and heard, written in a style which is often poetic to a high degree. Occasionally, Mr. Sen ignores the first duty of a traveller recording his experiences, which is to describe the places he visits, as he does in the case of two such famous towns as Darjeeling and Baidyanath. The book concludes with a comparison of the personal attractions of the

women of the several Indian races with whom the author came in contact; and as, in a matter like this, a poet's judgment is not without its value, though infrequently endorsed by the press of the majority, it is interesting to know that he gives the palm of superiority to the Pahari women of the Simla Hills.

Prabāser Patra, is, in its own way, a highly interesting production, in which the entertaining prose of a traveller's story is sweetly blended with the enlivening poetry of the out-pourings of a feeling heart and the flights of a fervid imagination.

Chānakya Niti, or the Moral Aphorisms of Chānakya. Intended for the use of Boys and Girls. By Eshan Chunder Bose, Calcutta. Printed at the Ad. Brahmo Samaj Press.

AS an historical character, Chānakya was a great master of guesse and artifice, and has, therefore, been usually styled the Machiavelli of India. But his celebrated and excellent work upon morals does not take after the Machiavellian artifices by which he is credited to have brought on the downfall of the Nanda Dynasty, and the elevation of Chandra Gupta to their throne. Chānakya is believed to have flourished in the third century before Christ, and it would be surprising to many Europeans to see germs of such high ethical principles in his precepts as are contained in some of the teachings of Jesus Christ. The great recommendations of Chānakya's precepts are that they generally inculcate a morality of a lofty and pure type, and are put in the form of pithy aphorisms in a style of peculiar simplicity and charm. But, composed as they were more than twenty centuries ago, they could not all be suited to the taste and tendencies of the modern times. The compiler has generally shown discrimination in his selections, with the exception of a few. For example, the *sloka* containing the fatalistic assertion, "*Nā cha daivāt param vāham*," meaning, "The greatest power which man can have is derived from fate," is one which ought to be expurgated. Again, there are several *slokas* which contain allusions to Hindu denominational religious beliefs. In these days of religious liberty and consequent increasing divergences with regard to religious questions, a book of moral aphorisms would have a chance of being more widely popular, if freed from the dross of dogmas.

Sachitra Varna Parichaya. By Professor Rāmānanda Chatterjea, M. A. Printed by K. C. Dutt, at the B. M. Press, 211, Cornwallis Street. Calcutta, 1892.

IS an attractively illustrated Bengalee Primer. Books for infants should be full of attractive illustrations to make reading as little of a task, and as much of an entertainment.

to them, as possible. Of all books, the Primer should be adorned with pictures, to be readily appreciated by those for whom it is intended. The late Pundit Eswara Chunder Vidya-sagara's Bengalee Primer still stands unrivalled in its adaptability to the tender capacities of infant learners, and it is no small recommendation of the Primer under notice, that in this respect, it makes a near approach to the renowned Pundit's *Varna Parichaya*, *Prathamā Bhāga*, and has the additional attraction of being embellished with beautiful illustrations.

There is an anomaly in the book which requires to be pointed out. The pictures of some of the boys and girls, who bear Bengalee names in the stories, are represented in English dress, in which they look extremely outlandish. The author, it seems, has a partiality for European juvenile attire, and is, perhaps, anxious to see it adopted in Bengal; but he need hardly be told that a Primer is not a proper vehicle for the dissemination of ideas about dress reform.

Raghu Vansa of Kali Das, in Bengalee verse, Part I. (Canto I to VIII). By Nobin Chunder Das, M. A. Published by S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta, 1891.

THE translations of the poetical masterpieces of great poets into the prose of other languages than those in which they are composed, generally prove more literal than their metrical renderings, but it is the latter that have usually the better chance of being widely appreciated, if the translators are equal to their task. *Raghu Vansa* is one of the best poems of Kali Das, the greatest Sanskrit poet, and the Bengalee reading public should be thankful to Baboo Nobin Chunder Das for undertaking a translation of the poem in Bengalee verse. The first part of the translation under notice contains eight cantos. We have compared parts of the translation with their original in Sanskrit, and are glad to notice that the translator has succeeded in generally preserving the high poetry of the original, while the sweet melody and easy flow of his verses cannot but make the version liked by a large circle of appreciative readers.

Ananda Lila. By Indu Bhushen Roy. Published by the Dāsāsrām, or the Home for the Servants of God. Calcutta, 1892.

A FEW educated Bengalee gentlemen, fired evidently by the ardent spirit of humanity which characterises the Salvation Army, have founded an institution in Calcutta, with the object of training up a number of young men, who may devote their lives to relieving the sufferings of the sick, the

incapable, and the destitute, without distinction of race or creed. The institution has been named Dāsāram, or the Home for the Servants of God, and it has already produced a few noble servants who are engaged in nursing men, women, and children who have none to call their own, and who have mostly been picked up from the streets of Calcutta in a state of destitution, or in a moribund condition. The publication under notice, which contains a number of original religious songs, has been published by this institution—the first of its kind in Bengal. The songs are all theistic in spirit, and some of them are in every way calculated to inspire love of God and a longing to serve Him by serving humanity. It may be hoped that these songs may eventually grow popular, and silently mould the hearts of many after the ethical and spiritual ideal they set up.

Panchāmrita. By Tara Kumar Kabiratna. Published by Jñān Chunder Chowdhery. Printed by J. N. Banerjee and Son. Calcutta, 1892.

PUNDIT Tara Kumar is a good hand at metrical composition, and his renderings of the five Sanskrit religious poems contained in this book are worthy of him. We cannot, however, commend some of the selections in the book, as they represent the cultivation exclusively either of asceticism or of the spirit of love and worship, and not a harmonious growth and development of Love, Intellect and Spirituality, as the highest ideal of life-work. The Pundit's verses are generally so simple and sweet, and so highly calculated to have a persuasive influence on the common mind, that we should like to see him aiming at popularising among the Bengalee masses, by his metrical translations, the best teachings of the Hindu Shastras, on social and moral subjects, teachings that are consistent with reason and the spirit of enlightened thought and progressive science.

Janma bhumi. A Monthly Journal. Volumes I and II. **T**HIS magazine is the chief monthly organ of the Hindu Revivalists. It is the cheapest Bengalee periodical in existence, the price being only seven pice per copy. Both its cheapness and its policy, which is antagonistic to all social and religious reformation, are calculated to recommend the magazine to the Bengalee masses, and there is no reason to doubt the statement that it has several thousand subscribers. It is chiefly distinguished for its bigotry and morbid conservatism, which would see no good out of the pale of Hinduism, and nothing worthy of attention in what is opposed to, or inconsistent with, the spirit of the Hindu Shastras. Some of the Bengalee magazines are in the habit

of publishing translations from English books or periodicals, and occasionally, without acknowledging their authorship. A paper headed *Amulya Nidhi*, published in the fifth number of the first volume of the *Jaama bhumi*, and professedly written by Thakur Das Mukherjee, seems, however, to be a translation of the sum and substance of that popular booklet, entitled "The Greatest Thing in the World," which is from the pen of Dr. Henry Drummond, the author of the remarkable work, "Natural Law in the Spiritual World." The *Jaama bhumi* is very poor in its department of poetry. The papers written to elucidate questions of Hindu sociology and religion generally show research, but are often tarnished with prejudiced notions and reactionary tendencies. The serial auto-biographical sketch, entitled *Amār Jibān Charita*, must be pronounced the chief attraction of the Magazine. It is a narrative of the life and adventures of a Bengalee gentleman during the dark, troublous, and, as it proved to some, romantic days of the Indian Mutiny. For more than one reason this sketch deserves a translation into English.

Sahitya. - A Monthly Magazine and Review. Edited by Suresh Chunder Samajpati. Third volume, Nos. 5, 6 and 7 1299, B. E.

THIS Bengalee Magazine has already taken its place among the high class vernacular periodicals. The editor is a grandson of the late Pundit Eshwara Chunder Vidyasagar, who may justly be styled the Father of Modern Bengalee prose literature; and he is most laudably eager to tread in the footsteps of his illustrious grandfather. We observe that among the contributors to this magazine there are many graduates of the Calcutta University. The comparative poorness of Bengalee literature is mainly attributable to the fact that most of the educated native intellects are found to cherish a repugnance for, and abstain from cultivating, their mother tongue. It is, we believe, the aim of the editor to secure the most distinguished alumni of the Calcutta University as his contributors, and it is a pleasure to see that he has already met with considerable success in this direction, some of the most thoughtful and learned articles that have hitherto appeared in the pages of the *Sahitya*, and which remind us of some of the brilliant contributions in the pages of the now defunct *Banga Darshan*, having been from the pens of those who have had a distinguished academic career. The *Sahitya* is most ably edited, and well got up, and we hope it will command extensive patronage and have a long lease of life.

Note.—In our notice of the brochure entitled "*Ambedkar Joti Bhava*" by Baboo Rajani Kant Gupta, published in our number for last October, we showed, by quotations from it and from Baboo Raj Narain Bose's work, styled "*Hindu Dharma Shresthata*," that in the former there were passages which were clearly plagiarised from the latter. Baboo Rajani Kant writes to us expressing surprise at the charge we felt ourselves justified in bringing against him, and denying it on the grounds that though he had read Baboo Raj Narain's "*Hindu Dharma Shresthata*" fifteen years ago, he had not the book before him when he wrote his pamphlet, and that it was the unanimity of sentiment between himself and Babu Raj Narain that gave his observations the appearance of being plagiarisms from the latter's work. Our charge against Babu Rajani Kant was founded not so much on the unanimity of sentiment, as on the striking identity of language between the passages quoted, and, though we accept his explanation, we must say that we cannot persuade ourselves to believe that such sameness of expression could have occurred, unless it were that the passages in Baboo Raj Narain Bose's work had so firmly fixed themselves in Baboo Rajani Kant's memory, that the latter was unconsciously led to use the language of the former in giving expression to similar sentiments of his own.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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